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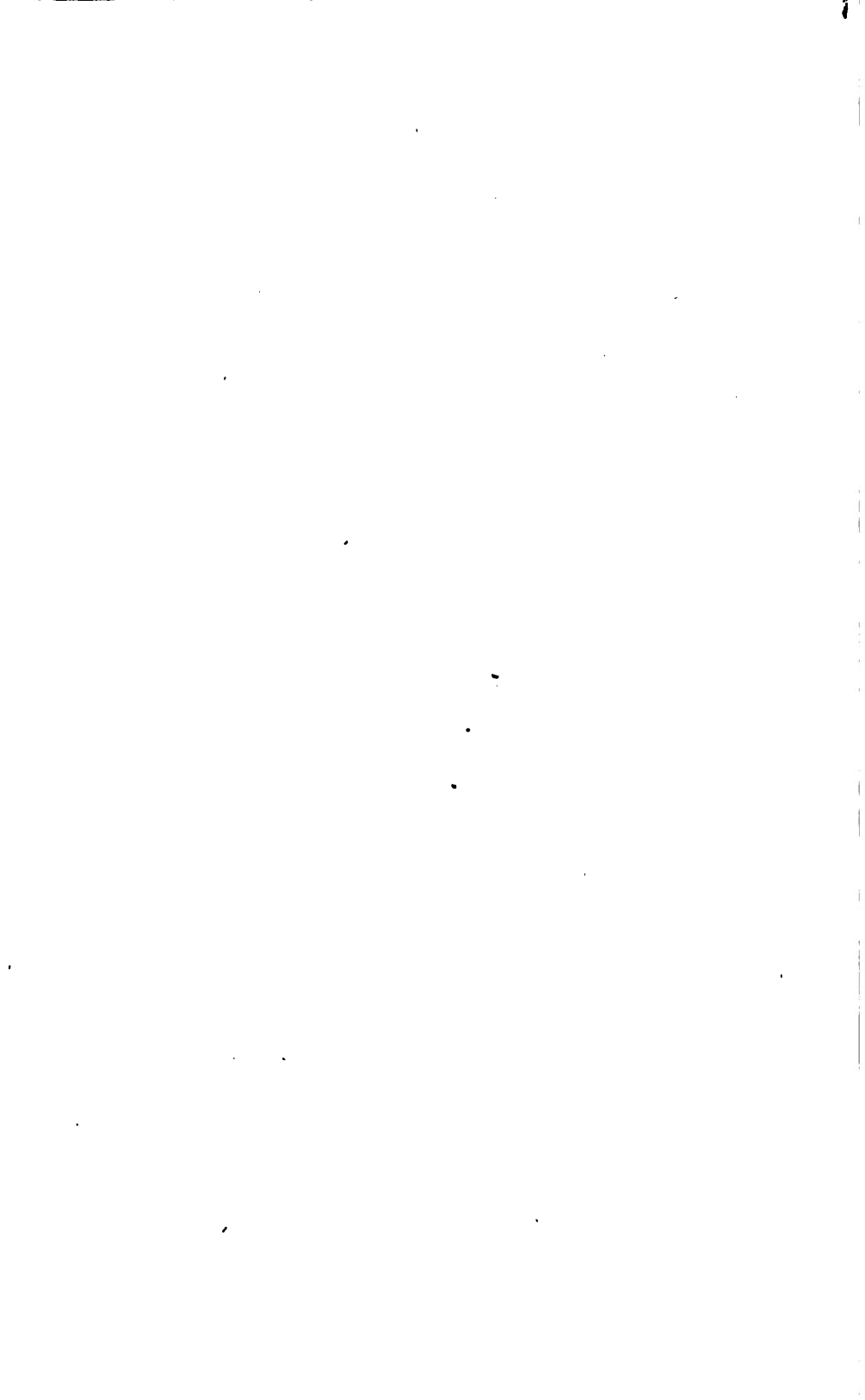






**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**TROUBLES AND MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS**  
**IN**  
**SCOTLAND.**





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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
TROUBLES  
AND  
MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS  
IN  
SCOTLAND,  
IN  
THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

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By JOHN SPALDING,  
COMMISSARY CLERK, ABERDEEN.

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A NEW EDITION.

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MDCCCXXIX.



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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IN contemplating the history of past ages, the mind of man has uniformly felt an interest proportionate to the magnitude and importance of the subjects narrated. Whether the object of our studies be the records of foreign nations, famed for gallantry and high achievements, or the annals of a distant people, self-degraded and ruined by indolence and vice, we feel not that keenness of pity or that amount of sympathy which would be ours, if local associations and ties created an interest in our hearts.

Who, that has read the Histories of Greece and Rome with any degree of attention, but must have glowed with admiration of their patriotic struggles for freedom, and sorrowed when, prostrated by vice, and enervated by luxury, these nations became the prey of intestine faction and hostile inroad. Emotions of admiration, mingled with astonishment, are excited, while we read of their deeds of daring and devotion for their country,—emotions of no common

character, and no brief duration. But the history of our own country carries along with it a charm ever attractive, and calls up associations which lie dormant while we peruse the history of any other country. Though our opinions in politics and religion should differ from those entertained by our ancestors, this difference, instead of neutralizing the effects of locality, but stimulates our research, and heightens our curiosity.

The portion of Scottish History here presented to the public embraces a period of twenty-two years, and gives in detail a mass of interesting local information, connected with a time when the lives and liberties of our forefathers were in most imminent danger.

The Publisher is aware, that a difference of opinion exists regarding the sentiments of the Author, and the spirit which he has manifested in this Work. This can be a matter of little moment to the unbiased; for the period which this Work regards, was one when our forefathers were struggling for liberty of thought; and that different sides should have been adopted, and different views of the same subject presented, was naturally to be expected. We cannot, then, quarrel with one who, an eye-witness of the facts which he relates, occasionally gives his own

opinions: but by hearing both sides we obtain the truth.

This Edition is printed from the copy, in two volumes, published in 1792, from the MS. of Mr. SPALDING, the title page of which runs thus:—*The History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland, from the Year 1624 to 1645; containing an interesting Narrative of the Proceedings of the great Families in Scotland during that Period; Rising of the Highland Clans in Arms; Origin and Progress of the Covenanters, their Battles, Sieges, &c.; and many other remarkable Particulars of the Troubles in the North of Scotland, not contained in any other History.*

This Edition is printed in the same style as the original. It was deemed more proper to retain the old orthography. Towards the latter part of the former Edition, an attempt had been made to modernize some of the words, but, for the sake of uniformity, these have been altered to correspond with the orthography used in the first part; and a Glossary, explanatory of the words and terms used, and an Index, carefully collected, have been subjoined.

The Publisher acknowledges, with gratitude, the patronage of those Noblemen and Gentlemen who have encouraged the Work, by adding their names



to the Subscription List. He feels sorry that the publication has been delayed longer than was anticipated; and begs to assure them, that it arose from circumstances which he could not control. He now commends this Work to the patronage of the public; assured that few can read it without being interested, and all may read it with profit.

36, St. Nicholas Street, March, 1829.

# HISTORY

OF THE

## TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND.

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ANNO 1624.

**AFTER** the death and burial of Angus M'Intosh of Auld Tirlie, alias Angus Williamson, (which was a little before Whitsunday in the year of God 1624,) his kin and friends of Clanchattan, whom he in his time held under rule and in peace by his power and policy, began to call to mind how James Earl of Murray, their master, had casten them out of their kindly possessions, whilk past memory of man, their predecessors and they had kept for small duty, but for their faithful service, and planted in their places, for payment of a greater duty, a number of strangers and feeble persons, unhabile to serve the earl their master, as they could have done, by which means those gentlemen were brought through necessity to great misery, and therewith considering their young chief, the laird of M'Intosh, was but a bairn, who (according to the common band) might not be answerable for their misdeeds; and thinking and calling to mind how oft and how humbly they had craved their kindly possessions from the said earl, but could not be heard, nor find favour, which grieved them in the highest degree; they, therefore, finding the time proper, partly through infancy of their young chief, and partly through the death of this worthy chieftain, (who by his wit and policy, held them still under awe and obedience), desperately resolve by force of arms, either to recover their own kindly possessions, or otherwise cast the samen waste, and none should labour the ground or pay any duty to the earl; and to that effect, about the said feast of Whitsunday 1624, there brake out in arms about the number of two hundred of the principal gentlemen of that race and lineage of Clanchattan, under the leading of Lachlan M'Intosh, alias Lachlan Ogle, (uncle to this now laird of M'Intosh) and Lachlan M'Intosh or Lachlan Angus-son), eldest son to the said umquhile Angus Williamson) their captains. They kepted the fields in their highland weed

upon foot, with swords, bows, arrows, targets, hagbuts, pistols, and other highland arms, and first began to rob and spuilzie the earl's tenants who laboured their possessions, of their hail goods, gear, insight plenishing, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, and cattle, and left them nothing that they could get within their bounds, syne fell in sorning throughout Murray, Stratherick, Urquhart, Ross, Sutherland, Brae of Mar, and divers other parts, taking their meat and food per force where they could not get it willingly, frae friends as well as frae their faes, yet still kept themselves from shedding of innocent blood. Thus they lived as outlaws, oppressing the country, besides the casting of the earl's land waste, and openly avowed they had taken this course to get their own possessions again, or then hold the country waking.

The earl of Murray, mightily grieved at the Clanchattan to break out in such disorder, himself being dwelling in Murray, sends shortly and brings out of Monteith and Balquidder about three hundred highlandmen armed after their own custom. This people, with the earl himself, came through Murray to Inverness in battle rank; they stayed there that night, and the earl was, with his good brother the earl of Eugie, in the castle well entertained. Thir people stayed a while in the country upon the earl's great expences, without seeing or seeking the Clanchattan; therefore the earl sent them all back the gate they came; always the earl returned frae Inverness back to Elgin, and provided another company to go against the Clanchattan; but they also did little service, and so returned without finding of the enemy first or last, albeit they made a pretext of seeking them through the country.

But the Clanchattan, nothing dismayed, became more furious and enraged, to rob and spoil every man's goods, wherever they came, whether friend or foe, to the great hurt and skaith of the king's lieges. The earl, seeing he could hardly get them suppressed by force of arms, resolves upon another course to bear them down, which was, he goes to London to king James, and humbly shews the rising of thir Clanchattan, and that he could not get them overcome and subdued without an lieutenantry in the North, which the king graciously granted to him for some few years, and to sit, cognosce, and decern upon some capital points allenarly, specially set down thereintill. The earl returns home, causes proclaim his lieutenantry, (whereat it was thought the house of Huntly was somewhat offended, thinking none should be lieutenant in the North but themselves, albeit he was his own goodson, who had gotten it, to wit, the marquis's son-in-law who had married his eldest daughter) proclaims letters of intercommuning against the Clanchattan at the head burghs of sundry shires, that none should receipt, supply, or intercommune with them, under great pains and peril. After publication of which letters, the Clanchattan's kin and friends, who had privately promised them assistance before their break-

ing out, begins now to grow cold, fearing their estates, of whom sundry was wealthy, in lands and goods, and simpliciter refused them help, receipt or supply, for fear of the laws.

The Clanchattan seeing this, by expectation begin now to repent their breaking out, and seek the earl's peace, whilk by intercession of friends was granted, provided that they should give the earl information who did receipt or supply them after publication of the letters of intercommuning, and to give up their names, and prove the same. Upon this condition the earl forgives them, and takes them by the hand, and shortly begins to hold justice courts within the burgh of Elgin. Some slight lowns, followers of the Clanchattan, were execute; but the principal outbreakers and malefactors were spared and never troubled. This justice court was fenced in the earl's own name, and in the name of the laird Innes, the laird Brodie, Mr. Samuel Falconer of Knockorth, and Mr. John Hay, commissary of Murray, his deputies, before whom was summoned all such as had given supply, receipt, or intercommuned with the Clanchattan, who durst not but compare, otherwise go to the horn; and being accused, they could not but deny: then presently was brought in before the bar, and in the honest men's faces, the Clanchattan, who had gotten supply, verified what they had gotten, and the honest men, confounded and dashed, knew not what to say or answer, were forced to come in the earl's will, whilk was not for their good; others compared and willingly confessed, trusting to get more favour at the earl's hands, but they came little speed, and lastly some stood out and denied. All who were reserved to the trial of an assize, the principal malefactors stood up in judgment, and declared what they had gotten, whether meat, money, cloathing, gun, ball, powder, lead, sword, durk, and the like commodities, and also instructed the assize in ilk particular, what they had gotten from the persons pannelled; an uncouth form of probation, where the principal malefactor proves against the receptor for his own pardon, and honest men, perhaps neither of the Clanchattan kin nor blood, punished for their good will, ignorant of the laws, and rather receipting them more for their ill than for their good. Nevertheless their innocent men, under colour of justice part, and part as they came in, were soundly fined in great sums as their estates might bear, and some above their estates were fined, and every one warded within the tolbooth of Elgin, while the least mite was paid by such as were pursued in anno 1624.

#### ANNO 1625.

King James departs this life in the month of March 1625. King Charles renews the lieutenantry, the earl goes on quickly and sharply with his justice-courts against Inverness, John

Grant of Glenmoriston, and others, who would not come in the Earl's will for receipt of the Clanchattan, and pay him sic fines as pleased him to impose. Inverness, standing to their innocence, made moyan before the council, which availed nought. Then they sent Duncan Forbes their provost to the king; John Grant went also to complain to his majesty, but still the earl, who past also to the king, set them aside and bare them down; they returned all home, and the earl fined Inverness in great sums of money, and John Grant of Glenmoriston agrees with him quietly, after he had made great travel and expence for his just defence. There was some discontentment betwixt the marquis of Huntly and his son the lord Gordon on the one part, and the said earl of Murray on the other part, touching the purchasing of this lieutenantry without their counsel and advice, they kept no secrets, nor frequents other companies. The earl by himself goes on with his lieutenantry, the marquis grudges to see the king's leiges, who were just and innocent, so abused and fined, under colour of a law, yet held him quiet and beholds all patiently. Yet some said, both they and the lord Gordon assisted some of their friends who were pursued, and made moyan secretly before the council, and thereafter before the king, which did little good, but made the earl think upon it when he found occasion, and as was thought he made the marquis to lose both the sheriffships of Aberdeen and Inverness, as ye shall hear; and in the mean time the marquis punished not blood nor oppression, but reserved all to the lieutenant, whereby the country was casten loose.

N. B.—There is nothing noted in the years of God 1626 and 1627 worthy of memorial, and therefore goes to 1628 for the notes of that year,

#### ANNO 1628.

In this year of God, John Grant of Balnadallach and his complices follow John Grant of Carroun to the wood of Abernethy, betwixt whom there fell out an hot skirmish, where the said John Grant of Carroun was cruelly slain, and — Grant of Dalvey on young Balnadallach's side, and divers others hurt on both sides, which blood lay unpunished.

And siclike about Michaelmas in the said year, the laird, thereafter lord of Banff, unhappily slew James Ogilvie, his cousin, being a proper gentleman: there was some assythment made for this slaughter, and he went peaceably.

#### ANNO 1629.

Alexander Innes, nottar public in Elgin, cruelly slew Robert

Tulloch, brother to — Tulloch of Tanoquhy, at the Panepart in Elgin, about Whitsunday 1629; he fled to Ireland, his wife and children followed, but feared punishing.

## ANNO 1630.

Upon the first of January 1630, the laird of Frendraught and his complices fell in a trouble with William Gordon of Rothemay and his complices, where the said William was unhappily slain, being a gallant gentleman, and on Frendraught's side was slain George Gordon, brother to James Gordon of Leemoir, and divers others were hurt on both sides. The marquis of Huntly, and some well-set friends settled this feud, and Frendraught ordained to pay to the lady relict of Rothemay and the bairns, fifty thousand merks in composition of the slaughter, whilk as was said was truly paid.

Upon the 27th of September 1630, the laird of Frendraught having in his company Robert Crichtoun of Candlan, and James Lesly, son to John Lesly of Pitcaple, with some other servants, the said Robert, after some speeches, shoots the said James Lesly through the arm. They were parted, and he conveyed to Pitcaple, and the other Frendraught shot out of his company.

Likeas Frendraught, upon the 5th of October, held conference with the earl of Murray in Elgin, and upon the morn he came to the Bog of Gight, where the marquis made him welcome. Pitcaple louns on about thirty horse in jack and spear (hearing of Frendraught's being in the bog), upon Thursday the 7th of October, and came to the marquis, who before his coming had discreetly directed Frendraught to confer with his lady. Pitcaple heavily complains of the hurt his son had got in Frendraught's company, and rashly avowed to be revenged before he went home. The marquis alleged Frendraught had done no wrong, and dissuaded him from any trouble. Pitcaple displeased with the marquis, suddenly went to horse, and that same day rides his own ways, leaving Frendraught behind him in the Bog, to whom the marquis revealed what conference was betwixt him and Pitcaple, and held him all that night, and would not let him go. Upon the morn, being Friday, and a night of October, the marquis caused Frendraught to breakfast lovingly and kindly; after breakfast, the marquis directs his dear son, viscount of Aboyn, with some servants, to convey Frendraught home to his own house, if Pitcaple was laid for him by the way; John Gordon, eldest son of the late slain Rothemay, happened to be in the Bog, who would also go with Aboyn; they ride on without interruption to the place of Frendraught, or sight of Pitcaple by the way. Aboyn took his leave from the laird, but upon no condition he and his lady would net suffer him to go, nor none that was with him



that night, but earnestly urged him (though against his will); to bide. They were well entertained, supped merrily, and went to bed joyfully. The viscount was laid in an bed in the Old Tower going off the hall, and standing upon a vault, wherein there was an round hole, devised of old, just under Aboyn's bed. Robert Gordon, born in Sutherland, his servitor, and English Will his page, were both laid beside him in the same chamber; the laird of Rothemay, with some servants beside him, was laid in an upper chamber just above Aboyn's chamber; and in another room above that chamber, was laid George Chalmers of Noth and George Gordon another of the viscount's servants; with them also was laid captain Rollock, then in Frendraught's own company. Thus all being at rest, about midnight, that dolorous tower took fire in so sudden and furious manner, yea and in an clap, that the noble viscount, the laird of Rothemay, English Will, Colonel Ivat, another of Aboyn's servants, and other two, being six in number, were cruelly burnt and tormented to the death without help or relief. The laird of Frendraught, his lady, and haill household, looking on, without moving or striving to deliver them from the fury of this fearful fire, as was reported. Robert Gordon, called Sutherland Robert, being in the viscount's chamber, escaped this fire with the life. George Chalmers and captain Rollock, being in the third room, escaped also this fire, and as was said, Aboyn might have saved himself also, if he would have gone out of doors, which he would not do, but suddenly ran up stairs to Rothemay's chamber, and wakened him to rise; and as he is wakening him, the timber passage and lofting of the chamber hastily takes fire, so that none of them could win down stairs again, so they turned to a window looking to the close, where they piteously cried, many time, help, help! for God's cause! The laird and the lady, with their servants, all seeing and hearing the woeful crying, made no help nor manner of helping, which they perceiving, cried oftentimes mercy at God's hands for their sins, syne clasped in other's arms, and cheerfully suffered their martyrdom. Thus died this noble viscount, of singular expectation, Rothemay a brave youth, and the rest, by this doleful fire never enough to be deplored, to the great grief and sorrow of their kin, parents, and haill common people, especially to the noble marquis, who for his good will got this reward. No man can express the colour of him and his lady, nor yet the grief of the viscount's own dear lady, when it came to her ears, which she kept to her dying day, disdaining after the company of man in her lifetime, following the love of the turtle-dove.

How soon the marquis gets word, he directs some friends to take up their ashes and burnt bones, which they could get, and as they could be kent, to put ilk one's ashes and bones in an chest, being six chests in the haill, which, with great sorrow

and care, was had to the kirk of Garntullie, and there buried. In the mean time the marquis writes to the lord Gordon, then dwelling in Inverness, of the accident. It is reported, that upon the morn after this woeful fire, the lady Frendraught, daughter to the earl of Sutherland, and near cousin to the marquis, busked in a white plaid, and riding on a small nag, having a boy leading her horse, without any more in her company, in this pitiful manner she came weeping and mourning to the Bog, desiring entry to speak with my lord, but this was refused, so she returned back to her own house the same gate she came, comfortless.

The lord Gordon, upon the receipt of the marquis's letter, came hastily to the Bog, conveyened William, with whose sister the viscount was married, and many other friends, who after serious consideration, concluded this fearful fire could not come by chance, sloth, or accident, but that it was plotted and devised of set purpose, as ye may hereafter see, whereof Frendraught, his lady, and servants and friends, one or other was upon the knowledge; so thir friends dissolves, and the marquis would not revenge himself by way of deed, but seek the laws with all diligence, whereunto he had more than reason.

Now there was a gentleman called John Meldrum, who some time served the laird of Frendraught, and got not good payment of his fee, as he alleged, whereat he was discontent. This Meldrum thereafter married with Pitcaple's sister, and the hurting of James Lesly made this grief the greater, and bred some suspicion of the raising of this fire; whereupon he, with one John Toasch, servitor to Frendraught, and an young woman called — Wood, daughter to the laird of Colpnay, all suspected persons to be either airt and part, or on the counsel of this fire, one or other of them, were apprehended and warded in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. This young gentlewoman was first accused before the lords of session, and sharply examined. She stands to her innocence, and denies all; she is therefore put into the boots, and cruelly tortured, yet confesses nothing, whereupon she is set to liberty, as an innocent, but the other two men are kept in strait ward, where I will leave them till afterwards.

Ye heard before how young Balnadallach had killed John Grant of Carroun without punishing; whereupon his uncle James Grant vowed to revenge his death, and wrought mickle displeasure to the said Balnadallach, as ye shall hear, because he could get no justice against him by the laws, for his moyae with the earl of Murray.

Ye heard before of some miscontentment betwixt the marquis of Huntly and the earl of Murray, anent purchasing the lieutenantry. In recompence of the marquis' procedure, the earl of Murray, being at court, and in good favour with the king, dealt as that his majesty should take the sheriffships of Aberdeen and

Inverness from the marquis, and give him five thousand pounds sterling for the samen. The marquis was very loth to quit these offices, purchased for singular services done to the kings of Scotland by his predecessors, yet is forced to do the samen, not standing now in such favour with this king as with his father; but it was said the earl of Murray alledged he was sic a great man, of sic friendship and power, that none could live beside him, except these sheriffships were taken frae him and his posterity, and the king gave better ear in this purpose to the earl of Murray nor to the marquis, and thir heritable offices were annexed to the crown; but the marquis would not receive the said five thousand pounds sterling, but desired his son, the lord Gordon, to take it up; but whether he got full payment or not, I cannot tell, for he was then in England. It is true, the country was not in sic obedience afterwards, as ye shall hear.

At Michaelmas, in the same year of the marquis' demission, 1630, John Johnstoun of Caskiebain by the king's commission was made sheriff principal of Aberdeen, and Sir Robert Gordon of that ilk, knight baronet, was likewise by the king's commission made sheriff principal of Inverness, and both to endure for an year. The marquis, made free of these sheriffships, resolved to look about his own affairs, and behold all, whilk bred great troubles in the land, that durst not have been enterprized if he had bruiked office, and no lieutenant had been granted to the earl of Murray, as ye have heard.

Ye heard of James Grant, how he brake out. Indeed no redress could be gotten of Balnadallach for the innocent slaughter of his brother's son, for by moyan he purchased a respite, and thereafter a remission, as was said. James Grant seeing this, turned lawless, and upon the third day of December, he with his complices, came to the town and lands of Pitchass, young Balnadallach's dwelling place, who, with about thirty persons, was within, whilk the said James Grant well enough knew, and to train him out, he sets his corn-yard on fire, and hail laigh bigging, barns, hyres, stables, wherein many horse, nolt, and sheep was burnt, and sic bestial as was not burnt they slew and destroyed; but young Balnadallach kept the house, and durst not come out and make any defence. In like manner, the said James Grant with his complices, upon the seventh day of the said month of December, past to the town and lands of Talqhyn pertaining to old Balnadallach, and burnt up and destroyed the hail bigging thereof, corns, cattle, goods, and gear, and all which they could get, and to the hills goes he.

Balnadallach, old and young, complain to the earl of Murray, lieutenant, upon this injure and oppressions, and with all the country people, still under hazard of their lives and heirship of their goods, who was unfriends to the said James Grant, cried out against the lieutenant for not punishing of thir grievous offences, searching, seeking, and taking of the said James Grant

and his complices; the earl mightily moved thereat, and in end resolves to gar one devil ding another, and to that effect agrees with Lachlan M'Intosh alias Lachlan Og, brother to the umquhile laird of M'Intosh, William M'Intosh alias M'Lachlan, son to umquhile Lachlan Angus-son, and George Dallas. These three were the principal men that broke out against the earl himself, and being reconciled as ye have heard, he now agrees with them to take the said James Grant, either quick or dead; whilk upon conditions they frankly undertook, and conveens about forty strong men of Clanchattan, well armed after their highland fashion, divides them into three several companies, and under three captains, viz. the said Lachlan Og, William M'Lachlan, and George Dallas. The earl himself refers this business to thir three captains, and upon the tenth day of the said month of December, he rides from Murray south. But thir captains used so great diligence, that upon the eighteenth day of the said month of December, they find the said James Grant in the town and lands of Auchachyll within a house, and ten men with him, and his bastard son at the head of Strathavan; they pursued the house most furiously; the said James and his men wins out and takes the flight; they follow sharply, slew four of the men, wounded himself with arrows in eleven parts of his body, and when he could do no more he was taken, and his six other men; but his bastard son wan away. Thus were they brought quickly to the place of Balnadallach, where he with his men were straitly kept; then his men were had to the tolbooth of Elgin, and warded there; himself was led to Darnway upon Yool-day, the 25th of December, where he remained till the 25th of February, 1631, that his wounds was cured, syne had into Elgin, as you shall hear. Balnadallach, old and young, with all their friends, was glad at this taking. So the earl of Murray being at Edinburgh, and hastily advertised hereof, rejoiced mightily at this vassalage done by his men, and shortly takes order with him, as you shall hear. Whilk was, he writes frae Edinburgh, and discharged the Clanchattan companies, and ordered thir three captains with some others, and his own men, tenants and servants, to convey them from Elgin to Edinburgh, whilk was done; howsoon James Grant came to Edinburgh, he was admired and looked upon as a man of great vassalage; he is received and warded in the castle of Edinburgh, and his six men were all hanged to the death; he was oftentimes accused before the counsel of diverse matters; at last he breaks ward and wan away, as ye may hereafter hear.

## ANNO 1631.

This James Grant, now able to travel, being cured of his

wounds, came frae Darnway upon the 25th of February 1631, to the burgh of Elgin, convoyed by the same men that took him; he lodged that night in the earl's own house with strait watches; upon the morn, himself was transported therefrae, and his six men out of the tolbooth, and all together was conveyed by the earl's own men, tenants and servants, according to his own written direction, to the town of Edinburgh, except the three Clanchattan captains, with some few others that convoyed him also; where he was warded, and his men hanged, as you have heard.

Ye heard before how the marquis of Huntly was curious in trying of the woeful fire of Frendraught. He resolves, by advice of his friends, to complain to the secret council, who went with his lady and virgin daughters, upon the eleventh of March, frae the Bog, by chariot, well accompanied by his friends. How soon he came to Edinburgh, he declared before the council, this fearful fire, and his irrecoverable loss, desiring their aid and assistance to try the authors of this work, for still the marquis himself had Frendraught in suspicion of this fire, that he was the forger and deviser thereof. The lords of council admired at the marquis' declaration, and all lamented his pitiful case, whilk could not be well tryed; however, after consultation, the lords send a commission to the bishops of Aberdeen and Murray, the lord Carnegie and Crouner Bruce, to go to the place of Frendraught, and there ingeniously to try how the tower took fire, whether accidentally or of purpose, or if it proceeded from fire within the house, or if fire was put in at the slits or windows by men's hands, or done by any other engine. Thir four commissioners, upon the 13th of April, conveyed at Frendraught, where the lord Gordon, the lord Ogilvie, the lord Deskford, with sundry barons and gentlemen, met them; they went in and circumspectly looked round about them, up and down, within and without, and at last all in one voice concluded, and wrote to the council, that this fire could not be raised without the house, except by force of engine of war, neither came the same by accident, negligence, or sloth, but of set purpose this fire was raised by men's hands within the vaults or chambers of said tower. After this conclusion, the commissioners and all the rest takes their leave, and all this time the marquis bade in Edinburgh till the commissioners returned with their answer, which howsoon the marquis heard, he returned home again with his suspicion more and more encreased against the laird of Frendraught.

Upon Saturday the 16th of July, the high and mighty lord Francis earl of Errol is in his own place of the bounds departed this life, and was buried within the church of Slains, upon the night, convoyed quietly with his own domestics and country friends with torch light. It was his will to have no gorgeous burial, nor to convocate his noble friends with making great

charges and expences, but to be buried quietly, and such expences as should be wared prodigally upon his burial, to give the same to the poor. This was a truly noble man, of a great and courageous spirit, who had great troubles in his time, which he stoutly and honourably still carried, and now in favour died in peace with God and man, and a loyal subject to the king, to the great grief of his kin and friends.

At Michaelmas, John Forbes of Pitaligo is sheriff of Aberdeen, and Thomas Fraser of Strichen sheriff of Inverness, by commission.

Upon the 8th day of December, John Urquhart of Craigstoun, sometime tutor of Cromarty, departed this life in his own house, and upon the 1st day of December thereafter he was buried within his own isle, in the kirk of King Edward. He left behind him a fair estate, conquest without court or session, and from a small beginning, and provided his children honestly.

John Urquhart of Lathers, his eldest lawful son, coming frae his burial towards Aberdeen, takes sickness suddenly by the way at Parcock, and upon the 11th day of the said month of December departed this life, and was buried beside his father upon the 15th day of the said month. Thus the son followed the father shortly. His death was sorrowful to many, but chiefly to sundry of his friends and country gentlemen, whom he had engaged as cautioners for him in great sums of money, who saw no relief, because he had neither heir nor executor, his son being put in fee of all by the old tutor his good-sir.

The marquis of Huntly, with his lady, and virgin daughter, was in the ploughlands in harvest, to whom came the lady Murray, their eldest daughter and visited them. After conference within the yard, they kindly drank together; syne she took her leave, and rode to Daraway. Here it is to be marked, that the earl, her husband, was at this time south, and since the fire of Frendraught she saw not her father and mother, nor did the earl himself since the purchasing his lieutenantry ever visit them, or give them any comafort since this dolorous fire, which was admired by many country people, that for any dryness was betwixt them that the earl of Murray should have been so unkind, and his lady both, in such sorrowful days. At last they became more kind, as ye shall afterwards hear.

#### ANNO 1682.

Upon the 3d day of January, 1682, the earl of Sutherland, being in Querrell wood beside Elgin, directed therefrae his led horse with his greath to the Bog, minding to lodge there all night, by the gate going south. Himself with the tutor of Duffus followed, who came to the Bog, but the marquis made him cold welcome for his good-brother the laird of Frendraught's



cause, saying he should either quit him or the marquis. The earl answered, he would prefer him to his good-brother, Fren-draught, but to quit him who had married his sister, so long as he was law-free, he could not with his honour. The marquis suddenly answered, "Then God be with you, my lord," and turned about his back. The earl shortly said the like, and came forth, syne took his leave of his lady and his daughters, but the lady urged him to stay all night, saying his chamber was prepared, but he would not, and night being fallen, he lodges in Andrew Haddentoun's at the yett-cheek, who was an ostler. Upon the morn timely he rises, and to the south goes he.

Upon Saturday the 15th of September, the earl of Angus, accompanied with his eldest son the lord Douglas, and thirty other brave-horsed gentlemen, came to the Bog, where they were made welcome, and well entertained; and upon the morn, without further ceremony, he was married at the kirk of Belly, with lady Mary Gordon, daughter to the marquis, by Mr. Robert Douglas, minister at Glenbervie, whom the earl of Angus brought with him of purpose. Their entertainment was honourable; but the earl of Murray and his lady, by reason of the coldness aforesaid, was not there, nor yet the lord Gordon, now being at the court in London.

Upon the 22d of September, the earl of Angus, with his lady, went to Darnway, and visited the earl of Murray, and his lady; they stayed that night, being Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, till ten of the clock; they had great welcome, with good chear, where Sir Thomas Randolph drank to the Black Douglas, and the Black Douglas to him, with great love and kindness. Thereafter the earl of Angus, with his lady, took their leave, and returned to the Bog, where they remained till the 27th of September, and that day took their leave, and south ride they home.

At Michaelmas, John Forbes of Pitsligo, sheriff of Aberdeen, by commission, was continued in his office till Michaelmas 1633, and right sra Thomas Fraser of Strichen, sheriff of In-verness, was continued to that day.

Ye heard of the earl of Sutherland going south. He married lady — Drummond, daughter to the earl of Perth; and upon the 2d of October, he and his lady came by the Bog, and would not go to see him; crossed the water, and breakfasted in William Stewart's, ostler, syne rode their ways.

Ye heard before how James Grant was warded in the castle of Edinburgh, many looking but he should have died; nevertheless upon Monday the 15th of October at night, he came down over the castle wall, upon tows brought to him secretly by his wife, and clearly wan away through evil attendance, and to the great grief of the lords of council, who did not lay him faster; they posted proclamations throughout all the kingdom, offering large sums to any that should bring him back again,

quick or dead, but all in vain. James Grant's wife was taken shortly thereafter at the marquis of Huntly's command, being drinking in his own gardener's house in the Bog; he writes to the council, who desired to send her in to the bishop of Aberdeen, there to abide trial before him, and the bishop of Brechin, as the council had appointed. The marquis about Martinmas sends her into Aberdeen, where she is examined upon sundry circumstances touching her husband's breaking of ward; she confessed nothing, whereupon she was set at liberty by order of the council, and she past and repast thereafter at her pleasure without interruption, and her husband shifted for himself, as ye shall hear, till that he began to kyth and break out again to trouble the land.

Upon Wednesday the 28th of November, in the afternoon, the Lord of Strathbrane, otherwise called the master of Abercorn, was married with lady Jane Gordon, the marquis' youngest daughter, within the kirk of Belly, by an Irish minister brought with him of purpose; they were honourably entertained within the Bog, and within few days departed home.

In this month of November, the earl of Murray took journey towards Edinburgh, and from that to the king, but he received some advertisements, whereupon he went to the chancellor's lodging, and in his presence laid down his patent under the great seal of his lieutenantry, and rendered the samen. It was said he prepared himself to go to the king, to get his lieutenantry renewed, but the lord Gordon being at court, crossed his design, knowing his lieutenantry to be expired, in recompence of the sheriffships taken from his father, as ye have heard before, whereat the earl of Murray had his own miscontentment.

Patrick, bishop of Aberdeen, sitting in his own chair in the Old Town, was upon the — day of — 1682, suddenly stricken in an apoplexy, and his right side clean taken away, and was forced to learn to subscribe with his left hand; he was carried in men's arms sometimes to provincial assemblies, and sometimes to sermons, and continued so while the 28th of March, anno 1685, that he departed this life, as ye shall hear, and was buried in bishop Gavin Dumbars' isle.

### ANNO 1683.

Upon Thursday the 7th of February, there began a great storm of snow, with horrible high winds, whilk was noted to be universal through all Scotland. This hideous winds was marked to be such, as the like had never been seen here in these parts, for it would overturn countrymen's houses to the ground, and some persons suddenly smo'ed within, without relief. It also threw down the stately crown bigged of curious eslar work,

off the steeple of the King's College of Old Aberdeen, whilk was thereafter re-edified and built up, little inferior to the first.

This outrageous storm stopped the ordinary course of ebbing and flowing on sundry waters, by the space of 24 hours, such as the waters of Leith, Dundee, Montrose, and other parts, whilk signified great troubles to be in Scotland, as after ye shall hear over truly came to pass.

Ye heard before of the lord Gordon's being in England. Its true his father the marquis was also at court, seeking to defend his sheriffships, whilk he could not get done, and therefore returned home again, leaving his son the lord Gordon behind him to uplift the prices thereof. Now the lord Gordon returns home to Scotland about the month of February, having gotten the place to be captain or lieutenant of the French guard of Gens d'Armes. In this month of February or thereby, he lists a number of brave gentlemen to serve in the said guards, well armed and well horsed, and he has them landways to London, and from thence transported them by sea over into France. He had also with him his eldest son lord George, and his second son James Lord of Aboyn; he made a brave muster in presence of the king of France, whereat the king was well pleased, and received the lord Gordon, his bairns, and soldiers, graciously. Shortly after his lady and eldest daughter, lady Ann, came first to London, and frae that to her husband, where she was made welcome, and staid till they came home together.

Upon Saturday the 15th of June, king Charles came to Edinburgh from London. He had the duke of Lennox, the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Morton, and divers others of the Scots, and sundry English lords, accompanied with about 500 Englishmen, and officers of the household. His furniture, plate, and plenishing, was carried about with him in princely form. At the West Port his majesty had an eloquent speech, making him welcome, and the keys of the town offered him by the speaker as he entered in; and upon the south side of the same port, Alexander Clark, then provost of Edinburgh, with the baillies, all clad in red robes, well furred, and about threescore of the aldermen and counsellors, clad all in black velvet gowns, were sitting all upon seats of deals, for the purpose bigged of three degrees, frae the whilk they all raise in great humility and reverence to his majesty; and the said Alexander Clark, provost, in the name of the rest, and town of Edinburgh, made some short speech, and therewith presented to his majesty a bason all of gold, estimated at five thousand merks, wherein was shaken out of an embroidered purse a thousand golden double angels, as a token of the town of Edinburgh, their love and humble service. The king looked gladly upon the speech and gift both; but the marquis of Hamilton, master of his majesty's horse, hard beside, meddled with the gift, as due to him by virtue of his office.

Thereafter the provost went to his horse in good order, having a rich saddle with a black velvet foot mantle, with pasesments of gold, and the rest of the furniture conform, who with the baillies and counsellors on their foot, attended his majesty. As he is going up to the Upper Bow, there came a brave company of town's soldiers all clad in white sattin doublets, black velvet breeches, and silk stockings, with hats, feathers, scarfs, bands, and the rest correspondent. These gallants had dainty muskets, pikes, and gilded partisans, and such like, who guarded his majesty, having the partisans nearest to him, frae place to place, while he came to the abbey; at his entry of the port of the Upper Bow, he had a third speech; at the west end of the tolbooth, he saw the royal pedigree of the kings of Scotland, frae Fergus the first, delicately painted, and had a fourth speech; at the Mercate Cross he had a fifth speech, where his majesty's health was drunken by Bacchus on the cross, and the haill stroups thereof running over with wine in abundance. At the throne, Parnassus hill was erected curiously, all green, with birks, where nine pretty boys, representing the nine nymphs or muses, was nymph-like clad, where he had the sixth speech; after the which the speaker delivered to his majesty a book; and seventhly, he had a speech at the Nether Bow, which haill orations his majesty with great pleasure and delight, sitting on horseback, as his company did, heard pleasantly; syne rode down the Canongate to his own palace of Holy Rood House, where he staid that night. The provost with the rest returned home. Upon the morn, being Sunday the 16th of June, he heard devotion in the Chapel Royal of his own chaplain the bishop of Dumblain; went to dianer served upon his own provision, with his officers of household, guarded with his ordinary English guard, clad in his livery, having brown velvet coats side to their hough, and beneath with boards of black velvet and his majesty's arms curiously wrought in raised and imbossed work of silver and gold upon the breast and back of ilk coat; this was the ordinary weed of his majesty's foot guards.

Upon the morn, Monday, seven hours at even, his majesty came up frae the Abbey to the Castle of Edinburgh by coach, with whom was the duke of Lennox and marquis of Hamilton, and his foot guard riding round about the coach; followed sixteen other coaches, furnished with nobles and courtiers; the captain of the castle saluted his majesty coming up the gate with fifty-two shot of great ordnance; thereafter he went and supped in the castle, most magnificently served with his own officers, and with his own provision, vessels, and plate, and there staid all night.

Upon the morn, Tuesday, about ten hours in the morning, the nobility came up to the castle in their furred robes; the king had his robe royal, who in order rode from the castle

down to the abbey of Holy Rood House, and first the earl of Angus (who was made marquis of Douglas the night before) rode immediately before the king in his furied robe, carrying the crown betwixt both his hands; the duke of Lennox being on the king's right hand, and the marquis of Hamilton on his left, but before the earl of Angus rode first, the earl of Buchan carrying the sword, and the earl of Rothes the scepter, side for side. The lords, with the rest of the nobility, all richly clad in scarlet furred robes, rode upon their horses, furnished with rich saddles and foot mantles, ilk ane in their own rooms, with the king, down throw the streets to the abbey; lighted, heard sermon in the abbey kirk, taught by Mr. David Lindsay, bishop of Brechin, a prime scholar; after sermon, the king receives the communion, and some other ceremonies was used as is at the coronation of kings, and about two in the afternoon his majesty was crowned king of Scotland, upon the 18th of June, 1683. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Murray, Dunkeld, Ross, Dumblain, and Brechin served about the coronation (which was done by the said bishop of Brechin) with white rochets and white sleeves, and loops of gold, having blue silk to their foot; the bishop of Murray was made lord Elymosinar, who at the coronation threw out of his hand amongst the throng of the people within the kirk, certain coined pieces of silver stricken for that purpose, in token of joy. Now it is marked that there was a four-nooked tassil in manner of an altar, standing within the kirk, having standing thereupon two books, at least resembling clasped books, called *blind books*, with two chandlers and two wax candles, whilk were on light, and a bason wherein there was nothing; at the back of the altar (covered with tapestry) there was an rich tapestry wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought, and as thir bishops who were in service past by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee, and beck, which with their habit was noted, and bred great fear of inbringing of popery, for whilk they were all deposed, as is set down in thir papers. The archbishop of Glasgow, and remanent of the bishops there present, changed not their habit, being not in the service; but wore their black gowns without rochets, or white sleeves.

All solemnities done about this coronation, the king goes from the church into his own palace, where he stays while Thursday the 20th of June, that the haill estates came down to him, who came frae the abbey in order, and was the first day of the riding of the parliament, as ye shall hear, viz. in the first rank rode the commissioners of boroughs, ilk ane in their own places, well clad in cloaks, having on their horses black velvet foot-mantles; secondly, the commissioners for barons followed them; thirdly, the lords of the spirituality followed them; fourthly, the bishops, who rode altogether, except the bishop of Aberdeen, who was lying sick in Aberdeen, and the bishop

of Murray, who as Elymosinar rode beside the bishop of London, somewhat nearer the king; fifthly, followed the temporal lords; sixthly, followed the viscounts; seventhly, the earls followed them; eighthly, the earl of Buchan followed them, carrying the sword, and the Earl of Rothes carrying the scepter, riding side for side with other; ninthly, the marquis of Douglas carrying the crown, having on his right arm the duke of Lennox, and on his left the marquis of Hamilton; following them, then came his majesty immediately after the marquis of Douglas, riding upon a chestnut-coloured horse, having on his head a fair bunch of feathers, with a foot mantle of purple velvet, as his robe royal was, and none rode without their foot mantles, and the nobles all in red scarlet furred robes, as their use to ride in parliament is, but his majesty made choice to ride in king James the fourth's robe royal, which was of purple velvet, richly furled and laced with gold, hanging over the horse tail a great deal, which was carried up from the earth by five grooms of honour, ilk ane after another, all the way as he rode, to his highness lighting; he had also upon his head an hat, and a rod in his hand. The heraulds, pursuivants, macers, and trumpeters, followed his majesty in silence.

In this order his majesty came frae the Abbey, up the High Street, and at the Nether Bow the provost of Edinburgh came and saluted the king, and still attended him while he lighted. The causeway was raised frae the Nether Bow to the Stinking Style with stakes of timber dung in the end, on both sides, yet so that people standing without the samen, might see well enough; and that none might hinder the king's passage, there was within the rails a strong guard of the townsmen with picks, partisans, and muskets, to hold off the people, and withal the king's own English foot guard, with partisans in their hands, was still about his person. Now his majesty with the rest lighted at the said Stinking Style, where the earl of Errol, as constable of Scotland, with all humilky received him, and convoyed him through his guard to the outer door of the High Tolbooth, and the earl of Marischal as marischal of Scotland, likewise received him, and convoyed him to his tribunal, through his guard standing within the door, and set the king down. After his majesty all the rest in order followed; the marischal, the prelates, and nobles ranked after their own degree, then the earl of Errol sat down in a chair, and in another, side for side, at a four-nooked tassil set about the fore face of the parliament, and covered with green cloth.

The parliament about eleven hours was fenced, thereafter the lords of the articles was begun to choose, consisting of eight prelates, eight nobles, eight barons, and eight burgesses; how soon they were chosen, the parliament rose. About two in the afternoon his majesty went to horse, rode to the Abbey, having

the earl of Errol as constable of Scotland on his right hand, and the earl of Marischal as marischal thereof on his left hand, carrying a golden rod in his own hand, and so the haill estates in good order rode to the Abbey. There were also two princes of Germany, who came only to congratulate the king's coronation, as was said.

Upon the morn, being Friday, and the 21st of June, the king about eleven hours came from the Abbey by coach, having the captain of his guard before him, and his foot guard running still about his coach, and convoyed by many nobles, knights, and others by coach also; he comes up the street where the town of Edinburgh's guard was yet standing in arms; but continued not long after that day. The king comes frae coach, and with the lords of the articles enters the Laigh Tolbooth, where, upon consultation, they remained while two in the afternoon, syne dissolved, and his majesty upon foot returned to the Abbey, where he made his foot guard to sweat, being an able footman as was within the town.

Saturday the 22d of June, he came by coach in like manner frae the Abbey, and sat with the lords of the articles while three in the afternoon, syne returned back to the Abbey by coach, where the king of Poles' ambassador took his leave.

Sunday the 23d of June, he came frae the Abbey by coach to St. Giles' kirk, and heard John bishop of Murray teach in his rochet, which is a white linen or lawn drawn on above his coat, above the whilk his black gown was put on, and his arms through the gown sleeves, and above the gown sleeves is also white linen or lawn drawn on, shapen like a sleeve. This is the weed of archbishops and bishops, and wears no surplice, but churchmen of inferior degree, in time of service, wears the samen, which is above their cleaths, a side linen cloth over body and arms like to a sack.

The people of Edinburgh seeing the bishop teach in his rochet, which was never seen in St. Giles' kirk since the Reformation, and by him who was sometime one of their own puritan ministers, they were grieved and grudged hereat, thinking the samen smelled of popery, whilk helped to be the bishop's deposition, as after does appear.

After sermon, the town of Edinburgh gave the king the banquet, whilk in a dining room they had prepared in sumptuous and costly manner, whereby no sermon was through all the town churches; after dinner he went to coach, well convoyed back to the Abbey.

Upon Monday the 24th of June, the town of Edinburgh gave another sumptuous banquet to sundry nobles, courtiers, and court officers, with music and much merriment. After dinner, the provost, baillies, and counsellors, ilk one of them in others' hands, with bare heads, came dancing down the street, with

all sort of musick, trumpeters, and drums, but the nobles left them, went to the king, and told him their good entertainment, with joy and gladness, whereat the king was well pleased.

Upon Tuesday the 25th of June, the king heard devotion in his own Chapel Royal. Doctor William Forbes, minister at Aberdeen, taught in his black gown, without either surplice or rochet. His text was at the 27th verse of the 14th chapter of John's Gospel. The English service was said both before and after sermon, as their use was, the chaplains and novices having their surplices on, the bishop of Dumblain, as chaplain of the Chapel Royal, had his rochet and white sleeves on, but none of our Scots bishops, except he, had the like, but only black gowns.

Upon Wednesday the 26th of June, the king came by coach, convoyed in form aforesaid frae the Abbey, about ten hours, and sat with the lords of the articles while near four in the afternoon, syne returned by coach back to the Abbey.

Thursday the 27th of June, the king by coach, convoyed in form foresaid, came frae the Abbey and sat with the lords of the articles while three in the afternoon, where then all matters was conoluded, and he returned back by coach.

Upon Friday the 28th of June, the parliament was ridden again by the king, and his three estates, in manner formerly set down, except the earl of Glencairn bare the scepter which the earl of Rothes bare the first day, and siclike the earl of Suffolk rode upon the king's right hand, and another English lord on his left hand, and the marquis of Hamilton as master of the king's horse, rode directly behind him, having at his back a stately horse with his caparisons, led in a man's hand: and in this order, in their parliament red robes, they came riding from the Abbey up the gate, and lighted, syne went in altogether to the parliament house, and there ratified the hail acts made and concluded before the lords of the articles, after the same was first voiced and voted about by the lords of the parliament, and thir acts ordained to be imprinted, and so the parliament rose up the foresaid day.

The king rested upon Saturday the 29th of June, and heard devotion within the Chapel Royal on the morn, being Sunday.

Monday the 1st of July, the king dined in the Abbey, syne past to sport to recreate himself, to Linlithgow, Dumfermling, and Falkland, and came back to Bruntisland, shipped, came over the water, and safely lodged in the Abbey that night; but as he is on the water, in his own sight perished a boat following after him, having within her about 35 persons, English and Scots, his own domestic servants, and two only escaped with their lives. His majesty's silver plate and houshold stuff perished with the rest; a pitifal sight, no doubt, to the king, and the hail beholders, whereof the like was never seen, a boat to perish between Bruntisland and Leith, in a fair summer's day,



without storm of weather, being the 10th of July; but it fore-told great troubles to fall in betwixt the king and his subjects, as after does appear.

The 10th of July being Wednesday, the king staid all night in the Abbey, and Thursday and Friday. The marquis of Huntly, intending to keep this parliament, came to Kandychole, where he fell sick; but he sent his lady and lady Aboyne to complain to his majesty anent the fire of Frendraught, who took their own time as commodiously as they could, and accompanied with some other ladies in mourning-weed, pitifully told the king of the murder done by the fire of Frendraught, humbly craving at his hands justice. The king, with great patience, heard this complaint, whilk he bewailed, comforted the ladies the best he could, and promised justice; they could get no more at present, but humbly took their leave of the king, and returned to their lodgings.

The king, upon Saturday the 13th of July, minding for London, rides to Seatoun from the Abbey. He was honourably convoyed by nobles and town of Edinburgh. He staid that night at Seatoun, well entertained. Upon the morn he heard their devotion, and held his council in the afternoon, as the English custom was; and upon Monday the 15th of July, his majesty rode from Seatoun, and so farth from place to place while he came to London safe, haill, and sound; praised be God! It is said, his majesty commended our Scottish behaviour and entertainment, albeit some lords grudged with him, as ye shall hear, which bred much sorrow.

His majesty gone to London, the lady marchioness and lady Aboyne stay behind him in Edinburgh, using all the means they could, for trial of the fire of Frendraught. At last she causes put John Meldrum and John Toash, who, ye heard before, were warded in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, to trial. And first the Lords, upon the 2d and 3d days of August, began to accuse the said John Meldrum what he knew anent the said fire; and therewith examined him upon certain speeches; whilk he, as was alleged, had spoken concerning that purpose. He utterly denied all; and what he said was written. Thereafter the lords begins another day to re-examine him, could find no light; yet found him varying frae his first declaration in some circumstances, and therefore the lords shortly refers him to the trial of an assize, where he was convicted and condemned to be hanged to the death at the cross of Edinburgh; his head to be stricken frae his shoulders, and his body demeaned and quartered, and set up on exemplary places of the town; in example of others to do the like. He was executed upon the — day of August, and died without any certain and real confession, as was said, anent this doleful fire.

All this time John Toasch was kept in strait ward, yet is put to no trial, upon what reason I cannot tell; whereupon the

ladies left Edinburgh after John Meldrum's execution, and came to Kandyohyle, where the marquis was attending their coming, leaving Toasch to his trial, as ye have hereafter. The marquis with his ladies came frae Kandyohyle to Strathbogie upon the 5th of September, and from that to the Bog upon the 17th of September.

Alexander Gordon of Dunkyntie, and George Gordon his eldest son, with some servants, being at the hunts in Glenelg at the head of Strathaven, were upon the 19th of August cruelly murdered by certain highland limmars, likeas the laird and his son in their defence slew three of their kwns, but craftily they presently yerded two of them in a hole, and the third they left lying above the ground, syne went their ways, of whom triall yet could never be gotten, for all the marquis of Huntly could do, they being his own brother's son and brother's oy, whom thir limmars had killed without any known cause. Dunkyntie's second son, getting account of this woeful murder, convenes some friends suddenly, and takes up the corps of his father and brother, in two chests; the head of the third limmar they cut off, and set it upon a fork-head, whilk was carried by an horseman all the way to Elgin before the corps, and upon the 22d day of August, with great lamentation, they were both buried within the marquis' isle; and presently thereafter this limmar's head was set upon an iron stob on the end of the tol-booth of Elgin, in example of others to do the like. The marquis took the death of his lawful brother's son and brother's oy to heart, but in all his life, do his best, he could never get trial of this murder, who extended his moyan to the full thereanent; so he died without revenge. Some thought this strange, that the great marquis of Huntly should see his blood destroyed without trial or reparation.

Ye heard before how James Grant brake out of the castle of Edinburgh, and wan safely away, upon the 15th of October, 1688. He lay lurking quietly in secret places here and there through the country, so that his enemies thought they were surely quit of him. But, contrary to their expectation, in the beginning of November this year, 1688, he began to kyth in Strathaven, and pertly and avowedly travelled through the country, sometimes on Spey-side, sometimes here, sometimes there, without fear or dread. His wife being great with child, took a little house in the town of Carron, pertaining to the heirs of her husband's late slain brother's son, minding there to remain while she was delivered, and to whom her husband would usually come and go without fear; but being spied by his enemies, they await upon him, to wit, some of the forbidden name of M<sup>c</sup>Gregor, brought into the country by young Balnadallach against the said James Grant, and was about fourteen limmars in company, with a cruel bloody tyrant their captain, called Patrick Ger or M<sup>c</sup>Gregor; these wait on while they saw him

and his bastard son, and one man only, come quietly to his wife's house, and seeing him so few in company, they followed hastily, being under cloud and silence of night, lap about the house, and tried to turr it. James Grant hearing the noise, and seeing himself so beset, that he was not able to keep that little house, nor win away, resolved to keep the door with the other two as long as they might, and shot out arrows at two windows, that few did venture to come near the door, except their captain came fiercely forward to pursue the door, whilk the said James Grant perceiving, and knowing him well, presently bends an hagbutt, and shoots him through both the thighs, and to the ground falls he; his men leaves the pursuit, and louns about to lift him up again; but as they are at this work, the said James Grant, with the other two, louns frae the house and flees, leaving his wife behind him; but he is sharply pursued, and many arrows shot at him, yet he wan away safely to a bog near by with his two men. This Patrick Ger died of this shot, within short while, a notable thief, robber and briganer, oppressing the people wherever he came, and therefore they rejoiced at his death to be quit of sic a limmar, and praised the said James Grant for cutting him off. See more of him hereafter.

At Michaelmas 1633, Thomas Crombie of Kemnay was by commission made sheriff principal of Aberdeen, and Mr. Alex. M'Kenzie of Kilcowie made sheriff of Inverness in like manner, to endure for a year.

### ANNO 1634.

In the month of January 1634, thir lawless limmars of the forbidden name of M'Gregor came to the laird of Fren draught's bounds, and took or stole away 200 wedders, as was reported.

About this time Dr. William Forbes, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, was translated therefrae to the town of Edinburgh, where in February thereafter he was with great solemnity consecrated bishop of Edinburgh, and shortly thereafter transported his wife and children, goods and gear, frae Aberdeen to the said burgh: this man was the first that ever was made bishop of Edinburgh, and continued but a short while; for upon the 12th day of April, in the said year 1634, he departed this life, after taking of some physic, sitting in his own chair, suddenly; a matchless man of learning, languages, utterance, and delivery, a peerless preacher, of a grave and godly conversation, being about the age of 44 years.

Ye heard before of John Toasch: this fellow was one of Fren draught's domestic servants, and one who was in the house the time of the fire, and very suspicious to be upon the knowledge thereof; therefore the marquis resolves to put him to a trial, and to that effect he with his lady takes journey towards Edinburgh;

but by the way he fell sick in Kandychyle: the lady marchioness leaves him there, and rides forward to the said burgh; she causes sharply accuse him upon sundry suspicious points; he denies all; he is put to the torture, and called in the boots, but confesses nothing; thereafter she desires him to be put to the trial of an assize, whilk was refused, saying, none suffering torture and confessing nothing, by the laws thereafter should be put to the trial of an assize, and this was vehemently pleaded by the said John Toasch his own lawyers, whilk Frendraught had for that effect secretly employed, as was alleged. And in end he was ordained to sit at the Cross of Edinburgh, with the mitre on his head, by the space of two hours, for some speeches he had spoken against the marquis. So in June he was put to liberty; but how this guise went, ye shall hear afterwards. The lady rides back to Kandychyle, where the marquis was, and both returned home.

After the killing of Patrick Ger, as before ye have heard, there brake out a number of highland lowns, and harried the Braes of Murray; the victual dear at 16 merks the boll; yet one of thir lowns called Donald M'Kenzie, was taken by Mr. Gavin Douglas, sometime provost of Elgin, presented to the sheriff of Murray, assized, convicted, and hanged to the death upon the 28th of August, whilk afrighted the rest of the limmars frae their robbery and oppression.

In September, there came a company of highlanders, and lifted out of Frendraught's ground, a number of goods, but Frendraught himself, with some horsemen, followed sharply, and brought back his hail goods again, without straik of sword; it was vehemently suspected that the Gordons were the outhounders of these highlandmen, of very malice against Frendraught for the fire aforesaid.

At this Michaelmas, Thomas Crombie of Kemnay, continued sheriff principal of Aberdeen for an year, and Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie, sheriff principal of Inverness for that time.

In October there came down certain highlanders again to the bounds of Bainshole and Auchintender, pertaining to Frendraught, and took away threescore nolt, and eleven score sheep or thereby, without rescue or recovery back again. Shortly thereafter there came into the country about 600 highlanders, of the Clangregor, Clancameron, and others, all footmen, and openly declared they had taken part with Adam Gordon of Park, John Gordon of Invermarkie, and others, the friends of the late burnt laird of Rothemay, and would see the same revenged. Frendraught hearing this, suddenly raises two hundred foot, and an hundred and forty horse, and sought thir people out, who looking for no sic onset, lay scattered and dispersed through the country, and finding they were not able to gather suddenly together to meet them, ilk man fled and shifted for himself without more ado. Frendraught seeing thir daily

perturbations, leaves his lady in Kinmarkie, and upon the eighth of November rides south, two and himself, to Edinburgh. Thereafter brake out openly a number of the name of Gordon with their friends and followers, such as Alexander Gordon, eldest lawful son to John Gordon of Invermarkie; Captain Adam Gordon, second lawful son to Sir Adam Gordon of Park; John Gordon, of Auchenreath; William Gordon, brother to John Gordon in Auchenhandach; William Gordon, eldest lawful son to Robert Gordon of Colaichie; James Gordon, son to Peter Gordon in Sutherland; Nathaniel and George Gordon, sons to John Gordon of Ardloggie; John Gordon, son to John Gordon of Little Milne; James Gordon, son to — Gordon of Baldorney; Alex. Leith, brother to the goodman of Harthill; Robert Douglas, skinner in Elgin; Duncan Brebner and William McGillivorich, servants to the laird of Park, and divers other friends and followers; these gentlemen taking the fire of Frendraught heavily to heart, and seeing no redress thereof by law, brake out, ilk man sware to another to live and die with other, and vowed to revenge themselves upon the laird of Frendraught by way of deed. And first they began and spoilzied a number of cattle frae the ground of Frendraught, and avowedly had them to Bryack fair, and sold a cow for a dollar, and a sheep for a groat, (whilk was very cheap,) to hold siller amongst their hands; they spoilzied from Mr. Alexander Innes, minister at Rothemay, his riding horse, and took some money frae Mr. Robert Jameson, minister at Marnan Kirk, violently and masterfully, with sundry other outrages in the country. Some of thir gentlemen happened to be drinking in Tilliesoul; there they took one Thomson, directed out by Frendraught's friends as a spy to hear their discourse; they speared at him wherefore he came there; he declares he was hired to go out and wait upon them, and learn their discourse and doings, and report the same back again to Frendraught's friends who had sent him out; upon this confession, without further justice, they gar hang the poor man most cruelly upon the gallows near Strathboggie.

The go-summer was matchless fair in Murray, without winds, wet, or any storm; the corns was well winn, the garden herbs revived, July flowers and roses springing at Martinmas, whilk myself pulled; the kail shot and came to seed, and the March violets were springing and spreading as in April.

Upon the — day of — Alexander Leslie suddenly killed Adam Gordon, son to John Gordon of Curridon, whilk was never punished for all his great friendship.

Upon the 15th of November thir Gordons raised out of the ground of Frendraught, about 13 score of nolt and eight score of sheep, drove them to Strathboggie, and finding the marquis not to be dwelling there, they masterfully dang up the outer court gates, and drove in the goods within the close, brake up the stable doors, and took away two of the marquis' best horses,

and thereafter they took out of the stable of the Bog three other of his saddle horses. Upon the 23d of November they burnt up the corn yard of the Mains of Frendraught, wherein there was standing fourscore stacks.

Frendraught was forced to suffer these outrages patiently, and bides in Edinburgh, supplicating the council daily for redress, who directed out an herauld called John Malcolm, with a trumpeter called Alexander Ferguson, to summon thir misdoers at the mercat crosses of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, and Forres, to compear before the secret council the 16th of December, and also upon the 18th January thereafter, 1635, respectively to answer to thir complaints, and siclike to charge the marquis, twelve barons, twelve gentlemen, and twelve ministers, personally or at their dwelling houses, to compear before the lords the same days, to give them information of thir disorders, under great pains. The herauld in his coat of arms with sound of trumpet used thir charges, conform, at the Cross of Aberdeen and Banff, and coming frae Banff to Elgin, he meets with Captain Gordon and the rest, to whom he tells his commission, and makes intimation of his charge to the said Captain Gordon and the rest present, charging them to compear the respective days aforesaid, who, at the giving thereof, was feared for his life. The captain discreetly answered, that blood was taken (for the most part was come of the house of Rothemay) by fire most cruelly within the house of Frendraught; justice is sought, but none can be found, whilk made them desperately seek revenge upon the laird of Frendraught, his men, tenants, and servants, at their own hands, but as to the rest of the king's lieges, they would offer no injury without their own procurement. The herauld, glad of this answer, and blyth to win away with his life, took his leave, and the trumpeter sounded who was with him, to whom the captain gave five dollars of wages. The herauld had personally summoned the marquis before at the Bog, and was well entertained; thereafter he went to Elgin and Inverness, and made proclamation of his letters, syne returns home in peace after he had done all his affairs. Ye heard before, how thir broken men had driven Frendraught's goods to Strathboggie: upon the morrow thereafter, they drove them to the place of Rothemay, wherein the lady with her daughters were then dwelling; they entered the house masterfully, took the keys of the gates and doors, syne put the lady and her daughters to the gate, to a kiln barn, where they remained; but this was done with consent, as was thought. Thus having manned this strong house, they took it up royally, and caused to kill altogether threescore marts and an hundred wedders; some they salted, some they roasted, and some they eat fresh; they boasted and compelled the tenants of Frendraught to bring in meal, malt, cocks, customs, and poultry, and to produce their last acquittances and pay them bygones, syne gave their acquittances

upon such as they got, saying their acquittances were as good as the laird's. The poor tenants, for fear of their lives, obeyed their haill wills, wanting their master to defend them, who all this time was in Edinburgh, and durst not come home for fear of his life.

About this time, the laird of Banff convoyed quietly to Edinburgh out of Kinnardie to the laird of Frendraught his two sons, and left his lady still dwelling behind him in Kinnardie with her daughters. Banff was then Frendraught's great friend, but it continued not long, as ye shall hear.

Ye heard before of the death of John Urquhart of Craigstoun, and how his eldest son John Urquhart of Leathers shortly followed; his son again departs this life upon the last of November instant. Thus in three years space the goodsire, son, and oy, died. It is said this young man's father willed him to be good to Mary Innes his spouse, and to pay all his debts, because he was young and had a good estate, whereunto his goodsire had provided him; the young boy mourning past his promise so to do; then he desires the laird of Cromartie being present to be no worse tutor to his son than his father had been to him, and to help to see his debts paid, being then above forty thousand pounds, for the whilk several gentlemen in the country were heavily engaged as cautioners. The laird of Innes (whose sister was married to this John Urquhart of Leathers) and not without her consent, as was thought, gets the guiding of this young boy, and without advice of friends, shortly and quietly married him upon her own eldest daughter Elizabeth Innes. Now Leathers' creditors cry out for payment against the cautioners; the cautioners crave Craigstoun, and the laird of Innes his father-in-law, (who had also the government of his estate) for their relief. The young man was well pleased to pay his father's debt, according to his promise, albeit he was neither heir nor executor to him. Yet his goodfather, seeing he could not be compelled by law to pay his father's debt, would in noways consent thereto; there followed great outcryng against him; friends met and trysted; at last it resolved in this, the creditors compelled the cautioners to pay them completely to the hazard of the sum of their estates, and they got some relief, others little or none, which made the distressed gentlemen to pray many maledictions, which touched the young man's conscience, albeit he could not mend it. And so through melancholy, as was thought, he contracts a consuming sickness, whereof he died, leaving a son behind him called John, in the keeping of his mother, and left the laird of Innes and her to be his tutors, without advice of his own kindred, which is remarkable, considering the great care and worldly conquest of his goodsire to make up an estate to fall in the government of strangers. This youth deceased in the place of Innes, and was buried beside his father in his goodsire's isle in Kinedwart.

Ye heard before how James Grant escaped from the M'Gregors; frae that time he was not publicly seen, but lived obscurely; yet under this there lurked some poison, which was young Balnadallach, and he was quietly under trysting unknown to any, and upon the 7th of December in this year 1634 (being Sunday) Elspet Innes, spouse to the said James Grant, came under night to the gate of Pitchass, knocked, the laird sitting at supper, wan in, and rounded in his ear some few words. Shortly thereafter he rises, takes his wife's plaid about him, with his sword and target in his hand, forbidding any to follow him, and furth at the gate goes he; but his wife would not leave him, so he and she, and James Grant's wife, all three go to Balnadallach's own miln of Pitchass, where the tryst was set, and James Grant was with twelve men lying secret, without Balnadallach's knowing that he had any men. Then Grant's wife cries the watch word, whereupon he comes out of the miln himself alone, shook hands with Balnadallach, and kissed his wife, and presently there rushed furth out of the miln the aforesaid twelve men, laid hands upon him and his wife both, and treacherously took him to Culquholly, three miles frae Pitchass, where they stayed short while, syne rose up, leaving his wife behind him there; and went away, but his wife returned to Pitchass with a woe heart, as all the house had. Always they travelled in the night, in obscure ways, crossing and re-crossing burns and waters; that Balnadallach should not suspect the ways, and he is chained by the arm of a strong limmar, and locked fast together, with his face muffled up so much that he might not see. Thus they travelled; Balnadallach alleged it was foul play under trysting to have used him so. James Grant answered, he had reason, for two causes; 1st, He promised to get him a remission before Lammas last, whilk was not done; 2dly, He had dealt with the Clangregor to take his life; however the matter was, James Grant brought him to Thomas Grant's house, at Duadies, three miles frae Elgin, and in the highgate betwixt it and Spey here was their lodging taken up, and the shackles loosed frae Balnadallach, wherewith he was tormented, but had still a strong man upon ilk gardie, whether sleeping or waking. And this night he was laid in the kiln-logie, having Leonard Leslie, son-in-law to Robert Grant, brother to the said James upon the aue arm, and a strong limmar called M'Griman on the other. Thus Balnadallach sat night and day, and lay between thir limmars, not seeing daylight, nor getting out to obey nature; this kiln was first covered with divots, and syne straw, under which lay James Grant, and the rest just above Balnadallach; through want of air he was like to perish, not being used to such lodging. Upon Yool-even, James Grant goes some gate of his own, leaving Balnadallach in the kiln-logie betwixt thir two lurdanes, and his brother Robert Grant, with two other limmars to lie above the kiln-logie; the rest he took with him-



self. Balnadallach knew nothing of this departure; but lying sore tormented and oppressed with cold, hunger, and want of the kindly air, want of fire, candles, and bed cloaths, in the dead of winter, whereby he is at the point of despair. Yet the Lord seeing him at this estate, was merciful unto him; for he perceiving quietness, speaks in Latin to Leonard Leslie, lamenting his misery, craving his help and assistance to win away, and promised him rich rewards for his pains. Now albeit this Leonard Leslie was son-in-law to Robert Grant, uncle to the killed Carron, whose death James Grant was now seeking to revenge, and that Balnadallach was specially entrusted to his keeping; nevertheless, hoping for a reward, he tells him in Latin where he was, whilk Balnadallach understood to be within three miles of Elgin, three miles to Spey-side, and three miles to the place of Innes; then shews him, that the morrow, being Sunday, and the 28th of December, he should seem to rax himself, and shake loose off his arm, while Leonard, with all his strength, was to get his other arm out of M'Griman's grips, then hastily to get up and go to the door of the kiln-logie, which he should behold. Balnadallach followed his counsel, shook himself loose, and wan the kiln-logie door. Leonard first followed, and of set purpose fell to stay M'Griman from following after. Balnadallach to the gate with all the speed he could run; Leonard follows, and still is nearest him; M'Griman gives the cry, and Robert Grant and the rest gets up and follows. Balnadallach wins by speed of foot to the town of Urquhart, and Leonard with him; the rest durst not follow, and went their way, sad and sorrowful for their own safety. Thus after twenty days imprisonment in such an open part, yet most obscure, Balnadallach miraculously escapes by God's permission, and after dinner in Urquhart, he goes with his coat and trews all rent and worn, with Leonard Leslie, to the place of Innes, where the laird made him very welcome; he stayed that night, and by the morn at ten hours came to Elgin, where he stayed till Sunday; syne departed, where I shall leave him till afterwards.

Ye heard before how the marquis was charged to compear before the council, and finding himself aged and weak, and unable to travel in the dead of the year, as ye have also heard before, sends over John Gordon of Invermarkie; — Gordon of Glen-garrack; Sir Adam Gordon of Park; James Gordon of Letterfurie; James Gordon, baillie of Strathboggie; and James Gordon, ostler of Turriesoul, desiring them to obey the charge, which they had gotten, and withal to present before the lords a testimonial procured by the marquis under the hands of three ministers, declaring his inability to travel, whilk was repelled, because that it was not upon their souls and consciences; and in the mean time, the haill gentlemen themselves were warded within the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and charges direct to Tho-

mas Crombie, sheriff principal of Aberdeen, to raise the country, and take the rest of thir broken men who had not compeared, and to convoy them to the next sheriff, and so furth, frae shire to shire till they were brought before the lords. The sheriff conveens about two hundred horse, goes to Strathboggie, and through other suspected places, upon the 30th of December, but could find none within the shire of Aberdeen, but understood they were within the house of Rothemay, whilk is within the shire of Banff, which the sheriff wrote back to the council, shewing also his diligence; the lords hereupon send a commission to George Baird, sheriff principal of Banff, to go to the place of Rothemay, and through the haille shire, and take and apprehend thir broken men in manner and to the effect foresaid; which charge the sheriff obeys, and goes with about two hundred men to the place of Rothemay, finds open gates, entered the place, searched the haille rooms, but no man was there, for they had fled about two houre before the sheriff's coming, whereupon he disbanded his men, and ilk ane went to his own house; but the sheriff was no sooner gone, but they came all back to Rothemay, and held house in wonted form.

Thomas Crombie was sheriff of Aberdeen, and Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie sheriff of Inverness, for this year, 1634, and in December the said year, commissions were sent down to the Laird of Drum to be sheriff of Aberdeen, and Thomas Fraser of Strichen to be sheriff of Inverness for the year 1635. At Michaelmas, 1634, Patrick Leslie is provost of Aberdeen, and is shortly by the king's warrant discharged, and Sir Paul Menzies re-elected in his place, to Leslie's great grief, whereof the like had been seldom seen in Aberdeen, whilk was thought his own fault in seeking a place that he should have been sought to; yet he laboured so that he was thereafter made provost.

About this time, a pot of the water of Brechin called Southesk, became suddenly dry, and for a short space continued so, but bolts up again, and turns to its own course; which was thought to be an ominous token for Scotland, as it so fell out.

### ANNO 1635.

About or in the month of January, there was seen in Scotland, a great blazing star, representing the shape of a crab or cancer, having long sprains spreading from it. It was seen in Elgin and in the country of Murray, and thought by some that this star, and the drying up of the pot of Brechin, as is foretold, were prodigious signs of great troubles in Scotland, which over-truly came to pass.

In this month of January, Mr. John Spotswood, archbishop of Saint Andrew's, was made high Chancellor of Scotland, his

son being president of the college of justice, by the decease of Sir James Skeen a little before. This was thought strange, and marked by many, to see a bishop made a Chancellor, and his son president, both at one time, whilk bred great trouble, as after does appear.

Ye have before the marquis sending over his testimonial, whilk was rejected, and for his not compearance, both he and the rest who did not compear were put to the horn, and such as compeared were warded. The marquis takes this to heart, and, in a great storm, upon the 9th of January, by chariot, he comes frae Strathboggie to the Bog, having in his company his noble lady, and two of Lord Gordon's children (whilk were left by their mother when she went to France, to be brought up by their good dame,) with sundry friends, where he staid that night, Saturday, and Sunday all day. Monday, he travels to the Newtown of Culsaalmond, whilk was but eight miles, where he staid that night; Tuesday, he comes to Kintore, other eight miles, where he staid while Friday, and that day he came to Cowie, twelve miles; Saturday, he came to Fettercairn, fourteen miles, where he was stormstaid Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday; Wednesday, he went to Brechin, six miles; Thursday, he went to his own place of Melgyne, two miles frae Brechin, where he is stormstaid while the 10th of February. But this gave no content to the lords of council, and therefore they directed an herauld to charge the marquis at his own dwelling place of the Bog, and mercat cross of Banff, head burgh of the shire, to enter his person in ward within the castle of Dumbritton, albeit they certainly knew he was upon his journey, scarce able to travel, and stormstaid also, yet such was the moyan that Frendraught had at this time, that he brought the marquis of Huntly to this extremity, do his best, whilk was admired of by many in this land. The same herauld charged the lady Rothemay to render the hail keys of the place, whilk she humbly obeyed, for then no Gordons were within, and the herauld took the keys with him, after he had locked up the gates and doors, to deliver to the council, but he returned no sooner south, but as soon the Gordons came back again to Rothemay, strake up the gates and doors, and dwelt therein nobly. But in the mean time, letters of intercomuning were proclaimed against them, whereby, as they were lawless, so made friendless, and might not bide together, therefore they parted the pelf among them, closed up the gates of Rothemay, and ilk man to do for himself, and parted company upon the 23d of January. All this time the marquis is stormstaid in Melgyne, old and unable to travel in so great a storm, which began in January and continued to the 6th of March thereafter, whereby few were able to travel, and many ships perished on our coasts; notwithstanding of all this, Frendraught dealt so by his moyan, that the lords directed the foresaid herauld to go charge the marquis

of Huntly (in respect of his disobedience) to render the keys of his house wherein he kept his residence, upon the pain of treason; the marquis received this charge while he was stormstaid in Melgyne, who willingly obeyed, and sends word to his bailie to deliver to the said herauld, how soon he came there, the keys of Strathboggie and the Bog, whilk he received upon the 9th of February, and south goes he, and presents them before the council. The marquis thought very uncouth of this sharp and severe dealing, and therefore without fear of the storm or peril of his life, leaves Melgyne upon the 10th or 12th of February, and with his lady, was carried in a coach born upon long trees upon men's arms, because men might not travel in respect of the great storm and deepness of the way, and thus with his company comes to Dundee, and so forth to Edinburgh, upon the — day of February. He compears before the council, and upon his compearance he is released from the horn; thereafter the lords demand whether he was art or part, or on the counsel, or hounder-out of thir gentlemen of the name of Gordon, to do such open oppressions and injuries as they did daily? The marquis denied that he was privy to such courses, nor was it agreeable with his honour to revenge his just cause upon killing of beasts or burning of corns. Then they urged him, as chief, to bring in thir lawless people to the council. He answered, he was not sheriff, nor had he authority; that he was now become old, feeble, and weak, to bring in such people, descended of a stock by themselves, who were seeking revenge of their blood; nor would be consulted nor ruled by him; but if his son were in the country (who is now in France), he were more able for such business than he. The lords heard him, but said he should have commission to apprehend thir broken men, or put them out of the kingdom, and not to receipt them within his bounds, as also to report his diligence before the 6th of June next to the council. He was ordained also to set caution to Frendraught, that he, his men, tenants, and servants, should be harmless and skaithless in their bodies, goods, and gear, of him, his men, tenants, and servants, and of thir broken men, is as far as he could stop or let, otherwise than by order of law and justice, under the pain of an hundred thousand pounds; as also to pay to Frendraught such cost and skaith as he should sustain by them frae the 6th day of April next to come, and in all time coming. This being done, the marquis got back his keys, whilk he took with the burthen foresaid, and could not mend himself. Such and so great was Frendraught's moyan against him at this time; and siclike Sir Adam Gordon of Park, James Gordon of Letterfurie, and the rest that were warded, as ye have heard before, were put to liberty upon condition and caution that they should compear before the council upon the 17th day of June thereafter. It is said the earl of Murray came kindly now to the marquis, and did him all the favour he

could, who had not spoken together a certain time before. The marquis writes home to his baillies, that none of his bounds should receipt any of thir broken men, whilk made them highly offended; shot pistols at Robert Gordon, baillie of the Enzie-house, syne went their way.

Upon the 10th of March, the Clangregor took ane Donald Cumming in Glenriness, who was with James Grant at the slaughter of Patrick Ger, and in the same place where he was shot, cruelly slew him with durks. They also upon the 18th of March slew Findlay M'Griman, a follower of Carroun's, and who was the instrument of his death, for Carroun maintained him against Balnadallach, as was said, and he, well worthy of death as a great limmar, was thus cut off. Thir lawless M'Gregors, under colour of seeking James Grant, oppress the country up and down, sorning and taking their meat, deflowering virgins and men's wives wherever they went.

The laird of Frendraught is not sitting idle; he purchases frae the council a commission directed to George Baird of Achmedden, sheriff principal of Banff, to take the lady Rothemay and man the place, who did so, and convoyed her to the sheriff of Aberdeen, who convoyed her to the next shire, and so frae shire to shire, while she was brought to Edinburgh; the sheriff of Banff set in the place twenty men to keep the same, who were sustained upon the lady's charges. She is brought before the council and accused for receipting thir broken men; she denied the same, saying, they took in her house per force, and caused herself and her bairns to dwell in the kiln-barn. Nevertheless, in the month of — she is warded, and in July thereafter she is removed from close ward, and got liberty to walk up and down the town, upon setting caution that she should not go without the ports during the council's will. Thus is this doleful lady used, who had her husband slain and son burnt.

About this time, the lord Balmerinloch is put to the trial of an assise, and convicted of certain capital points. The judge continues his doom while he writes to the king, who most graciously remitted him his life, ordaining him to be confined within six miles of his dwelling of Balmerinloch during his lifetime; therefore he got full liberty, to the king's great grief for this his goodness.

The M'Gregors oppress the lands of Balveny, the laird sends for a commission, and in April he sends out his eldest son with a company, who chased them and put them all to flight, whilk the Clangregor forgot not, as ye shall hear.

Ye heard of the Marquis of Huntly staying in Edinburgh. Upon the 16th of May, he and his lady with two oyes comes home to Strathboggie; upon the morn he holds a court, and sends forth his son Adam, and James Gordon of Letterfurie to go seek and apprehend thir lawless men of his name and their followers. Whereupon James Gordon called the soldier, and

John Gordon son to Littlehiln, John Gordon of Drumdclchy, and James Gordon son to Balarmy, fled, shipped at Cowsie over to Ross, to Caithness, and frae that forth of the kingdom, so ilk one of the rest fled and left the country. This being done, the marquis with his lady and the rest came upon the 17th of June to the Bog. The laird of Frendraught biding still in Edinburgh frae November 1634 to this time, and hearing of the marquis' procedure, and that he had set caution, returns frae Edinburgh to his own house, in the month of May, thinking to live more peaceably than before.

James Gordon of Letterfurie went to Edinburgh and reported the marquis' diligence anent thir broken men, and had over the heads of some lowna, whilk the marquis caused execute for their odious faults, whereof the lords thought much good, and the said James Gordon for himself offered his person to enter in ward, comform to the last act; but upon finding of new caution, he gat liberty to return home again: yet they resolved to have the marquis himself to give account of his diligence before the council.

In the month of June, there was seen in the river of Don a monster having a head like to a great mastiff dog, and hand, arms, and paps like a man, and the paps seemed to be white; it had hair on the head, and its hinder parts was seen sometimes above the water, whilk seemed clubbish, short legged and short footed, with a tail. This monster was seen body-like swimming above the water about ten hours in the morning, and continued all day visible, swimming above and beneath the bridge, without any fear. The town's people of both Aberdeens came out in great multitudes to see this monster; some threw stones, some shot guns and pistols, and the salmon fishers rowed cobbles with nets to catch it, but all in vain. It never sinked nor feared, but would duck under water, snorting and bullering, terrible to the hearers. It remained two days, and was seen no more: but it appears this monster came for no good token to noble Aberdeen, for sore was the samen oppressed with great troubles that fell in the land.

Ye heard before that young Balnadallach miraculously escaped out of the kiln-logie; he rests not till he got a commission, and takes Thomas Grant, goodman at the kiln-logie, — Grant his son, Patrick Anderson in Elchies, with two other fellows, who were the ordinary receptors of James Grant foresaid, and upon the 3d of July brought them to Elgin, presented them to the sheriff depute, who received and warded them in the tol-booth thereof: two of thir limmars wan away by the working out an hole under the door threshold, and the other three were convoyed to the sheriff of Banff, and so frae shire to shire till they were brought to Edinburgh, where Thomas Grant was hanged for receipting of James Grant, and not revealing to Bal-

nadallach's friends where he was. The other two were banished Scotland for ever.

Upon the 15th day of July, the marquis (having gotten charges to shew his diligence) takes journey frae Strathboggie to Edinburgh by chariot, declares his diligence as he was obliged, by virtue of the last act. The lords are well pleased therewith, he is ordained to set new caution for keeping the king's peace under the pain aforesaid, whilk being done, he returns frae Edinburgh to his own place of Melgyne, and there disposes the same to — Maul of Byth; the marquis had conquest thir lands himself before, and now by reason of thir troubles, sells the same again. Frae Melgyne he comes to the Bog, upon the 25th of August, well thought of by the council for putting the broken men out of the country; he agreed also with Balnadallach in Edinburgh, at the earl of Murray's desire.

Ye heard before how the Clangregor were chased by the young laird of Balveny, for the which they came to the town and lands of Avaigh pertaining to him, and violently took and carried away from three poor tenants, occupiers thereof, their hail horse, nolt, sheep, kine, and other goods, and such beasts as would not drive they cruelly killed, and left them behind lying on the ground, whilk Balveny could never get repaired.

Ye heard before how captain Gordon, and the rest of the broken men were put out of the country by the marquis. This captain Adam thought heavy, to be banished his own country, resolved to come home, reveal the truth, and do for himself; likeas he comes to Edinburgh in the month of September, and upon his revelations he gets an ample remission for himself for all bygones, and with great diligence passed through the seals; likeas in October, his peace was proclaimed at the mercat cross of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin of Murray, and was well entertained in the clerk register's own house in Edinburgh. This hasty purchased peace was admired at by many, thinking surely he had revealed such as he knew of the instigators of thir troubles, as it was true indeed.

Whereupon followed, that the marquis of Huntly was charged upon the 2d day of November by an herauld to compear before the council the first day of December, and to produce James Gordon of Letterfurie, James Gordon, baillie of Strathboggie, John Gordon of Ardelash, — Gordon of Cairnburrow; John Gordon of Invermarkie, John Gordon alias Swankie, and John Lichtoun, his domestic servants, and diverse others, as alleged hounders-out of the broken men to do the injuries formerly set down; and siclike charges are given to the hail barons and gentlemen of the name of Gordon within the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen, Banff, and Murray, to compear the foresaid day before the council, to the effect that they with the marquis should set caution, for the keeping of the king's peace: this Frea-

draught wrought also, for his better security, and as was said, the lord Gordon being in France, was charged in threescore days to set caution in like manner; and upon the back of this followed other charges against the marquis, that he should compear the day foresaid before the council, and answer for the alleged receipting, supplying, and intercommuning with the broken men after the publication of the letters thereof. These charges coming so thick upon the marquis, still by moyan of the laird of Frendraught, he set himself to obey, and in the dead of the year, cold, tempestuous, and stormy weather, he and his lady, by chariot, went to Edinburgh, compeared before the council, with James Gordon of Letterfurie, and John Gordon, called Swankie, his page, for no more compeared at this day of all the rest. The marquis was there confronted face to face with captain Adam Gordon, anent the wrongs done to Frendraught. Howsoever the matter was, the marquis came discontented frae the council-house; the chancellor had him to dinner, and after they had dined, the chancellor in his own house, commanded him to enter his person in ward within the castle of Edinburgh, together with the said James Gordon and John Gordon, and kept in close prison, not seeing day-light, but served with candle-light. The lords refused to let the lady marchionness go to the castle with her husband, unless she would ward also, and with great entreaty had the favour to Yool with him, but to stay no longer. The marquis' page got liberty to go out of the tolbooth and bide beside his master in the castle, but Letterfurie staid fourteen days in close ward, to his great grief, but at last he was removed to another chamber, where he had day-light and open windows. The laird of Frendraught rode from Kinnardie, and kepted the council day. Donald Farquharson being charged with the rest, and having set caution under the pain of one thousand pound, fled; but his brother who was cautioner was warded, and paid his fine before he wan his liberty.

Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, and Thomas Fraser of Strichen were continued sheriffs of Aberdeen and Inverness for another year.

Patrick Forbes of Corae, bishop of Aberdeen, departed this life in his own palace, upon the 28th of March, in the year of God 1638, and was buried in bishop Gavin Dumber's isle.

Ye heard before how Balnadallach took some of James Grant's men: he purchased also a commiasion against himself and his followers, who, in December, slew a man called M'Bean, servitor to the said James, with another innocent man in his company, which the said James beheld patiently, and lay quiet while he brake out, as ye shall hear.



## ANNO 1636.

Ye heard before how sir Paul Menzies was chosen provost of Aberdeen, in place of the deposed Patrick Leslie; it was thought the lords of the council were not well content. However, according to the form there was no election made at Michaelmas, but there was a leet sent to the council by the council of Aberdeen, out of whilk Mr. Alexander Jaffray was chosen provost of Aberdeen for a year, in January this year. Many thought little both of the man and the election, not being of the old blood of the town, but the oy of a baxter, and therefore was set down in the provost's desk to sermon, with a baken pye before him. This was done several times, but he miskenned all, and never quarrelled the samen.

Upon the 11th of February, the dollars at 58s. the piece, were cried down at the mercat cross of Edinburgh to 56s.

In February, there was brought to Edinburgh eight of Gilderoy's followers, who were notorious limmars, and did great oppressions in the lands of Corse, Craigievar, and diverse other parts in the country, under pretext of seeking of James Grant for killing of Patrick Ger. The limmars were taken by the Steuarts of Athol, by persuasion and advice of the laird of Craigievar and Corse, whereof there were seven hanged altogether at the cross of Edinburgh, and their heads cut off, and set up in exemplary places; the eighth man got his life, because it was proven he was drawn to this service against his will. Gilderoy seeing these his men taken and hanged, went and burnt up some of the Steuarts' houses in Athol, in recompence of this injury.

All this while, James Grant lies quiet since Balnadallach's escape out of the kiln-logie. At last, upon the 5th of April, he sought Thomas Grant, brother to Patrick Grant of Culquhoche, friends to Balnadallach, and missing the said Thomas at his dwelling-house, he killed sixteen head of his nolt under night: thereafter they found the said Thomas Grant, with his bastard brother, lying in their naked beds in a friend's house near by, whom the said James commanded to rise, syne took them out of the house, and cruelly slew them both. It was said Thomas Grant had gotten money from the earl of Murray, to seek out the said James, and take his life, for the whilk it cost him his life, as said is. After the doing of this wicked deed, the said James Grant came with four and himself, to the ground of Strathboggie, upon the 10th of April, and by chance came to the hangman's house, and craved some meat, but he knew not what house it was; the hangman not knowing what they were, was feared, and suddenly went and told James Gordon, baillie of Strathboggie, that some broken men were come to his house, whereupon he raises men on horse and foot, well armed, and

surrounds the house. James Grant keeps the door, shoots Adam Rhind dead, who came foremost to the door. The baillie seeing him fall, bides back and goes to counsel, whilk the said James espying, falls to and tirrs the house, and himself and his men stood within the walls thereof, and how soon the baillie began to pursue the house again, they shot at them with hagbutts, so thick that none durst come within shot of hagbutt. However, the baillie rides about the house and his company, where one called Anderson was shot dead, and another sore hurt, whilk the baillie perceiving, resolved he could not keep this little house long, it being now about three afternoon, but of necessity come soon out, and therefore would bide his outcoming, but frae the night fell, James Grant, with his brother, wan clear away, for all the multitude of people was waiting upon him about the house; but his bastard son, and other two with him, were taken, and had to Edinburgh, and there hanged.

Ye heard before how the marquis was warded. He makes moyan to be removed out of the castle of Edinburgh, to remain in his lady's lodgings in the Canongate, and to pass and repass about the same, within two miles, during the king's pleasure. Letterfurie was likewise set at liberty upon finding of caution to compear before the lords upon the next citation, and Swankie the marquis' page came out with himself frae the castle, whilk was done in March.

In the month of June thereafter, the lord Traquair came down frae the court, high treasurer of Scotland. He brought also a letter frae the king to the council, commending them for administration of justice: he willed them to set the marquis, his page, and Letterfurie, at liberty, since he understood them to be innocent; albeit Frendraught had gotten wrong, and to take caution of Letterfurie to compear upon the next citations, and that the council would see all controversies submitted, betwixt the marquis and Frendraught, to certain friends, and in case of variance among them, the king to elect out of the same friends so many as pleased him for settling of all matters. The council, at the king's command, set them at liberty, and labours to get all matters submitted, whilk the marquis would never hear of, but disdained the same simpliciter. However, Frendraught crossed the marquis every way mightily, and, as was said, obtained a decreet against him for two hundred thousand merks, for the skaith he had sustained in thir troubles, and another decreet for one hundred thousand pounds for spoilziation of the lands of Dumblate and parish thereof, likeas the lords decerned him to give Frendraught a new tack of the said teinds, wherewith his son the lord Gordon was charged, as afterwards does appear.

The marquis finding himself become weaker and weaker, desired to be at home, and upon the —— of June was carried from his lodging in the Canongate, in a wand bed within his

chariot (his lady still with him) to Dundee, and is lodged in Robert Murray's house in the town. But now his hour is come; further he might not go; his sickness increases more and more; he declares his mind to his lady, and such friends as he had; then recommends his soul to God; and upon the 13th of June departed this life a Roman catholic, being about the age of threescore and fourteen years, to the great grief of his friends and lady, who had lived with him many years, both in prosperity and adversity.

This marquis was of a great spirit, for in time of trouble he was of invincible courage, and boldly bare down all his enemies; he was never inclined to war himself, but by the pride and influence of his kin, was diverse times drawn into troubles, whilk he did bear through valiantly. He loved not to be in the law contending against any man, but loved rest and quietness with all his heart, and in time of peace he lived moderately and temperately in his diet, and fully set to building and planting of all curious devices; a good neighbour in his marches—disposed rather to give than take a foot of ground wrongously; he was heard to say he never drew sword in his own quarrel; in his youth, a prodigal spender; in his old age, more wise and worldly, yet never counted for cost in matters of credit and honour; a great householder; a terror to his enemies, whom he ever with his prideful kin held under subjection and obedience; just in all his bargains, and never heard for his true debt; he was mightily envied by the kirk for his religion, and by others for his greatness, and had thereby much trouble; his master king James loved him dearly, and he was a good and loyal subject unto him during the king's lifetime, but now at last in his latter days, by means of Frendraught, he is so persecuted by the laws, (which he ay studied to hold in due reverence,) that he is compelled to travel without pity so often to Edinburgh, and now end his days out of his own house, without trial of the fire of Frendraught, whilk doubtless was an help to his death; the lord Gordon his eldest son, with his lady and two sons, and his daughter lady Ann, being at this time in France.

The marquis' friends convene in mourning weed, and upon the 25th of June lift his corps frae Dundee, his chest covered with a black taffeta, and in a horse litter is brought to the chapel of Strathboggie; his lady still with the corps till he was brought there; syne with a woeful heart she went to the Bog.

Frendraught hearing of the marquis' death, incontinent charges Letterfurie to compear before the justice the 29th of July; the gentleman rode over before the day, meaned himself to the lords of council, who continued the diet, and ordained the justice to take caution for his compearance upon fifteen days' citation. Thus Letterfurie returned home safe and sound.

Upon Friday the 26th of August, some friends lifted the marquis' corps upon a litter frae the chapel of Strathboggie to

the kirk of Belly, and upon the morn at night is likewise carried therefrae to his own lodging in Elgin, where they were kept, and upon the 30th day of August, his corps were lifted therefrae, having above the coffin a rich mortcloth of black velvet, whereon was wrought two white crosses; he had torch lights in great number carried by friends and gentlemen; the marquis' son Adam was at his head, the earl of Murray on the right spaik, the earl of Seaforth on the left, the earl of Sutherland on the third, and sir Robert Gordon on the fourth spaik. Besides thir nobles, many barons and gentlemen was there, having above three hundred lighted torches. He is carried to the east kirk stile of the college kirk, in at the south kirk door, buried in his own isle with much mourning and lamentation; the like form of burial with torch light was seldom seen here before.

Gilderoy, and five other limmars, were taken and had to Edinburgh, and all hanged upon the — day of July.

Upon the 23d of June, Alexander Dunbar of Kilbyack, and his accomplices, slew Robert and Ninian Dumbars, and hurt James Dunbar, all three brethren in Forres, and wan away without reparation. It is said that their sister with a timber stoop slew one called Mercier, wife to Alexander Dunbar of Braks, who was at the slaughter of her brethren, and she and they were all buried together in the kirk of Alves. Thir slain gentlemen were sons to Umquhile Alexander Dunbar of Hemp-rigs, and all friends together.

Upon the 16th day of September, the rix dollars were cried down in Edinburgh, frae 56s. to 54s. and the dog dollars frae 46s. to 44s. but are cried up again in anno 1645.

Upon the 17th of September, John Ross, for a light cause, murdered a chapman called David Leg, upon the Stane Cross-hill at Elgin: he was taken and headed, and his right hand set upon a stob in the same place where he was slain. It is said that how soon captain Adam Gordon heard of the marquis' death, he went out of the kingdom.

At Michaelmas, sir Alexander Irvine of Drum continued sheriff principal of Aberdeen for a year, and Mr. William Davidson purchased a commission frae the council to be sheriff depute during his lifetime, and the court fenced in his name with the principal sheriffs thereof; the like was never seen here. Thomas Fraser of Strichen continued sheriff of Inverness for a year.

In October, George, the now marquis of Huntly, his lady, two sons, and lady Ann, and their servants, frae France came to England, and therefrae to Scotland; they left behind them two children, and upon the 23d of June, 1637, came to Strathboggie.

In the month of December, 1636, William, earl of Errol, departed this life in the Place of Errol, and his lady shortly followed, leaving an only child called Gilbert, with a distressed estate.

## ANNO 1637.

Upon the 13th of March, Alexander Gordon of Dunkintie rashly slew by a shot Oliver Spence, without any just cause; he disposed of his estate, and passed out of the kingdom.

Upon the — day of April the laird of Grant, warded in Edinburgh for not following the Clangregor, is thereafter put to liberty, and upon the foresaid day departed this life in Edinburgh in his own lodging.

Upon the 19th of July the earl of Murray came from Darnway to the Bog, and welcomed home his good-brother (then in the Bog), his lady and bairns, from France; they were blyth and merry that night with the old lady marchioness, and upon the morn the earl took his leave, and returned home to Darnway.

Ye have before heard of our parliament. Some of our nobles, it is true, such as the earl of Rothes, the Earl of Cassilis, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Traquair, the lord Loudoun, the lord Lindsay, the lord Balmerinoch, the lord Couper, the lord Lorne, not without advice of the marquis of Hamilton and diverse others, took offence at his majesty's zealous and godly government of this land, both in church and policy; and first, they call to mind the great danger lord Balmerinoch was of his life, sought earnestly by the bishops, after he was convicted for his treasonable writings, although the king graciously remitted him; yet this part touching the bishops could they not forget, fearing they were counselling the king to draw in the kirk lands to the crown, and to make up abbots and priors again, to the strengthening of the king, and overthrow of the nobility, who had the most part of their living off kirk lands. 2d, They had great fear, who were lords of erections, at his majesty's general revocation in his first parliament, ordinary for kings to do frae time to time, albeit they received no prejudice thereby. 3dly, For granting in the same parliament a commission of surrenders of superiorities and teinds, granted for helping of the ministry, and relief of the laity living under the bondage of the lords of erections or laick patrons; of this act of parliament they were under great fear, albeit his majesty's intention was singularly good, and much to be praised. 4thly, It pleased his majesty, for his own reasons, not to confer honours upon some persons who craved the same, such as a baron to be made a lord, and a lord a earl, or some to be made knights, whereat there was much grudging in their hearts, and strife to clip his majesty's wings in royal government both in state and kirk, and so craftily and quietly they try the hearts of the nobles, barons, church and gentry of England, how they were set; and found them of the same humour that themselves were of, at the least a great number of all estates.

Whereupon followed a clandestine band drawn up, and subscribed secretly betwixt the malcontents, or rather malignants, of Scotland and England; that each one should concur and assist others while they got their wills both in Church and policy, and so to bring both kingdoms under one reformed religion, and to that effect to root out the bishops of both kingdoms, whereby his majesty should loose one of his three estates; and likewise that they should draw the king to dispense with diverse points of his royal prerogative, in such degree as he should not have arbitrary government, as all his predecessors ever had, conform to the established laws of both kingdoms.

The king and bishops are still ignorant of this treasonable plot, and goes on; the prelates getting their wills frae the king, backed by his authority, by means of the archbishop of Canterbury, who was oft with the king, stoutly resolving, what the king did demand none durst disobey; but herein were they mightily deceived, as hereafter does appear. The clandestine band thus past, our nobles lying quiet while they fand occasion to break the ice, and begin the bargain, as was concluded. Now it fell out at the parish kirk of — within the diocese of Galloway, the communion was given, on a Sunday, to the people on their knees, where — Gordon, one of the tutors to the Viscount of Kenmure, sometime laird of Lochinvar, happened to be, and boldly cried out, it was plain idolatry to take the communion kneeling (set on of purpose by the lord of Lorne, another of the viscount's tutors, as was said) the minister and people were astonished at this speech. However the bishop of Galloway, named Mr. Thomas Sydsersf, by virtue of the book of canons, caused take the gentleman, put him to trial, and for his fault wards and confines him within the burgh of Montrose by the space of six weeks. At last the lord Lorne settled the matter, and caused offer the bishop five hundred merks of fine, not looking that he should take up the samen; but the bishop without ceremony took the money, whereat the lord of Lorne took offence, and thereafter, being both sitting at the council, they fell in some words about the uptaking of the fine, where the bishop in plain terms gave him the lie. Lorne said this lie was given to the lords, not to him, and beheld him; but this made the matter worse and worse, and was the beginning of their overthrow plotted before: the lords of council were highly offended at the bishop's miscarriage in their presence also.

The lord of Lorne convenes the foresaid earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Glencairn, with the earl of Traquair, a great enemy to the bishops, the lords Lindsay, Loudoun, Balmerinoch, Couper, and diverse others, of whom the marquis of Hamilton was one, together with a menzie of miscontented puritans, of whom Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine, and Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Pit-

sligo, were the ringleaders. They had a privy meeting, and begin to regret their dangerous estate with the pride and avarice of the prelates, seeking to over-rule the hail kingdom; for the archbishop of Saint Andrew's was high chancellor of Scotland, his son president of the college of justice; that the rest of the bishops were lords of the counsil, lords of exchequer, lords of high commission, and now lately procuring the book of canons that the bishop should be judge in his own diocese: besides all this, their inbringing of innovations within the church, such as rochets worn by prelates in time of service at diverse churches, the book of ordination, the book of common prayer, already put in practice in diverse countries, and book of canons; without consent of a general assembly all this is wrought: attour, they are of intolerable greediness, seeking to reduce noblemen's rights, upon slight reasons, with a number of such faults, laying the blame hereof altogether upon the king, for giving them such way; and after much resolving they conclude to see a reformation shortly, and to that effect draws in a great number of the nobility quietly to their opinion, and only waited a time to begin, as was concluded in the clandestine band, whilk shortly fell out thus:

Upon Sunday the —— day of July, Doctor Hanna began to read the Book of Common Prayer in Saint Giles' kirk of Edinburgh; the nobles being for seeing of the novelty, never heard before since the reformation, devise a number of rascally serving-women to throw stones at the reader, and perturb the kirk, whilk they did vehemently. The magistrates being in the church, (no doubt upon the counsel of this disorder) commanded their officers to hurl thir rascals to the kirk door and lock them out, but then they became more furious and mad, (as they were directed) crying and shouting, saying, Popery was now brought in amongst them; dang at the doors and brake the glass windows with stones, with such noise that there was no more reading. The bishop of Edinburgh, called Mr. David Lindsay, coming to preach, hearing of this tumult, came nevertheless to preach in Saint Giles' kirk, and did preach there without inquietation. Sermon ended, and he going out of the kirk door, thir rascall women cryed out against bishops, ready to stone him to the death; he being a corpulent man, was hastily put into the earl of Roxburgh's coach, standing hard beside, and was carried to his lodging; the same rascals still following him, and throwing stones at the coach, so that he escaped narrowly with his life: the like perturbation the samen Sunday was at the Gray Friar Kirk. Here you may see they began at religion as the ground of their quarrel, whereas their intention was only bent against the king's majesty and his royal prerogative; and conform to the clandestine band, begins the disorder in Scotland. The provoost and baillies of Edinburgh, to shew their diligence, upon the morrow causes ward some of thir women, and

by proclamation forbids the like perturbations, but no more punishment followed, albeit his majesty wrote down to the magistrates for the trying of the women who was the authors, and to punish them condignly, but they were set to liberty. After this Sunday's work the hail kirk doors in Edinburgh were locked, and no more preaching heard; the zealous partizans flockt ilk Sunday to hear devotion in Fife, syne returned to their houses, while they got preaching at home. Then they send a covenant through the country. The council then sitting in Edinburgh, remove down to the abbey in respect of thir troubles, and wrote up all that was done here to his majesty.

The lady Rothemay warded, as ye have before, by the laird of Frendraught, is now set at liberty, and comes home to her place.

Mr. Andrew Ramsay and Mr. Henry Rollock, ministers in Edinburgh, were accused for not buying and using the Common Prayer Books at the king's command. They answer, it was contrary to the orders of their kirk and their own consciences, and so would not use them. Followed another council day, where there convened about one hundred ministers, well backed with thir nobles and gentlemen, who refused using the service books, as contrary to the constitution of the kirk and worship of God, whereupon they offered public disputation, and so departed.

Upon the first Tuesday of October, the provincial synod sat down in Murray; the bishop of Murray desired the ministry to buy and use the service book, conform to the king's command, as all the rest of the bishops had done; so some bought, some took to be advised, and some refused. The bishops had caused imprint thir books, and payed for the samen, and should have gotten frae each minister four pounds for the piece.

At Michaelmas, sir John Hay, lord register, upon the king's warrant was chosen provost of Edinburgh, in place of David Aikenhead, lately deceased. The king thereafter writes down a letter to him, and the baillies and council of Edinburgh, to embrace the service books; but he narrowly escaped with his life, and was forced to go and dwell in Leith.

Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum continued sheriff-principal of Aberdeen for a year, and sir John M'Kenzie of Tarmachan was sheriff of Inverness.

The king hearing of the disorders in Edinburgh, sends down charges in October, commanding the lords of council forthwith to remove out of Edinburgh, and to sit down in Linlithgow the 1st of November, for holding session to the king's lieges, whilk was not done, to the hindering of justice; yet a council day was kept in Linlithgow in November, syne returned to Holyrood-house.

Upon the 3d of October, in the afternoon, there fell out in



Murray a great rain, dinging on night and day, without clearing up while the 13th of October; waters and burns flowed over bank and brae, corn mills and mill-houses washen down, houses, kilns, cotts, folds wherein beasts were kept, all destroyed; the corns well stacked began to moach and rot till they were casten over again;—lamentable to see, and whereof the like was never seen before; doubtless a prognostick of great troubles within this land.

About this time there were four ships lying within the harbour of Aberdeen, in one of which ships major Ker and captain Lumsden had a number of soldiers, but through a great speat of the water of Dee, occasioned by the extraordinary rain, thir haill four ships brake loose, for neither tow nor anchor could hold them, and were driven out at the water-mouth by violence of the speat, and by a south-east wind were driven to the north shore, where they struck leaks upon the sands. The soldiers sleeping carelessly in the bottom of the ship upon heather, were all a-swim, through the water that came in at the holes and leaks of the ship, to their great amazement. Then they got up with horrible crying, some escaped, others pitifully perished and drowned. About the number of fourscore and twelve soldiers were wanting, drowned, or got away. This rain to continue so long together, the like was never seen in our age, and came for no good token.

In this month of October, John Toasch, servitor to the laird of Frendraught, as ye have heard before, willingly came to the marquis and revealed what he knew of the fire of Frendraught, whereof he took notice, kept him and gave him twelve shillings daily to sustain himself upon, in the ostler's beside the place.

Ye heard before about removing the council to Linlithgow. The lords held a council day, syne returned back to the abbey, and held another council day for breaking up a packet sent them by the king. But scarcely were they well set down, when there came multitudes of puritans, ministers, gentry, and commons; the council is offended, sends out a macer to charge them to depart, but they proudly disobeyed, whereupon the council left the packet unbroken up, and went home to their houses, and likewise the ministers and others at their removing also.

In this month of November, Walter Whitefoord, bishop of Brechin, upon a Sunday, within the kirk of Brechin, using his English service, as he had often done before without impediment in that kirk, the people got up in a mad humour, detesting this sort of worship, and pursued him so sharply, that hardly he escaped out of their hands unslain, and forced for safety of his life to leave his bishoprick, and flee the kingdom.

Upon the 4th of December, on the night, there arose an high

wind, which blew down the couples standing on the college kirk of Elgin, whilk had endured many winds before, and never fell till now.

The earl of Roxburgh, lord privy seal, came down frae the king with command to the council, to convene and sit down at Linlithgow upon the 7th day of December next, whilk they did, and there brake up the king's packet, whilk was left unbroken up the last council day in the abbey.

About this time, Alexander Dumbar of Kilbyack, and his complices, returned home to Murray, with an respite for the slaughter of Robert and Ninian Dumbars, where they dwelt peaceably.

It was reported that the laird of Frendraught about this time caused charge the marquis of Huntly, to set law surety, and also charged the said John Toasch to compare before the council.

A proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, declaring it was not his majesty's mind to bring in any alteration in religion. The earl of Perth being warded in his own house since November, 1638, for seeking himself to be served heir to the earldom of Strathern, is now remitted and restored to his honours and dignities, contrary to the expectation of many.

In the month of December, Mr. Andrew Ramsay and Mr. Henry Rollock entered again to preach in Edinburgh, to whom flocked many auditors, because they had not preached since the beginning of thir troubles.

Upon St. Stephen's day, the 26th of December, (through great inundation of water) a bar or great bed of sand was wrought up and casten overthwart the mouth of the river Dee, mixed with marle-clay and stones. This fearful bar so stopped the harbour mouth, that no ship could go out or come in thereat; and at low water a man might have passed on the bed dry-footed from the north shore to the bulwark. It amazed the haill people of Aberdeen, burgh and land; they fell to with fasting, praying, mourning, weeping all day and night; then they went out with spades and shovels in great numbers, young and old, to cast down this fearful bar, but all in vain; for as fast as they threw down at low water, it gathered again at full sea. Then the people gave it over, and became heartless, thinking our sea trade and salmon fishing was like to be gone, and noble Aberdeen brought to destruction, and hastily advertised the haill coast-side south and north, with this accident, that none of their ships should approach this harbour. But while they are at the pain of despair, the Lord of his great mercy removed clean away this bar, and the water did keep its own course as before, to the great joy of the people of Aberdeen, and comfort of the people round about. But this bar came not for nought, but was a token of great troubles to fall upon both Aberdeens; and it is to be remarked, that as there was fearful signs by water, so

there was many monstrous high winds all this year—no good token more than the rest.

The king commanded the session to sit down at Stirling (seeing they could not be well used at Linlithgow) for administration of justice, but little done.

The sheriffs of Aberdeen and Inverness, viz. the laird of Drum and sir John M'Kenzie of Tarbet, only get their commissions in this month of December, and not till then.

### ANNO 1638.

In the beginning of February, and not till then, the session sits down at Stirling at the king's command in this year, 1638, but little or nothing done.

Upon the 19th of February, a proclamation was made at the cross of Stirling, making mention, that the king, out of zeal for maintenance of religion, and bearing down of superstition, had compiled a book of common prayer for the general use of his subjects, and a book of canons for the churchmen, wherein he had taken great pains. Yet some of his subjects, out of a preposterous zeal, withstand the receiving of thir books, and has their conventions and meetings thereanent, contrary to authority; and therefore his majesty, by said proclamation, discharged all such conventions, under the pain of treason. But the earl of Hume and lord Lyndsay, for themselves, and in name of the nobility, ministry, gentry, burgesses and commons, and at the said mercat cross, after reading of said proclamation, protested openly, that the samen should not draw them under the compass of law, seeing they came there to maintain the true religion as it is established, and to oppose popery, whereupon they took instrument in the hands of two notars, brought there for the purpose. But within the space of two hours, there came to Stirling of noblemen, commissioners, ministers, and gentry, about 1600 men, whereof some went to the council presently, sitting in the town, desiring them to mitigate the hardness of the proclamation, whereunto they answered, if thir people were removed out of the town and dissolved, there should be no more heard of this proclamation: whereupon they dissolve that samen night. The council seeing them removed, convene that same afternoon, viz. the chancellor, the treasurer, the lord privy seal, the earl of Wintoun, the lord Angus, the lord Down, the lord Elphinston, the lord register, the lord justice, the treasurer depute, the king's advocate, the bishops of Galloway and Brechin; and there all in one voice, contrary to their promise, ratified and approved the king's proclamation before expressed, and subscribed their ratification with their own hands, except only the king's advocate, who refused to subscribe the same, saying, they

understood not well what they were doing, to declare the nobility and body of the common people traitors in such a troublesome time. Now, while the council is at this business, the earl of Rothes having quietly stayed behind the rest in the town, and hearing somewhat of the council's proceedings, he and others that were with him, chose Arthur Erskine, son to the earl of Mar, and — Murray of Polmaise, to go to the council, and make a declinator against the bishops, saying they should not be judges in the common cause, whilk they did, and craved an act upon their declinator under the clerk's hand, whilk was refused; and therefore they took instrument in the hands of two notars hard beside, and brought it with them.

Upon the morrow, being the 21st of February, the cross of Edinburgh was covered in state, where the foresaid proclamation was also proclaimed; but some noblemen and commissioners for the ministry being convened in multitudes, protested against this proclamation as before, and took instrument in the hands of three notars. Thereafter, the nobility, ministry, and thir commissioners, remained and dwelt in Edinburgh, where they had meetings ordinarily at their pleasure, whereat the bishops were highly offended, but could not help themselves. The session sits still in Stirling, but nothing is done in these troublesome times. It was reported that the bishop of Argyll, the dean of Edinburgh, the constable of Dundee, and sir Thomas Thomson, were put off the council, and the lord Down and others put in their rooms.

The bishop of Ross having used the service book peaceably within the chantry kirk of Ross, each Sabbath day, by the space of two years, he, upon the 11th of March, being Sunday, causes (as his custom was) lay down a service book upon the reader's desk, and upon some other gentlemen's desks besides, who used the same, about the ringing of the first bell to the preaching; but before the last bell was rung, certain scholars came in pertly to the kirk, and took up thir haill service books, and carried them down to the Ness with a coal of fire, there to have burnt them altogether, but there fell out such a sudden shower, that before they could win to the Ness the coal was drowned out. The scholars seeing this, they tore them all in pieces, and threw them into the sea: the bishop hearing of this, miskenes all wisely, comes to church, and preaches wanting service-books. He had soon done with sermon, and thereafter hastily goes to horse, and spake with the bishop of Murray, syne spake with the marquis of Huntly; and, privately disguised, he rode south, and to the king goes he directly—a very busy man thought to be, in bringing in this service-books, and therefore durst not, for fear of his life, return to Scotland again.

Now the nobles who were against thir service books, and others, began to write and send commissioners to the haill burghs of Scotland, craving their concurrence to resist the

same, and likewise sent through the haill kingdom for that effect. Among the rest, the laird of Dun, the laird of Morphy, the laird of Leys, and — Carnegie of —, came to thir north parts, and to New Aberdeen, as commissioners; but they came not speed, but were rejected by Aberdeen constantly abiding by the king, which turned to their great wreck, as ye shall hear. They alleged the king gave no command to subscribe such a covenant.

These nobles sent also the earl of Sutherland, the lord Lovat, the lord Rae, and lord John, oy to this new earl of Caithness elder, as their commissioners, with the laird of Balnagowan, having also in their company Mr. James Baird, advocate in Edinburgh, with Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Pitsligo, and diverse others. They came to Inverness upon the 25th of April, and conveyed the haill township, to whom was produced a Confession of Faith, and a Covenant to be subscribed by them, and to note up their names who refused to subscribe; but the haill town, except Mr. William Clogie, minister, and some few others, subscribed willingly; then they left Inverness, and came to Forres upon the 28th of April, where the haill ministry of that presbytery, except Mr. George Cumming, parson at Dallas, subscribed. Right suae Caithness, Sutherland, Roas, Cromarty, and Nairn, had for the most part subscribed by the industry of the forenamed five commissioners. They came to Elgin upon the 30th of April, the haill people was conveyed; Mr. Andrew Cant stood up in the reader's desk, and made some little speech; thereafter the provost, baillies, council and community altogether subscribed this covenant, very few refusing, except Mr. John Gordon, minister at Elgin. Thir commissioners removed from Elgin upon the 1st of May, and as they had gotten obedience, so commissioners were directed out by the nobility through all the kingdom, and got this covenant subscribed, few refusing except Aberdeen and the marquis of Huntly. The bishop of Murray seeing this, begins quickly to furnish his house of Spynie with all necessary provision, men and meat, ammunition, powder and ball, as he who foresaw great troubles to follow; but all in vain.

It was said that the bishop of Caithness, the bishop of Orkney, the bishop of Argyll, the bishop of Dunkeld, and some others, were against thir service books. Thus some ministers preached against the samen as papistical; others preached against the Covenant, as made up and done without authority, and the subscribers thereof guilty of treason, schism, and sedition; and so was this land drawn in diverse opinions, and soldiers learnt in Fife to drill—a forerunner of war. However it was reported the nobility (now called Covenanters) sent up their commissioners with this Confession of Faith and Covenant to his majesty, humbly declaring they were doing nothing but legally, and craving him to discharge thir books of Common Prayer and some

other novations creeping in within the kirk. Thir commissioners got not full content, yet his majesty was pleased to appoint a council day to be holden at his own palace at Dalkeith, upon the 6th day of June next, where the marquis of Hamilton should be commissioner for the king. The king wrote, desiring the marquis of Huntly to be there. The commissioner wrote for such bishops as were in Scotland to keep this council day, but none durst compear except the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was chancellor. The marquis of Huntly rode over quietly. The commissioners being come, and the council set, compeared the earl of Rothes, and lord Lindsay and lord London, as commissioners for the nobles, and rest of the Covenanters, and gave in a petition craving the Book of Canons, Book of Common Prayer, the High Commission, Book of Ordination, Five Articles of Perth, and some other things to be discharged, and that no bishop should have power or place in council, nor admit any minister, without consent of his brethren of the ministry within his diocese, for such reasons as was contained in their petition: to the which the commissioner answered, he should do his best that the Book of Canons, Ordination, Common Prayer, High Commission, and Articles of Perth, should be continued, and none to be urged therewith while a general assembly should be kept, and a parliament to follow; as to the rest, he said, he had no commission to answer; but this commissioner was according to the Covenanters' own mind, being fully assured of his favour; and the only thing that they were seeking was a general assembly, and a parliament, whereof now they had good hopes. The council convened again on the morrow, where the archbishop still sat as chancellor, but there was nothing concluded for the peace of the country. It is said that the marquis of Hamilton, commissioner aforesaid, after or at the last council day, desired the earl of Rothes, lords Lindsay and London, to loose and break this confederacy, whilk, in presence of the lords of council, they refused to do: whereupon he would discharge this their convocations, and bands of confederacy, by open proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh; but they hearing of this, convened in great multitudes in arms, to protest against the same. Whereupon the commissioner continued this proclamation till he advertised the king; and the council dissolved. In the mean time, the earl of Mar, being constable of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and — Glenegas, captain under him in Edinburgh, could not get provision but by permission of the Covenanters, who straitly began to watch the same day and night. Marvellous that they should use the king's houses so! but they alleged they did not wrong, because their strengths were devised to defend the country. As this business was a-doing, word comes to the marquis of Huntly that his lady was very sick within the laird of Cluny's lodgings in Old Aberdeen, where she was dwelling for the time; he hasted him

homie, but before he came she was dead. Great lamentation was made for this matchless lady: she departed upon Thursday the 14th of June, about midnight; the marquis comes not till Sunday thereafter; caused shortly convoy down her corps out of said lodging to the college kirk, with some company and torch light, where her corps lay till the 26th of June thereafter. Her corps was transported upon the night frae the college to the chapel upon the Castle-hill of New Aberdeen, and upon the 28th of June, about twelve hours of the day, she was lifted, and at her lifting the town of Aberdeen caused shoot the hail ordnances. She is convoyed with multitudes of people in honourable manner, having her corps carried upon the bearers of a coach, and led by horses under a mourning pale, and buried in St. John the Evangelist's Isle (or Bishop Leighton's Isle) on the north side of St. Machar's kirk, with great mourning and lamentation. He made choice of this burial place, and left the ancient burial place of his forbears and famous father within the south isle of the cathedral of Elgin, and bought this isle frae the bishop, ministers, and elders of Old Aberdeen, to remain a burial place for him and his posterity, and whilk he resolved to re-edify for that effect. Upon the morrow, after her burial, the marquis in high melancholy, lifted his household, and flitted hastily to Strathboggie, having ten children of singular erudition with him.

Ye heard before how the commissioner advertised the king of the proclamation, and of the Covenanters' convocation to protest; now he gets order, and causes make proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh to dissolve this covenant and convocation, under the pain of treason; whereof they were timeously advertised, and therefore convened in multitudes, and made protestation against the same, and took instrument in the hands of notars, whereof the clerk, young Mr. Gibson, was one. Then the marquis of Hamilton, commissioner foresaid, rode back to the king; the session is called back to Edinburgh from Stirling, and sits down upon the 3d of July, but little or nothing was done, in respect to these troublesome times.

Upon the 20th day of July, the marquis of Montrose, the lord Couper, the master of Forbes, the laird of Leys, the laird of Morpie, Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars in Fife, Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine, and Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Pitsligo, as commissioners for the Covenanters, came altogether to New Aberdeen. The provost and baillies courteously salutes them at their lodging, offers them a treat of wine, according to their laudable custom, for their welcome; but this their courteous answer was disdainfully refused, saying they would drink none with them, till first the covenant was subscribed; whereat the provost and baillies were somewhat offended, and suddenly took their leave; caused deal the wine in the bead-house among the poor men, whilk they had so disdain-

fully refused, whereof the like was never done to Aberdeen in no man's memory.

Upon the morn, being Sunday, these three covenanting ministers intended to preach, but the town's ministers kept them therefrae, and preached themselves in their own pulpits. They seeing themselves disappointed, go to the earl Marischal's Close, where the lady Pitsligo was then dwelling, a rank puritan; and the said Mr. Alexander Henderson preached first, next Mr. David Dickson, and lastly Mr. Andrew Cant, all on the said Sunday; and diverse people flocked into the said close to hear thir preachers, and see this novelty. It is said, this Mr. Henderson read, after his sermon, certain articles proponed by the divines of Aberdeen, amongst which was alleged, they could not subscribe this covenant without the king's command, whereunto he made such answers as pleased him best.

Upon the morn, being Monday, they all three preached again after other within the said close. Many auditors was there, whereof some subscribed the covenant: such as Patrick Leslie, burgess; John Leslie, his brother; Mr. Alexander Jaffray; sundry of the name of Burnet, and other burgesses of Aberdeen; and likewise Mr. John Lundie, master of the grammar school, common procurator for the king's college; Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie; Mr. Andrew Melvin, parson of Banchory Devenick; Mr. Thomas Melvil, minister at Dyce; Mr. Walter Anderson, minister at Kinellar; Mr. William Robertson, minister at Footdee; and sic like, contrary to all men's expectation: Dr. William Guild, one of the ministers of the said burgh of Aberdeen, and Mr. Robert Reid, minister at Banchory Ternan; but thir two subscribed this covenant with some limitations and restrictions, whereof the tenor followeth:—

*Limitations and Restrictions of Dr. William Guild, minister at Aberdeen, and Mr. Robert Reid, minister at Banchory, anent the subscribing of the Covenant.*

“ Doctor William Guild and Mr. Robert Reid have subscribed the covenant made by the noblemen, barons, gentry, and ministers, anent the maintenance of religion, his majesty's authority and laws, with these express conditions, to wit: That we acknowledge not nor yet condemn the Articles of Perth, to be unlawful or heads of popery, but only promise (for the peace of the church, and other reasons) to forbear the practice thereof for a time. 2dly, That we condemn not episcopal government, secluding the personal abuse thereof. 3dly, That we still retain, and shall retain, all loyal and dutiful subjection and obedience unto our dread sovereign the king's majesty; and that in this sense, and no otherwise, we have put our hands to the foresaid covenant. These noblemen, barons, and ministers, commissioners, under subscribing, do testify, at Aberdeen, the 30th of July, 1638. Likeas, we, under subscribers, do declare, that they neither had, nor have any intention but of loyalty to his majesty, as the said covenant bears.”



And so thir restrictions were subscribed in a paper by itself, as follows : *Montrose, Couper, Forbes, Morphis, Leys, Henderson, Dickson, Cant*, and left in the said Dr. Guild's own keeping. This Guild was one of the king's own chaplains, of the Chapel Royal ; and he sets out a printed paper directed to the nobility, barons, gentry, burrows, and others of the combination of the covenant, printed at Aberdeen, in anno 1639, wishing no arms to be raised against the king. Notwithstanding of all thir clocks, he subscribed the covenant absolutely without limitation.

But the forenamed commissioners, before this, went from Aberdeen, down through the presbyteries of Buchan, and got many subscriptions of ministers and laics to their covenant. They past out of Aberdeen upon the 23d of July, and returned back there again upon the 28th of July, and got the subscriptions of Aberdeen, as ye have heard. They were but few in company—about thirty horse ; and multitudes resorted to them besides, out of Buchan, Mar, Mearns, and Garioch, who subscribed. In end, thir commissioners departed south of Aberdeen.

Upon the 8th day of August, John Dugar, of whom mention is made before, came with his companions to the laird of Corse, his bounds, and spulzied the ground ; and spulzied Mr. Thomas Forbes, minister at Lochell's house ; and oppressed the king's lieges grievously wherever he came, in Strathisla, and other places. He would take their horse, kine, and oxen, and cause the owners compensate and pay for their own gear. He gave himself out to be the king's man, and so might take and oppress the Covenanters at pleasure. He troubled the merchants at Bartholomew fair, and caused them to pay soundly. He took out of the laird of Corse's bounds a brave gentleman tenant dwelling there, and carried him with him ; and sent word to the laird, desiring him to send him a thousand pounds, whilk the lords of council granted to his name for taking of Gilderoy, or then he would send his man's head to him. The laird of Corse rode shortly to Strathboggie, and told the marquis, who quickly wrote to M'Gregor, to send back Mr. George Forbes again, or then he would come himself for him ; but he was obeyed, and came to Strathboggie hail and sound, upon the 15th of August, (where the laird of Corse stayed till his return) without payment of any ransom, syne returned home. But this Dugar was slain thereafter.

This doctor John Forbes of Corse happened, out of zeal and a well meaning mind, to write a treatise, whereof some copies were spread abroad, touching our national Confession of Faith registrated in parliament, and concerning that other little confession, called *general*, which was also called *The King's Confession*, and *The Negative Confession*, containing the oath. This written paper came to the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, and Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine, and some brethren of the ministry, who find fault with the same

in their *Answers to the Replies of the Ministers and Professors of Divinity in Aberdeen, concerning the late Covenant*, given out in print, in anno 1638, saying, "We told you before, that we did no more allow violences of that kind, nor we did allow the foul aspersions of rebellion, heresy, schism, and perjury, put upon the nobleman and remanent Covenanters," &c. whilk answers are subscribed by the said Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. David Dickson. But Dr. Forbes perceiving his written paper to be quarrelled in manner foresaid, in such dangerous time, sets out another printed paper, dedicated to the marquis of Huntly, called *A Peaceable Warning to the People of Scotland*, given in the year 1638; and in the preface he plainly disallows all other copies, and holds to the said only perfect edition, wherein there was no such words set down as rebellion, heresy, schism, and perjury. By this imprinted paper, he thought he might be free of what was written before, according to the privilege granted to writers and penmen, and to have escaped the severe censure of the Covenanters; wherein he was much deceived.

The said doctor John Forbes of Corse, doctor Alexander Scroggie, minister at Old Aberdeen, doctor William Lesly, principal of the King's College, doctor Robert Baron, minister at Aberdeen, doctor James Sibbald, minister there, and doctor Alexander Ross, minister there, set out a printed paper, called *General Demands concerning the said Covenant*, &c. with the brethren their answers to the same; together with the *Replies the foresaid Ministers and Professors made to the said Answers*; all printed in one volume, dated in anno 1638; whereupon followed another printed piece, called *The Answers of some Brethren of the Ministry to the Reply of the Ministers and Professors of Divinity in Aberdeen, concerning the late Covenant*, in anno 1638, subscribed by Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, and Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine. Likeas, the ministers and professors at Aberdeen set out another printed paper answering thereto, called *Duplys of the Ministers and Professors at Aberdeen, to the Second Answers of some Brethren, concerning the late Covenant*, and subscribed by the said persons as follows, viz. John Forbes of Corse, doctor and professor of divinity in Aberdeen; Robert Baron, doctor and professor of divinity, and minister in Aberdeen; Alexander Scroggie, minister of Old Aberdeen, D. D.; William Lesly, D. D. and principal of the King's College in Aberdeen; James Sibbald, D. D. and minister at Aberdeen; Alexander Ross, doctor of divinity, and minister at Aberdeen. But to thir Duplys the reverend covenanting brethren made never answers that came to print, as was thought by some unanswerable. Thir writings, *pro et contra*, bred no small trouble to many good Christian consciences, seeing such contrary opinions amongst the clergy, with a reformed settled kirk, not knowing whom to believe for salvation of their souls, nor whose opinion they should follow in thir troublesome times.

Now, as thir papers are going abroad, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, an old reverend man, high chancellor of Scotland, is forced, for fear of his life, to flee into England, for safety and refuge at the king's hands. The bishops of Ross, Brechin, Galloway, and Dumblain, went all to him also for relief. The king was very sorry at their overthrow, but could not for the present mend it: however, he gives order for their maintenance: The bishop of Edinburgh goes also; the archbishop of Glasgow lying bedfast, might not move; the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and the rest, bide at home for a while in rest.

The glorious organs of the chapel royal were broken down masterfully, and no service used there; but the haill chaplains, choristers, and musicians, are discharged, and the stately organs altogether destroyed and made useless. These uncouth alterations bred horrible fears in the hearts of the country people, not knowing what to do, or whom to obey.

Upon the 6th of August, James, earl of Murray, departed this life, in his own place of Darnway; and upon the morn was quietly buried at the kirk of Dyke, without convocation, pomp, or worldly glory, as himself had directed before his decease. He left two children behind him, the one of whom succeeded Earl; the other was a daughter, married to the laird of Grant. His lady lived not long after him.

Upon the 13th of August, the lord Gordon came frae court home to Strathboggie. He brought a packet of letters frae the king to the marquis, his father, wherein was also packed letters direct from his majesty to both Aberdeens, and to the professors of divinity and doctors of divinity of both towns, with the marquis of Hamilton's letter to the said towns and doctors, which are both copied verbatim as follows:

#### CHARLES REX.

"Trusty and well beloved,—we greet you well. Having understood how dutifullly you have carried yourselves at this time in what concerns the good of our service, and particularly in hindering some strange ministers from preaching in any of your churches, we have taken notice thereof, and do give you hearty thanks for the samen; and do expect that, as your carriage hitherto hath been good, so you will continue, assuring that when any thing that may concern your good shall occur, we will not be unmindful of the samen; we bid you farewell.

"From our Court at Oatlands, the last of July, 1638."

This letter on the back is directed thus—

"To our trusty and well beloved the Provost, Bailties, and Council of Aberdeen."

The Copy of the Marquis of Hamilton's Letter to the Town of Aberdeen:

"Very loving friends,—I hold it my duty to accompany this his majesty's

letter with these few lines. Having heard since my coming hither, of the great zeal you bear to his sacred majesty's service, and likewise not only you, but your whole town, are pressed still for to subscribe a covenant noways acceptable to his majesty; and therefore, as his commissioner, I do earnestly require you carefully to avert, and so far as lies in your power in a fair and peaceable way, that ye hinder the subscription thereof by any within your town, as you would deserve thanks from his majesty, and receive favour frae him as occasion shall offer. Thus, with my hearty wishes for your prosperity, I rest

"Your very loving and affectionate friend,

(*Sic subscribitur*)

"J. HAMILTON.

"Holyrood House, 10th of August, 1638."

This letter is also directed upon the back thus—

"For my very loving friends, the Provost, Baillies, and Council of Aberdeen."

The King's Letter to the Doctors and Ministers of Aberdeen:

CHARLES REX.

"Trusty and well beloved,—we greet you well. As we did hear, with great discontent, of the carriage of those who call themselves Covenanters in your cities, which are your charges, so we did, with as great content, receive the news of your discreet and peaceable opposing them; and though we have not yet had time to recommend the perusing of your printed queries to some of your own profession, whose judgment we purpose to ask therein, yet upon our own reading of them we find ourselves satisfied, and thought good presently to shew our gracious acceptation of the samen; and that we do hold them, both with learning and a peaceable moderate style, answerable to men of your profession and place, assuring, that if you shall continue according to your power in this way, which ye have begun, you shall therein do us very acceptable service, which shall not be forgotten by us; whereof no ways doubting, we bid you heartily farewell.

"From our Court at Oatlands, the 4th of August, 1638."

Directed on the back—

"To our trusty and well beloved the Professors and Preachers of both Aberdeens."

The Copy of the Marquis of Hamilton's Letter to the said Doctors and Ministers:

"Reverend gentlemen,—So soon as I understood, from my lord marquis of Huntly, of the late proceedings at Aberdeen, I dispatched unto his majesty the same, (for I met with his lordship's packet in my way to Scotland, with all your printed queries) which how well they are accepted by his gracious majesty, you will easily perceive by his own letter, which here I send you. I hold it my part to let you know how acceptable to myself your haill carriage has been, and with what content I read both your first queries, which I sent to his majesty, and likewise your second reply, which I have received since my

coming hither, and am now sending to my most gracious master. In their answer to your first demand, I am infinitely wronged by these three ministers, who (without the least suspicion of truth) have averred that I was well pleased and contented with the explanation of the covenant which was presented to me, as a humble supplication of the nobles and other Covenanters; and I being enjoined by his sacred majesty to receive the petitions of his subjects, and to give answers to them, but to that I could give no other answer than that I should acquaint his majesty therewith, who hath as yet returned none to them, though I will assure you his majesty is far from receiving any satisfaction by what was contained in their supplication or explanation, and reason hath he so to think of it; and what was my sense and speech to those that did deliver it, and how far contrary to that they alleged, diverse of the lords of his majesty's council can bear me witness, most of which number they have wronged also, by inserting untruths in the answers to your queries; and if justice be not quite banished out of the land, I hope I shall not be denied against such calumnies as they have raised of me. Your last book of demands, and reply, with your answer, I purpose presently to print here, and you shall see that I shall clearly vindicate myself from so foul an aspersion. In the meantime, I end with your hearty thanks for your learned pains, and pious and peaceable style, and my earnest suit unto you for the continuance in the samen, as occasion shall be offered, with assurance that I shall be a faithful recommender of all your endeavours to our most gracious sovereign, as being the duty of him to do, which will ever approve himself to be

"Your very respectful friend,

(Signed)

"J. HAMILTON.

"Holyrood House, 10th of August, 1638."

Directed on the back—

"For my very loving friends the Professors and Preachers of both Aberdeens."

By this letter, you may see the marquis of Hamilton is offended with Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. David Dickson, and Mr. Andrew Cant, their answers to the doctors of Aberdeen their first demand; but howsoever he was guilty or innocent, yet nothing followed by justice against the ministers, as he writes.

In the meantime, both Aberdeens and their doctors are so far encouraged by thir letters written to them by his majesty and his commissioner, backed also with the marquis of Huntly's letter of recommendation (who knew nothing but honesty) that they stood out against the Covenanters, and bade by the king constantly to their great wreck, while the rest of the burghs subscribed this covenant and lived in peace; but wilfully Aberdeen stood out (except some who already subscribed, as ye have heard) looking for help frae the king, but he and they both were borne down, as may be seen in the sequel of this history.

Ye heard how the marquis of Hamilton rode to court; he returns back about the 1st of August, and convenes a council at

Helyrood House, and in presence of the lords he produces sundry articles frae the king, for reformation of some escapes, and settling of the country, whereof the tenor is thus: Imprimis, That all ministers deposed since the 1st of February be reponed in their places to their former functions. 2do. That all ministers admitted without consent of their own Ordinary be deposed. 3tio. That all moderators of presbyteries deposed be reponed, and those that are in their places deposed. 4to. That all parishioners retire to their parishes and sessions, that they may concur with and assist their ministers in ancient form. 5to. That all bishops and ministers be paid their stipends. 6to. That all presbyteries choose their moderators, whereof the moderator must be one. 7mo. That all ministers go home and preach to their own parishioners. 8vo. That all bishops and ministers be secure in their persons from all hostile invasion. 9no. That no laicks vote in choosing commissioners of parliament frae the assembly. 10mo. That all convocations cease, as well of nobility and gentry, as bishops and ministers, and repair to their own homes, that matters may be settled in peace. 11mo. To advise to give satisfaction to his majesty anent the covenant, or to remedy the same.

It is also said, that the commissioner brought with him power to indict a general assembly, with a parliament to follow thereupon, if the Covenanters would break and dissolve their band of combination, otherwise to charge them under pain of treason by open proclamation to that effect: but the Covenanters would noways yield to the dissolving of their band; whereupon the commissioner caused charge them by open proclamation at the mercat cross of Edinburgh to brake the said band, under pain of treason; but they protested against the same, and took instrument in the hands of one of the clerks of session, whereupon the commissioner desired the lords of council to ratify and approve the foresaid proclamation as lawfully done, and done by their counsel and advice. The Covenanters hearing of this, presently gave in a supplication before the lords of council, desiring them noways to approve the foresaid proclamation, for diverse reasons therein contained. The commissioner hearing thir reasons, desired a competent time to acquaint his majesty therewith, and in the meantime all matters to cease while his majesty's advertisement, whilk was granted. The before-written articles sent down by the king were not without good cause, for the ringleaders of this covenant amongst the ministry left their own kirks, and went through the country preaching at other ministers' kirks who were contrary to the covenant; deposed whom they pleased, and admitted in their rooms others of their own faction; but the commissioner received no satisfactory answer from them anent the articles, to carry back to the king. However, he passes to court with the Covenanters' reasons of their supplication to shew his majesty, and withall forgot not to write to the doctors and

preachers of both Aberdeens, desiring them to continue constant and remove all fear, assuring them of his majesty's favour and protection against the Covenanters.

No doubt but the doctors of both Aberdeens were encouraged by the marquis' missive; but it turned to their grief and sorrow, and wreck of both Aberdeens, as you may hereafter see.

Now while his majesty's commissioner is riding to court, the Covenanters begin most carefully to provide for men in Fife, and other parts, and held their public meetings and conventions against the laws, and without authority, in the Gray Friar kirk of Edinburgh, to the marvel of many.

The lord Deskford, about this time, was made earl of Findlater, whereat the lord Ogilvie took exception, being nearest the stock, to wit, the laird of Purie-Ogilvie, and nobilitate before him.

Upon the 8th of August, a convention of burrows was held at Stirling, where it was enacted, that no magistrate should be chosen through all the burrows of Scotland but such as had subscribed the covenant. The burrow of Aberdeen had no commissioner there, because they were not advertised with the rest, as the custom was. An extract was sent to them of this act, from this convention, without any missive, whereat they marvelled.

About the 15th of September, the commissioner returns back from court to Scotland, bringing with him the Confession of Faith and Band of Maintenance, word for word, conform to the first, and in presence of the lords of council produced his majesty's letter, declaring he was most unwilling to bring in novations or alterations of religion within the kirk, but to maintain the Confession of Faith, whilk he sent down first to be subscribed by his commissioner, and next by the lords of council. This Confession the commissioner also produced before the said lords, with the Band of Maintenance, requiring and demanding the said lords to subscribe the samen, conform to his majesty's letters, of date at Oatlands the 9th of September, 1688; and likewise that the senators of the college of justice, judges, or magistrates of burrow or land, and all other subjects whatsoever, to renew and subscribe the said Confession of Faith and Band of Maintenance, whereby all fears of alteration of religion might be removed out of the hearts of his good subjects. In the which letters also was contained a discharge of the Service Books, Book of Canons, and high commission, and discharging all persons from practising the Five Articles of Perth; that ilk minister at his entry should be sworn conform to act of parliament, and no otherwise; that his majesty would forget and forgive all former disorders, moved anent thir businesses; and if they do the like, to be liable to a parliament-trial, general assembly, or any other judges competent, as the said letters of the date aforesaid, and imprinted at Edinburgh, at more length contained. Attour, his majesty gave his commissioner warrant to indict a

general assembly to be holden at Glasgow the 21st of November, 1638, and a parliament to be holden thereafter at Edinburgh, the 15th of May, 1639, for setting a perfect peace within the kingdom both in church and police: further, the said letters were ordained to be published at the mercat crosses of the head burrows of Scotland.

The lords of council having considered his majesty's great goodness in granting them more than they looked for, and as would seem more than enough, they found themselves fully satisfied therewith, and made an act thereupon, promising to use their best means to make his majesty's hail subjects to rest content therewith, and all and every one should testify their thankfulness for so great goodness received at his majesty's hands, and to offer their lives and fortunes in his defence, and maintenance of religion, whilk act was subscribed by the said lords at Holyrood-house, the 22d of September, 1638, *sic subscribitur*, Hamilton, Traquair, Roxburgh, Marischall, Mar, Murray, Linlithgow, Perth, Wigton, Kinghorn, Tulliebardine, Haddington, Annandale, Lauderdale, Kinnoul, Dumfries, Southesk, Belhaven, Angus, Lorn, Elphinstone, Napier, Dalziel, Amont, J. Hay, S. Thomas Hope, S. William Elphinstone, Ja. Carmichael, Jo. Hamilton, Blackhall. Attour, by another act of council of the same date, the commissioner foresaid, and lords of council, unanimously sware and subscribed the Confession of Faith and Band of Maintenance, whereupon Sir Thomas Hope, in his majesty's name, took instrument, like as the said lords of council set out another act, ordaining letters to be published at the head burrows of Scotland, shewing that his majesty had indicted a general assembly to be holden at Glasgow, the 21st of November next, and to warn the hail archbishops, bishops, commissioners, and others, to keep and attend the said general assembly; and by another act of the same dyet, letters are ordained to be published in form foresaid, declaring a parliament to follow at Edinburgh, the 15th of May next to come; and further, the said lords of secret council caused warn (by open proclamation) the hail nobles, prelates, barons, and burgesses, to keep the said parliament.

Upon the 24th of September, the said lords ordained his majesty's lieges, of whatsoever estate, degree, or quality, ecclesiastical or civil, to swear and subscribe the said Confession and General Band, whilk Confession and Band shall be marked and subscribed by the clerk of council, and produced before them to be subscribed.

Now the commissioners and lords of secret council having taken so much pains to see the Confession and General Band (sent down by the king) to be subscribed by the king's hail lieges, as well as themselves, had sworn and subscribed the same, it fell out shortly that they changed their minds, contrary to their oaths and subscriptions, alleging, in the king's Confes-



sion, episcopacy was abjured, (whilk was not), nor in their minds was so to do: however, they renounced the Confession and Band sent down by the king, and adheres to the Confession and Covenant, abjuring episcopacy, to the grief of the king and wreck of this country, as ye may hear. Albeit, it is well seen, his majesty, to give them content, granted diverse orders, partly to his own prejudice and against standing laws, done as was thought by persuasion of the marquis of Hamilton, more faithful to the Covenanters than to his loving master the king, by craft and unparalleled policy, whereof his majesty had never information. However, still the Covenanters could not be pleased while their cup was full, conform to the conclusion betwixt them and the Covenanters or malecontents of England, cunningly and obscurely covenanted, as hereafter may appear, and whereof you have heard some before. The Covenanters understanding thir hail proceedings, laid compt before the incoming of this general assembly to bear down episcopacy; and to that effect drew up seven articles, and sent them to the moderators of the hail presbyteries of Scotland, standing to their opinion, whereof the tenor follows. 1mo. If any man enter in process with ministers erroneous in doctrine and scandalous in life, that they be not chosen commissioners; and if the presbytery refuse them process, that they protest against thir refusers, and thereafter against the election of these ministers to be commissioners, and thereupon to take instrument, and extract the same. 2do. To have a special care that information be timeously made against every bishop, with the sure evidences thereof, anent their miscarriages in sundry presbyteries and high commission, urging entrants to subscribe unwarranted articles, receiving of bribes from entrants, staying of censure against Papists, giving licence to marry without banns, the profanity of their own lives, by drinking, whoring, carding, dicing, breaking of the Sabbath, the purchasing of the bishopricks by bribes, their dishonest dealing in bargains, and abusing of their vassals; all these and such like, common to all, and proper to any. 3tio. To remember the ministers to be ready for disputation about the heads which are like to be agitated at the assembly, as, *de episcopatu, de senioribus, de deaconatu, de potestate magistratus in ecclesiasticis, præsertim in convocandis concilijs, et qui debent interesse in concilijs, de civili jurisdictione ecclesiasticorum, eorumque officijs civilibus, de rebus adiaphoris, et potestate magistratum in illis, de liturgia præsumpta, de litibus ecclesiæ, seu liturgiæ Anglicanæ, de juramento, de corruptelis liturgiæ Scoticanæ canon. de quinque Perthensibus articulis.* 4to. To choose three commissioners in every presbytery where they can be had well affected, and to use all means how few be chosen in evil-disposed presbyteries; let well-affected barons and ministers next adjacent endeavour for this. 5to. Consultation should be had by the best affected amongst themselves before the election, that, in their choosing,

their voices be not divided, but may condescend together upon the same person. 6to. To use all means for eschewing in the election, as far as may be, chapter men who have chosen bishops; these who have sitten in the high commission; chapel men who have countenanced the chapel ceremonies and novations; all who offered to read and practise the Service Book, Book of Canons; ministers who are justices of peace, although they have subscribed the covenant, unless they have desisted and acknowledged the unlawfulness of their former dealing, because those and such like will be ready to approve these corruptions in the assembly. 7mo. That where any prime nobleman and well qualified gentleman may be chosen in sundry presbyteries, that he be chosen in that presbytery where there is greatest scarcity of able men.

Now his majesty's letters of the date, at his court of Oatlands, the 9th of September, 1638, are published, read and proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, discharging the Service Book, Book of Canons, and high commission, and dispensing with the Five Articles of Perth; that the minister at his entry shall give no other oath but such as is contained in the acts of parliament; commanding also the lords of privy council and all his good subjects to subscribe and renew the Confession of Faith, with warrant to indict an assembly and a parliament thereafter; and that his majesty forgave all bygones, and ordained a solemn fast. But this gracious proclamation was not accepted nor allowed, but solemnly protested against; for how soon they were read, there compeared at the mercat cross diverse noblemen, barons, gentlemen, ministers, and commons, with a protestation in write against the said proclamation, whilk was made upon the 22d of September, read out by Mr. Archibald Johnston publicly, saying that the Service Book and Book of Canons were not so far discharged as they have been urged by preceeding proclamations which gave approbation to the said books; that the practice only of the Perth articles are discharged or dispensed with; that prelates were warned to keep the general assembly, contrary to the acts of the kirk, and their declinator and supplications craving a free general assembly without limitation, using diverse reasons; therefore, they plainly refuse the subscribing of the covenant sent by the king, and give the following reasons therefore: that archbishops and bishops shall have no place nor voice in the assembly, nor that they be present, but to compear and underly trial and censure in life, office, and benefice; that none who have subscribed the first covenant be charged or urged either to procure the subscriptions of others, or to subscribe themselves to any other confession or covenant; and appealed frae the lords of council to the next free general assembly and parliament, as only supreme national judicatories competent; that no subscription, whether by the lords or others, be any ways prejudicial to the first covenant; withall warning and exhorting all men to hold their hands from all other covenants till the next general assem-

bly, for saving the country from contrary oaths; that as to the king's forgiveness, they protested what they had done was lawful. Thus is this protestation publicly read out by the said Mr. Archibald Johnstoun; whereupon James earl of Montrose, in name of the noblemen, and Mr. Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, in name of the barons, George Porterfield, merchant burghess of Glasgow, in name of the burrows, Mr. Henry Rollock, minister at Edinburgh, in name of the ministers, and the said Mr. Archibald Johnstoun, in name and behalf of all who adhered to the Confession of Faith and Covenant lately renewed within this kingdom, took instrument in the hands of three notars present at the said mercat cross of Edinburgh, before many hundred witnesses; and what his majesty had most graciously done and pleasantly accepted by the lords of privy council, is altogether disregarded by thir Covenanters, as by the particular condescendence contained in their imprinted protestations at large does appear. After they had done with protesting and taking instruments, they dissolved.

Ye hear a little before of an act of council made anent the king's proclamation for subscribing the Confession of Faith and Band of Maintenance; the samen was directed amongst the rest to the marquis of Huntly, the earl Marischall, the earl of Kingherna for himself, and as tutor to the earl of Errol, the lord Forbes, lord Fraser, the laird of Drum, commissioners for the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, &c. with power to them to pass to the several bounds above written, and exhibit the said Confession of Faith and Band above specified, marked and subscribed by the clerk of council, and to require his majesty's lieges of whatsoever rank or quality, to subscribe the samen, and to make report of their diligence betwixt and the 13th day of November next. How soon this proclamation, with the covenant above express, was sent to the marquis of Huntly, he most willingly obeyed and accepted the charge, (albeit the rest of the commissioners refused ilk ane after another), and in peaceable manner upon the 4th of October, being Thursday, came to New Aberdeen, accompanied with his two sons the lord Gordon and lord Aboyne, the laird of Cluny, and sundry other barons and gentlemen, and produced and exhibited the Confession and Band above express in presence of the town's people, convened for that effect, who very willingly subscribed the samen (except such as were Covenanters) upon paper copied from the print.

Upon Friday the 5th of October, he sent John Spence, a herald, with his coat of arms, to the mercat cross of Aberdeen, to publish the same proclamation above express; but there were standing on the cross attending the same, the lord Fraser and master of Forbes, with three notars called Mr. Robert Keith, Mr. Alex. Forbes, and Mr. James Cheyne, with multitudes of people about them. The herald seeing such a convention, before he began his proclamation, charged them in the king's name to go down

from the cross, whilk they did, and stood upon the street hard beside. How soon the people were put off the cross, the lord marquis comes frae his lodging, with his sons and friends, and the laird of Drum, sheriff of Aberdeen, as one of the foresaid commissioners, and ascended up the cross, standing beside the herauld uncovered; the drum beat and the proclamation published, and the lord Fraser and master of Forbes came to hear at the south side of the cross where they stood first. The proclamation ended, the marquis gave a great shout, saying, God save the king, syne peaceably left the cross; but immediately the lord Fraser and master of Forbes came to the same place where the marquis stood, and made protestations against the samen, set down in write and took instruments, throwing the paper whereon the protestation was written out of his hand into the air, and gave also a great shout saying, God save the king. The people cried out with great joy at the marquis' shout, but few or none cried out with the lord Fraser. Then they went home to their lodgings.

Upon Monday the 8th of October, the marquis came over to the bishop's house of Old Aberdeen, where the bishop himself was present, with the principal and regents, and haill body of the town, and there caused publicly read out the foresaid Confession and Band of Maintenance; after reading whereof, the bishop, principal, regents, gentry, and haill commons of the town willingly obeyed and subscribed the samen, whose names were (besides their subscriptions) written and noted upon another paper; but Mr. John Lundie master of the grammar-school subscribed not this covenant. Whilk being done, the marquis rode from Aberdeen upon the 9th of October, and directed the foresaid herauld, with the town's drummer, to Banff and Inverness, to make the same publication, with a discreet man to receive the people's subscriptions which were gotten there, without protestations and instruments taken as formerly; and this noble marquis was ill rewarded for all his pains, as ye shall hear afterwards; however, he reported his diligence to the lords of council before the 18th day of November. It was reported that his majesty liked well both Aberdeens and their doctor's constancy, whereupon he makes New Aberdeen sheriffs within themselves, which they never had before, and that heritably; he gave them the superiorities of the haill temple-lands within their burrow, and ratified their haill liberties in ample form; but dear were their favours bought, as ye may see in diverse parts of this story.

It was said that the king wrote to the doctors of Aberdeen, to go to this ensuing general assembly, and to contribute their best affections for settling all matters, and that the marquis of Huntly (advertised thereof by the commissioners) directed them also to go to this assembly, but none obeyed for plain fear; however there were chosen commissioners, doctor Baron and doctor

Sibbald, doctor Guild, and Mr. David Lindsay, with whom went also Mr. John Lundie, master of the grammar-school, and common procurator of the King's College, for such affairs as concerned them, and to answer to such complaints as happened to be given in against the principal or members thereof, but had no further commission, but went beyond his warrant, as ye may hear. Mr. James Harvie, minister at the New Kirk, went also commissioner for the doctors of Aberdeen and anti-covenanting ministers within the presbytery thereof.

The laird of Frendraught, in the month of October, maliciously laid on three several summonses against the marquis of Huntly, as heir to his umquhile father, to hear a decreet transferred against him for two hundred thousand merks, for his skaith sustained by the light horsemen, and another decreet transferred for one hundred thousand merks of spoilization of the teinds of Drumblate; a third decreet transferred for making of a new tack of the said teinds; whilk decreets had been obtained before at Frendraught's instance against the marquis' father; but little followed upon thir charges.

Upon the third Tuesday, and 16th of October, the provincial synod sat down in the College Kirk of Old Aberdeen. The bishop was present, with many covenanting and anti-covenanting ministers. Thomas Crombie of Kemnay, and Mr. William Davidson, sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, came there, directed frae the marquis of Huntly, to the brethren to subscribe the king's covenant and band; some obeyed, some refused, and some made delaying answers; at last they dissolved in peace.

Upon Sunday the 28th of October, the parishioners of St. Machar's kirk were warned after sermon by the reader to come in on Wednesday next, and subscribe the king's Covenant and Band of Maintenance; but few came, and siclike a fast was proclaimed to be kept upon Sunday thereafter, before the downsitting of the general assembly, which was solemnly kept.

Upon the 1st day of November, the court of session sat down, but there were none of the lords subscribed this covenant of the king's, except Craighall, Durie, Cranston, and In-nerteill.

Now the Covenanters are careful to try what complaints or faults could be found in the bishops, and speak out many things against them, which drew their names to be odious among the common people; amongst the rest, the master of Forbes moved some complaints against the bishop of Aberdeen, his own father's brother upon the mother's side, before the presbyteries of Alford and Turriff; which were referred to the general assembly, and the bishop warned thereto.

About this time, the earl of Mar, constable of the Castle of Edinburgh, disposed his right of the samen constabulary, as is supposed, to the marquis of Hamilton; allways it was watched by the Covenanters, suffering nothing to be imported therein

but at their discretion; but how or whom till, this disposition was made by Mar, is uncertain; but he quits the place.

Upon the 16th day of November, proclamation was made at the cross of Edinburgh, discharging convocation of the king's lieges to go to the ensuing general assembly, and none to come there but the chosen commissioners and their ordinary servants, and that in peaceable manner without weapons, as hagbutts, pistols, and such like, under the pain of treason. But the Covenanters protested against the samen, saying, it was lawful for all men, upon their own charges, to resort to a national assembly for instructing of their minds in matters of religion; and it was lawful for them to wear weapons as well as those of the contrary faction did. Thus without regard to the king's proclamation, they went on as pleased themselves.

In the meantime, before down-sitting of this assembly, the haill archbishops and bishops were cited to compear before the presbytery of Edinburgh, to answer to the complaint of John earl of Sutherland, John earl of Athol, and diverse others noblemen. The complaint was odious if it had been true, grounded upon corrupt doctrine, arminianism, popery, superstition, and will-worship, evil life, and many other points. They are called before the presbytery of Edinburgh, who could not well be judges, and in respect of their not compearance, this complaint is referred to the general assembly, before whom they durst not compear for fear of their lives, albeit the king had commanded them to come. The complainers of set purpose were holden out as commissioners, to the effect they might compear as parties; and upon the next sabbath, being the 28th of October, the said complaint was read out in the kirks of the presbytery of Edinburgh to make this business odious, and therewith warned them to compear before the general assembly, to be holden at Glasgow the 21st of November, according to an act of the said presbytery; which was but short citation, many of the said bishops dwelling far distant.

Upon the 21st day of November, James marquis of Hamilton, as his majesty's commissioner, and haill lords of council, with many other nobles, barons, burgesses, and clergy, conveened in Glasgow, where the most eminent preacher of the town preached in the High Church of Glasgow in the morning; and, after sermon, desired all present to begin the action by choosing of a moderator within the said church. A while after the assembly sits down, the church gates were strictly guarded by the town, none had entrance but he who had a token of lead, declaring he was a Covenanter. There came out of ilk presbytery of the kingdom to this assembly, one, two, or three covenanting ministers, with two or three ruling elders who should vote as they did. Now all being set, the doors closed and guarded, after prayer, as use is, they began to choose a moderator; but first the commissioner desired his commission to be read, whilk was done,

and that day dissolved. The next day a moderator is urged, but first the commissioner desired his majesty's letter sent to them to be read, whilk was done, and then fell to choose a moderator; but Doctor Hamilton, minister of Glasford, having by moyan won in, stands up as commissioner for the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin, by virtue of their subscribed warrant, dated at Holyrood-house, Newcastle, and Glasgow, the 16th, 17th, and 20th days of November, 1638, and presented unto the commissioner's grace, declinators on paper against the unlawfulness of this assembly, and desired the same to be read, whilk was refused, till first the moderator should be chosen; whereupon the commissioner, and said Dr. Hamilton, both took instrument in the hands of the clerk register, and protested against any such election, and that the samen should not be prejudicial to the king nor the laws of the kingdom. Mr. Alexander Henderson was chosen moderator, and the assembly books had to Edinburgh by Mr. Thomas Sandilands, and frae that to Glasgow, which gave them information how to rule bishops. His father wanted his clerkship, but was well paid his pensions out of the bishoprick of Aberdeen, for sending thir books; but Mr. Archibald Johnston was chosen clerk in his place. The moderator and clerk being chosen, the commissioner desires the earl of Traquair, treasurer, the earl of Roxburgh, lord privy seal, the earl of Argyll, the earl of Lauderdale, the earl of Southesk, all lords of secret council, and sir Lewis Steuart, advocate, to be joined with him as assessors, and to have voice as he had in matters questionable, as was used in king James' time; but this desire was absolutely denied, saying his grace had power to consult with his assessors, but had not voice in the assembly; and if the king himself were there, he should have but one voice more than any member of the assembly had—marvellous to see! whereof the like was never before at our Scottish assemblies; but thir articles were foreseen by the tables at Edinburgh, and order given to refuse the samen, which the commissioner beheld patiently. The fourth day, they began to read their several commissions; the fifth day, they went on in their elections; the sixth day, being the 27th of November, the commissioner urges again the reading of the bishops' declinators and protestations, which was done by Mr. Archibald Johnston, clerk, whereat there was much laughter by the brethren, and much reasoning betwixt the commissioner and them. Upon the morrow, the moderator desired the clerk to read their answers to the said declinators, and concludes to establish the assembly as a lawful judicature against bishops, without the king's authority or consent of his commissioner, who made still opposition against the samen, and finding lay elders brought in to give voices in the said assembly, as the ministers whom they had chosen commissioners before them would voice, and no assessor

granted to the king, and the bishops were cited to compare before such judges as were their mortal enemies; for these reasons, and other disorders of this assembly, the commissioner appeared to become impatient, and required and commanded them, in his majesty's name and authority, not to proceed any further, and to say prayer and dissolve the assembly, protesting, what they had done or should do might nowise touch the king's prerogative or oblige his subjects, nor that their assembly acts should be esteemed lawful, but declared null. But the moderator desired his grace to forbear to dissolve the assembly, in simulate manner, and withal to hear their answers to his protestation, whereof it appears they were well enough acquainted. The commissioner refused to hear the samen read, and commanded them to rise under the highest pains, whilk they plainly disobeyed, and sat still; whereupon he suddenly starts up, and goes to the door, whom the lords of council followed, leaving their clerk reading their answers; and immediately causes an herauld to go to the cross of Glasgow in his coat of arms, with a proclamation made up by him and the lords of council, and subscribed with their hands, and given under his majesty's signet, dated the 29th of November, and by sound of trumpet discharged the said general assembly; and, in his highness' name, commanded the said moderator, commissioners, and ruling elders, and all other members thereof, not to treat, consult, or conclude any further in the said assembly, under the pain of treason, and that they should rise up and dissolve out of the town of Glasgow within twenty-four hours; discharging also all his majesty's good subjects from giving obedience to their pretended acts, as the letters raised thereanent more fully purport; and the commissioner standing at the cross, hereupon took instrument. But the Covenanters protested, and took instrument in the contrary, saying, his majesty had indicted this general assembly, whilk he nor his commissioner could not dissolve without consent of the same assembly.

The commissioner directed the said letters to be published at Edinburgh, and sends his own declaration therewith, and to the marquis of Huntly, to cause publish; syne goes to horse towards Hamilton; but at his onlouping the earl of Argyll, the earl of Rothes, and lord Lindsay, three pillars of the covenant, had some private speeches with him, whilk drew suspicion that he was on their side.

Here it is to be marked, that there was an act of council, dated at Holyrood-house the 24th of September, 1638, whereof the tenor follows:

"The whilk day ans noble earl, James marquis of Hamilton, his majesty's commissioner, having produced before the lords of secret council upon the 22d of this instant, a warrant signed by his majesty, of the 9th of September, wherein, amongst other of his majesty's gracious expressions, for preservation



of the purity of religion, and due obedience to his authority, in maintenance thereof his majesty did will and ordain, that the lords themselves should subscribe the Confession and Band mentioned in his majesty's said warrant, and also should take such order, as all his majesty's subjects may subscribe the samen. And the said lords of Council, acknowledging his majesty's pious and gracious disposition and affection to the purity of God's truth, did, upon the 22d of this same instant September, unanimously, and with all humble, hearty, and sincere affection, swear and subscribe the Confession of Faith, dated the 2d of March, 1680, according as it was then professed within this kingdom, together with the foresaid general Band, dated in anno 1689; and now to the effect that all his majesty's lieges may give the like obedience to his majesty's pious desire, therefore the said lords have ordained, and ordain all his majesty's lieges of whatsoever estate, degree, or quality, ecclesiastical or civil, to swear and subscribe the said Confession, and that according to the tenor thereof, and as it was then professed within this kingdom, together with the said general band of the date foresaid, as they will answer at the contrary upon their obedience; and ordains officers of arms to pass to the mercat cross of Edinburgh, and other places needful, to publish the samen."

Upon this act, the Covenanters alleged that the foresaid Confession of Faith was understood to be as it was then professed and received when it was made, and that in that Confession defences both of doctrine and discipline then established is sworn, at which time episcopal government being (as they alleged) abolished, it must needs follow that the same government is by this late oath abjured. This act, so set forth to give contentment, turns our Covenanters quite contrary to the king's opinion, who still maintained episcopacy; but they set to bear it down, and that this act should carry the sense of abjuring episcopacy; whereat the commissioner set out a declaration in print, purging himself of any suspicion which could arise from the said act, and maintaining episcopacy to be good and lawful; whilk imprinted declaration he caused publish and spread, to make his own part good at the king's hand, albeit he was very much suspected to be on the Covenanters' side. The marquis of Hamilton rides directly from Glasgow to Hamilton, and writes to the king of the general assembly's and his own hail proceedings, where we will leave him and return to the assembly. They sit still, but many flee home for fear of this proclamation, such as John Kennedy of Kenmuck, a ruling elder for the presbytery of Ellon; Mr. John Annand, parson at Kinoir; Mr. Andrew Logie, parson of Rayne; Mr. Joseph Brodie, minister at Keith; Mr. Thomas Thoirs, minister at Udny, and diverse others; but their removal was marked. Mr. John Lundie being sent over as agent for the College of Old Aberdeen, to attend such affairs as happened to occur concerning them, went beyond his commission, and gave in a petition to the assembly, desiring Mr. James Sandilands, canonist, the cantor, the choristers and chaplains to be removed as unnecessary members lying upon the College rents,

brought in against the king's foundation. It was heard, and a committee appointed to visit the said College.

The assembly goes on and abolishes the haill bishops of Scotland by their acts, as follows :—

“ The General Assembly having heard the complaints and lybels given in against Mr. John Spotswood, pretended archbishop of St. Andrew's, Mr. Patrick Lindsay, pretended archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. David Lindsay, pretended bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Adam Bellenden, pretended bishop of Aberdeen, Mr. Thomas Sydserf, pretended bishop of Galloway, Mr. John Maxwell, pretended bishop of Ross, Mr. Walter Whitefoord, pretended bishop of Brechin, and Mr. James Wedderburn, pretended bishop of Dumblain; therefore the said Assembly hath ordained these pretended bishops to be deposed, and by thir presents deposes them not only of the office of commissioner, to have vote in parliament, counsel, or convention in name of the kirk, but also of all functions, whether of pretended episcopal or ministry, declareth them infamous; and likewise ordains the said pretended bishops to be excommunicated, and declared to be of those whom Christ commandeth to be holden by all and every one of the faithful as ethnicks and publicans; and the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced by Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator, in face of the Assembly in the High Kirk of Glasgow, and the execution of the sentence to be intimate in all the kirks of Scotland by the pastors of every particular congregation, as they will be answerable to their presbyteries and synods.”

And siclike, by another act of the said assembly, as follows, viz. :—

“ The General Assembly having heard the lybels and complaints given in against Mr. Alexander Lindsay, pretended bishop of Dunkeld, Mr. John Guthrie, pretended bishop of Murray, Mr. John Graham, pretended bishop of Orkney, Mr. James Fairley, pretended bishop of Lismoir, and Mr. Neill Campbell, pretended bishop of the Isles; therefore ordains the said bishops to be deposed, and by thir presents deposes them not only of the office of commissioner, vote in parliament, counsel or convention in name of the kirk, but also of all functions whether of pretended episcopal or ministerial calling; and likewise, in case they acknowledge not this assembly, reverence not the constitutions thereof, obey not the sentence, and make not their repentance conform to the order prescribed by this Assembly, ordains them to be excommunicated and declared as ethnicks and publicans, and the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced upon their refusal, in the kirks appointed, by any of those who are particularly named to have the charge of trying their repentance or impenitency; and that the execution of this sentence be intimate within all the kirks of this realm by the parsons of every particular congregation, as they will be answerable to their presbyteries and synods, or next General Assembly, in case of negligence of presbyteries and synods.”

Thus, by thir two acts, are our haill bishops of Scotland deposed, degraded, and ordained to be excommunicated in manner foresaid, without hearing of the bishops themselves, who might

not come in regard of the shortness of their citations, and durst not compear before this assembly for fear of their lives, to make their own part good; and without the king's warrant and authority, which was strange to see. However, upon the 18th of December, Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator, after sermon in the High Church of Glasgow, in presence of the assembly and haill auditors, read out openly the said two acts, and therewith excommunicated the said Mr. John Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, Mr. Patrick Lindsay, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. David Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Adam Bellenden, bishop of Aberdeen, Mr. Thomas Sydserf, bishop of Galloway, Mr. John Maxwell, bishop of Ross, Mr. Walter Whitefoord, bishop of Brechin, and Mr. James Wedderburn, bishop of Dumblain: the rest of the bishops were not at this time excommunicated. This being done, and all closed, they begin to establish committee courts, consisting of nobles, barons, burgesses, and ministers, to sit at Edinburgh, for taking order with refusers to subscribe the covenant, refractory ministers and other disobedients, and of all other matters which could not be overtaken at this time by the assembly. This was the first incoming of committees that ever was heard of in like fashion within this kingdom, and which bred thereafter mickle sorrow against the king and his loyal subjects; for within the haill burrows of Scotland, the chiefest men of the covenant dwelling within ilk shire, barons, burgesses, and ministers, had their committee courts sitting, abusing the king's lieges with grievous burthens, levy of men, money, horse, arms, and taxations and other charges, to assist England in defence of the covenant and religion; and besides, if any subject minted to rise in defence of the king's authority in any part within Scotland, advertisement ran frae county to county, while it came to the estates, and suddenly rose in arms against such persons. Many evils wrought thir committee courts, which here I cannot express.

This assembly (without warrant of the king) indicts another general assembly, to be holden at Edinburgh the 18th of August, 1639. Upon the 20th of December, they rose up and dissolved frae this assembly, wanting the king's or commissioner's ratification and approbation, without which it was simpliciter null; but they got all their wills. Likeas, the committee of the said assembly sitting in Edinburgh deposes Dr. Elliot, Dr. Hanna, Messrs. Alexander Thomson, and David Mitchell, all ministers of Edinburgh, of their offices and functions, for not subscribing the covenant.

Ye heard before of the commissioner's discharging this assembly, and of his writing to the king of their haill proceeding. The king is highly offended, and sends down to him a proclamation, dated at Oatlands, the 8th of December, 1638, declaring that this assembly was holden without bishops, and they choosed their commissioners of the ministry and laity, and

elected their moderator, and after this assembly was charged to rise up and dissolve under the pain of treason, that they disobeyed and sat still, deposed bishops, and made sundry other acts without authority; therefore his majesty commanded and charged his good subjects not to give obedience to the said assembly acts or committees direct therefrae, declaring them safe and free of all pain or censure that might follow thereon, charging also all presbyteries, kirk sessions, and ministers within this realm, at their meetings or in their sermons, that they in no ways approve or allow of the said assembly, under the pain of punishment, commanding all such as heard their approbation in their sermons, to relate the same to the council, as also charging all judges, clerks, and writers, not to pass or grant any bill, summons, letters, or execution, upon any act of the said pretended assembly; and all keepers of the signet, that they should not signet the same; showing also his majesty never intended to exclude episcopacy; discharging his subjects from subscribing of Band, giving oath or swearing and subscribing the said Confession of Faith, in any other sense than what is contained in the declaration manifested and emitted by his highness' commissioner; likewise his majesty promised, and on the word of a king obliged him, by all the royal authority and power wherewith God hath endowed him, to protect and defend his good subjects that refused to acknowledge the said pretended assembly, from any just ground of fear or danger for doing thereof, and to defend them in their persons and goods against whatsoever person or persons who should dare to trouble or molest them, as the said letters at more length purport.

The marquis of Hamilton caused proclaim thir letters at the cross of Edinburgh, but solemn protestation is made against the same; he sent likewise the double of the said letters, and letters which were proclaimed at Glasgow before dissolving of the assembly, to the marquis of Huntly, who, upon the 29th of November, was come to his own house in the Oldtown to dwell, desiring him to cause make proclamation thereof, and of his own declaration, at the cross of Aberdeen, Stonehaven, and other burrows in the north; and caused, at the commissioner's desire, Raban the printer in Aberdeen imprint diverse copies; but still protestations were made against the same, except in Aberdeen, where the marquis himself was present at the proclamation thereof. Thus the marquis diligently, upon his own great expences, caused use thir proclamations, which get no obedience, but in the end turned all to nothing; and in the mean time, the assembly acts are boldly published through all the parish kirks in Scotland, as well against the depositions and excommunications of the bishops in manner foresaid, as otherwise, except brave Aberdeen, that would in no ways hear nor suffer the said acts to be published within their kirks, till they were compelled thereto, sore against their wills, as after ye shall hear.

Likeas the committee of the assembly craved letters of horn-ing against the excommunicate bishops; but how soon they were granted, Mr. James Gordon, keeper of his majesty's signet, would in nowise signet the samen, but went his way into Eng-land with the signet, where his master, the earl of Stirling, se-cretary of Scotland, was remaining, because the king had for-bidden the samen by proclamation, and staid there while Octo-ber, 1639. During his absence, the lords of council devised all letters passing the signet to be supplied by the subscription of one named George Hadden. Such was the order observed then in this kingdom.

Now, the bishop of Aberdeen, misregarding his excommuni-cation and assembly acts, preaches ordinarily after his accus-tomed manner at Old Aberdeen, and upon the 23d of Decem-ber, being Sunday, gave the communion at the said kirk to such of the parishioners as was convened, and to the marquis of Huntly, being dwelling in Old Aberdeen, his two sons, and other friends, and to the regents of the King's College; but thir regents were thereafter censured for taking the communion out of an excommunicated man's hands; likeas this bishop's mouth was shortly closed, and he forced to leave the country.

The doctors of Aberdeen were mainly encouraged by the king's proclamations; but they suffered the smart of their writ-ings; and as ye heard before how gladly the lords of secret council had subscribed the king's confession, seeing him main-tain episcopacy, they all turn, and adhere to the confession and covenant whereby episcopacy was abjured, to the king's great grief.

About this time, John Dugar and his accomplices took Alex-ander Forbes, alias Plagnie, out of his own house of Bog-side, spoiled his goods, bound his hands, and took him sworn to pay a certain sum of money; syne left him at liberty. He meaned himself to the marquis of Huntly, who made him free of his oath, but he was ill requited therefor. This John Dugar was the father of Patrick Ger, whom James Grant slew, as is said before; he did great skaith to the name of Forbes, such as the lairds of Corse, Lesly, and some others, abused their bounds and plundered their cattle, because they were the instruments of Gilderoy's death, and the Forbeses concluded to watch him coming and going, and get him if they might. This made him oppress the Forbeses' bounds by all the rest of the country.

Upon the — day of — Alexander Keith of Balsaur brake ward, and was convoyed out of the tolbooth of Aberdeen in a trunk to a boat ready lying at the shore, and transported him hastily away, and lands him in Angus, where he goes to the place of Inverbrucky, and lies quietly there; the town of Aberdeen hearing this, and that they were in great danger of mickle debt for which he was warded, sent shortly a company of brave men, and took him out of that place perforce; delivered

him to the magistrates of St. Johnstoun, where he was warded, and in great misery lived two or three years, syne died.

The Covenanters now begin to watch the castle of Edinburgh more straitly than ever, both day and night, and suffered nothing to come in or out, but by their leave.

Doctor Scroggie gave the communion on Yool-day in Old Aberdeen, notwithstanding of all the assembly acts. The marquis of Hamilton caused transport by sea, in one of the king's ships called the Swallow, the king's plate, and other tapestry lying in Holyrood-house, together with his own plate and plemishing out of Hamilton, and had to London about the last of December, and upon Yool-even takes journey towards London, where he remained some time.

Upon the 24th of November, Mr. David Bellenden, son to the bishop, and parson of Kincardine, departed this life in his father's house, and without any funeral sermon was buried.

# ANNO 1689.

Upon the 3d of January, 1689, the constable of Dundee directed a messenger-at-arms to publish the declaration, and king's proclamation aforesaid, at the cross of Dundee, as the marquis caused do at Aberdeen; but there came two baillies, the one called Cochran, the other called Simpson, and protested against the samen, and took instruments thereupon, and in the end, after some speeches between them and the messenger, they violently take and ward him in their tolbooth, without regard to the king or his laws, where he remained a long time, and when their will came, he was put to liberty.

Upon the 5th of January, Dr. Guild returns frae the assembly home to Aberdeen. Upon the morn, being Sunday, he intended to read the assembly acts after sermon, and names of the excommunicate bishops; but the town of Aberdeen sent him word they would not hear them read out of their pulpits, saying, the king's proclamation charged his loyal subjects not to hear nor obey the samen; whereupon Dr. Guild went and preached, but made no publication, but he wrote to the table at Edinburgh, whereupon mickle sorrow followed upon Aberdeen.

Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, likewise came home with him, having the like direction, and upon the same Sunday he went to the pulpit in his own kirk of Belhelvie, but before the sermon, the marquis of Huntly had there a messenger, with a notar, publishing in presence of the hail parishioners the declaration and proclamation foresaid, inhibiting them to hear or obey the assembly acts; and hereupon instrument was taken by the messenger in the notar's hands, syne departed; but the said Mr. David Lindsay boldly disregarded thir proclamations, and after sermon read out the hail assembly acts, with the names of

the bishops who were deposed and excommunicate, as ye have before, and all the rest of the bishops were only deposed but not excommunicate; likewise the index of their hail acts was directed by the table (as it was now called) sitting in Edinburgh, to the hail kirks within the diocese of Aberdeen, to be intimate publicly in manner aforesaid, and order given for holding a committee to try and censure such of the ministry as would not subscribe the covenant; whereupon some fled the country, some were deprived of their benefices, but most of all came in, sware, and subscribed the covenant.

Ye heard before of the clandestine band, made betwixt the nobility, ministry, and others of Scotland, and some of the nobles, knights, clergy, and others of England. The truth is, there were abuses in both kingdoms that needed reformation, in kirk and policy, whilk the country could not get repaired, so long as bishops stood, who were one of the three estates in parliament, followed still the king, and in matters questionable their voices cast the balance; therefore they conclude to go on upon a course, and sweep off the bishops of both kingdoms, crop and root, and for that effect to make the Scots begin the play against the established laws, and whether the king would or not, to cast out our bishops, and they should follow, and in the meantime, to fortify and assist us quietly, and not suffer the king to be able to correct us, do what we pleased. Now the principal men of our Scots were the marquis of Hamilton, the earls of Argyll, Rothes, and Cassilis, the lords Lindsay, Balmerinoch, and Couper; having drawn in the body of puritan ministers of the burrows of Scotland, who first devised the abuse to begin at the bishop of Edinburgh, and then to ascend by degrees as ye have heard, which tended to mickle sorrow, blood, and mischief, throughout the king's hail dominions before all was done, and to the unspeakable grief of our gracious sovereign, whom they mightily abused without respect to his authority.

Now about this time, or a little before, there came out of Germany, from the wars, home to Scotland, a gentleman of base birth, born in Balveny, who had served long and fortunately in the German wars, and called to his name Felt Marischal Lesly, his excellency. His name indeed was — Lesly, but by his valour attained to this title Excellency, inferior to none but the king of Sweden, under whom he served amongst his cavalry. This Lesly having conquest frae nought, wealth and honour, resolved to come home to his native country of Scotland, and settle himself beside his chief the earl of Rothes, as he did indeed, and bought fair lands in Fife: but the earl foreseeing the troubles, whereof himself was one of the principal beginners, took hold of this Lesly, who was both wise and stout, acquainted him with the plot, and had his advice for furtherance thereof to his power; and first he desired cannons to

be cast in the Potter-raw by one captain Hamilton; he began to drill the earl's men in Fife, he caused to send to Holland for ammunition, powder and ball, muskets, carabines, pistols, pikes, swords, and all other sort of necessary arms fit for old and young soldiers in great abundance. He caused send to Germany, France, Holland, Denmark, and other countries, for the most expert and valiant captains, lieutenants, and other officers, who came in great haste upon hope of bloody war, thinking, as they were all Scots soldiers that came, to make up their fortunes upon the ruin of our kingdom; but the Lord did otherwise, blessed be his name! He establishes a council of war, consisting of nobles, colonels, captains, and other wise and expert persons, and in the beginning of this month of January began to cast trenches about the town of Leith.

Ye heard before how the king's covenant was subscribed at Aberdeen, yet Mr. John Lundie, master of the grammar-school of Aberdeen, did not (upon his own reasons) subscribe the same at that time; but upon the 15th of January he came to the marquis of Huntly's house in Old Aberdeen, and willingly subscribed the Confession of Faith and Band of Maintenance of his own accord, fearing trouble.

Upon the 14th of January, the name of Forbes had a great meeting at Monymusk, about their own business. The marquis of Huntly hearing of this meeting, convened his friends, about three hundred men, at Kintore, upon the 18th day of January. It is said he wrote for Monymusk and others his vassals, but none came to him, except the laird of Brux, of the name of Forbes; they advised the marquis to remove out of the Oldtown, and go dwell in New Aberdeen, for some appearance of troubles whilk was likely to fall out in the country, and that his friends might be better eased to dwell beside him in New Aberdeen than in Old Aberdeen, and diverse of his friends should come in competent number, time about, and attend him upon their own expences; whilk council the marquis followed.

Now the committee of estates and kirk finding their covenant subscribed, and acts of assembly proclaimed, and intimate in peaceable manner, except by some of the ministry, the haill bishops, and in special the marquis of Huntly and some of his friends, and most part of the town of Aberdeen, and doctors thereof, who wilfully stood to the king's opinion, misregarding their covenant and assembly acts, and not suffering the samen to be intimate by Dr. Guild within their kirk, as was done through the haill kirks of Scotland, obediently; and that the marquis opposed all their doings, by publishing the king's proclamation through the north, thereby bringing the people to mislike their covenant and haill procedure: these and the like motives the nobility, barons, burgesses, and ministers take to heart, and after mature deliberation, resolve to raise arms, and to cause the marquis and burrow of Aberdeen, doctors, and all other out-



standing ministers, to come in, and do that perforce whilk they would not do willingly, as indeed came over true to pass, to their great grief and high displeasure.

The burrow of Aberdeen biding by the king more stoutly than wisely, and hearing daily of great preparations making in the south, began to look to themselves, and to use all possible means for their defence; likeas upon the 17th of January they began to watch their town, and nightly had thirty-six men in arms for that effect; they made up their catbands through the haill streets; they dressed and cleansed their cart pieces, whilk quietly and treacherously were altogether poisoned by the Covenanters within the towns, and so rammed with stones that they were with great difficulty cleansed. Thus the town being nightly watched, there came down the street certain of their own colleigioners who were all Covenanters' sons within and without the town, whereof Patrick Lealy, burgess, and Mr. Andrew Cant, minister, their sons, were principal ones; the watch commanded them to their beds, whilk they refused, whereupon they presented hagbutts to these scholars, syne went their way. Complaint was made against them upon the morrow for troubling the watch; they are forced to come in and acknowledge their offence, and come in the town's will; but sundry of them left the town, and went to their covenanting fathers.

Now about that time there came warrant from about twenty-nine earls and lords, by and attour barons, burgesses, and ministers, in written missives, and sealed with a common seal, as report passed, signifying through all Scotland to thir Covenanters the great danger they were in for religion, and that they feared England would rise against them, willing them therefore to take up the haill rentals of Scotland, as well of friend as foe, and to raise 13s. 4d. out of ilk chalder of victual or silver rent, for raising of men, and that ilk sherifdom should try the number of their men, and arms, and to have all in readiness at occasion should offer, and to levy colonels, captains, ensigns, and serjeants, and other officers to train up the men; and they order how commissioners should be chosen to sit three months at the council table in Edinburgh their time about, and likewise how commissioners should be chosen for ruling each presbytery and parish in the land, and set down instructions in write about all thir businesses, whilk bred great trouble in uptaking of the rental, and number of men and others above written.

Upon the 25th of January, sir Thomas Burnett of Leys, a faithful lover and follower of the house of Huntly, and a great covenanter also, came to Aberdeen, and in friendly manner declared to the marquis that there was a committee directed frae the council table of Edinburgh to make publication of the assembly acts at the mercat cross of Aberdeen, and likewise to visit the College of Old Aberdeen, and repair the faults thereof, and demanded of his lordship how he was pleased therewith; to

whom the marquis gave no contented answer, as done against the king's command; then Leys said, 'My lord, I fear these things will be done by an army,' but the marquis hearkened not thereunto, and so they parted; but it came over true to pass, notwithstanding the king's proclamations.

Upon Thursday the penult of January, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, with their friends, the laird of Frendraught, the laird of Strichen, the baillie of Slains (by direction of the earl of Kinghorn, the lord Yester, and laird of Auldbar, as tutors to the earl of Errol) with many others, convened at Turriff, for choosing their commissioners, to go to Edinburgh and remain for three months upon the common expences of the country. The marquis hearing of this meeting, sent before an herald and caused proclaim at the cross of Turriff the proclamation and declaration foresaid; but at their coming they made protestations against the samen, and took instrument thereupon, and went to the election of the commissioners, and elected the laird of Frendraught and laird of Strichen commissioners; syne dissolved in peace.

There were also meetings in Banff, Elgin, Forress, Nairn, Inverness, Dornoch, and Thurso, for choosing of the commissioners; but before their meetings the marquis caused most carefully proclaim the foresaid proclamations and declaration by an herald by tuck of drum; but still protestations were made, and instruments taken.

The town of Aberdeen, seeing thir committees, convened the township within the tolbooth, and began to choose out captains, ensignes, sergeants, and other officers for drilling of their men in the links, and learning them to handle their arms; but they lost their travel, as ye shall hear.

Ye heard how the marquis of Huntly was advised to dwell in New Aberdeen; it is said he wrote to his cousin the earl Marischal for the lend of his house in Aberdeen to dwell in for a time (thinking and taking Marischal to be on the king's side, as he was not) but he was refused; but the laird of Pitfoddels kindly lent him his house, and upon the last of January he flitted out of Old Aberdeen, with his hail family and furniture, and there took up house. It was condescended among his friends, that twenty-four gentlemen, whereof there should be three barons, should weekly attend and serve this marquis in Aberdeen their week about; and when twenty-four went out, other twenty-four to come in, and daily to eat at the marquis' table; and siclike there was eight gentlemen appointed to watch his lodging in the night their time about, with fire and candle still burning within the house. This order began to be kept upon the 4th of February, to the marquis' great expence, and fashery of his kin and friends; but it did no good. A friend, as was thought, wrote to the marquis, desiring him to have a care of his own person, whereupon this order followed, as is above written; but it continued

not long, for the marquis left Aberdeen, as ye shall hear afterwards.

Upon the first day of February, the earl of Montrose, the earl of Kinghorn, the laird of Auldbar, and diverse other barons of the Covenanters and gentlemen, came to Forfar, head burrow of the shire of Angus, and held a committee (by direction of the tables) within the tolbooth thereof, to whom came the earl of Southesk, the lord Ogilvie, the master of Spynie, the constable of Dundee, and sundry others of the king's faction. They were desired to subscribe a new covenant, abjuring episcopacy, &c. which simpliciter they refused: then they began to stent the king's lieges within the shire of Angus. Southesk asked by what authority they were thus stenting the king's lieges? Montrose (being his son-in-law) answered, their warrant was from the table, (for so were their councils at Edinburgh now called), requiring him also, and the rest that were present, to number their men, and have them armed, and in readiness to assist the table. Southesk answered, they were all the king's men, subject to his service, but to no table, nor subject sitting thereat; and that their lands were not subject to be stented nor their men numbered, but at the king's command, and in his service; and so they went away, leaving Montrose and the rest in the tolbooth of Forfar at their committee.

Upon Sunday the 3d of February, a solemn fast was kept at Aberdeen anent the apparent troubles of the kingdom.

Upon the 7th day of February, Thomas Fraser, younger of Strichen, James Fraser, brother to the lord Lovat, Mr. Alex. M'Kenzie of Cultowie, brother to the earl of Seaforth, with the town of Inverness, and many countrymen, convened at the said burgh, hearing of the coming of William Gordon of Knockespock, at command of the marquis of Huntly, to furnish and provide the castle of Inverness with men, meat, and munition; and had with him muskets, powder, ball, and other necessaries for that effect. But they gathered together, went betwixt him and the castle, and would not suffer him to enter; and violently and masterfully reft and took frae the gentleman his haill arms, &c. saying this house pertained not to the marquis nor to the king, but only was built for defence of the country. The gentleman could make no pleasant answer, but took instrument against them, and was blyth to win away. In the mean time, there was a strait watch of fifty men set nightly to keep this castle, furnished by the M'Kenzies, Frasers, Rosses, Monroes, and other country people and clans, and by the town of Inverness, night about; and they brake up the gates, doors, and windows of that stately castle, spoiled the pleasant plenishing and rich library of books, and brought all to nought within that house, inferior to few in the kingdom for decorement. The gentlemen returned back, told the marquis, but he was forced patiently to suffer this oppression, to his great grief and skaith.

The table had appointed a committee also at Turriff for stenting the country and numbering the men, as was done before at Forfar; and to this effect, there convened the earls of Montrose and Kinghorn, the lord Couper, with sundry other barons and gentlemen, about nine score, well horsed and well armed, with buff coats, carabines, swords, pistols, and the like arms. They came not by Aberdeen; but upon Wednesday the 13th of February, they lodged with the lord Fraser at his place of Muchalls, and in the country about; and upon the morn, being the 14th of February, they rode from thence to Turriff, having the lord Fraser, one of the committee, with them, and his friends, where there met them the master of Forbes with his friends and followers, another of the said committee. The earl of Marischall was not there himself, but his men, tenants, and servants of Buchan and Mar was there; and likewise the young earl of Errol, his men, tenants, and servants of Buchan were there, (albeit himself was but a bairn), about the number of eight hundred men, well horsed and well armed, together with buff coats, swords, corsets, jacks, pistols, carabines, hagbutts, and other weapons. Thus they took up the town of Turriff, and placed their muskets very advantageously about the dykes of the kirk-yard; and such as were of the committee sat down within the kirk thereof, viz. Montrose, Kinghorn, Couper, Fraser, Forbes, as is before mentioned.

Now the marquis of Huntly being at the burial of his aunt, the lady Foveran, and daughter to the laird of Gight, short while before this time, and hearing of this committee to be holden at Turriff, some evil-disposed person informed him that he durst not be there that day. The marquis incensed hereat, came frae the burial to his house at Aberdeen, and shortly writes to his friends to meet him without any arms except swords; and upon the said Wednesday, the 13th of February, he loupes on in Aberdeen, having his two sons, the lord Gordon and lord Aboyne, the earl of Findlater, the master of Rae, who was by accident in Aberdeen, the laird of Drum, the laird of Banff, the laird of Gight, the laird of Haddo, the laird of Pittodale, the laird of Foveran, the laird of Newtoun; with many others that meet him. However, he lap on in Aberdeen, about sixty horse with him, with swords, hagbutts, and pistols only; and upon Wednesday he came to Kelly, the laird of Haddo's house, at night. Upon the morrow, being Thursday, and the 14th of February, he lap on; and at the Broad Foord of Towie, two miles distant from Turriff, the marquis himself began to rank and put his men in order, and to take the number of them, which was estimate to be about two thousand brave well horsed gentlemen and footmen, albeit wanting arms, except sword and shot, as I have said. Thus the marquis came forward in order of battle, upon the north-west side of Turriff, in sight of the other company, looking to one another, without any kind of

offence or injurious words. The marquis having thus peaceably past by, dissolved his company, ilk man to go home, and himself went that night to Forglen, pertaining to the laird of Banff. The Covenanters heard indeed of the marquis' coming, and therefore they took in the town, and busked the yard dykes very commodiously, as I have said; and seeing there was nothing but peace, they hold their committee within the kirk of Turriff, stented, taxed, and numbered the men, ordaining them to be in readiness with their arms, to attend the table. There came to assist this committee out of Murray, the laird of Innes, the sheriff of Murray, the lairds of Pluscarden, Tarbett, Brodie, and others, about twelve-score brave well horsed gentlemen. Upon the said 14th of February, this committee dissolved in peace, and the lords returned back to Muchalls: the rest lodged that night at Inverury and Kintore. Upon the morn, they rode to Dunotter, where they were made welcome, and Marisohall there declared himself clearly to be a Covenanter, whilk was doubtful before, and so ilk man went home. The marquis of Huntly came frae Forglen to Kelly upon Friday at even, and upon Saturday he returned to his own lodging in New Aberdeen.

This business did no good to the marquis, who was evil advised and counselled to make a show of his strength and power, without doing any other service; for the whilk and other his doings, he was with his friends pitifully borne down and oppressed, as ye may hereafter see. It was said the marquis, the bishop, and town of Aberdeen, and doctors of both Aberdeens, had received letters frae the king, thanking them for their constancy, entreating perseverance to the end, and approving the doctors for their writings, promising to remember their pains, and desiring the marquis, in a special manner, to stand stedfast to his loyalty; and that he would send to Aberdeen 3000 soldiers to defend the town and north country round about, with money, powder, ball, ammunition, and all other things necessary by sea, whilk letters encouraged the marquis, the town, and all. Likewise, the marquis read this letter to his people whom he loved, going to Turriff, whereat they mightily rejoiced, and made them to stand out against the Covenanters to the uttermost, to their great shame and disgrace, as ye may hereafter see.

The town of Aberdeen fearing that this committee should be holden in their town, coming back frae Turriff, began to make preparations for their own defence, resolving not to give them entrance if they happened to come; and to that effect began to big up their own back gates, closes, and ports, have their cat-bands in readiness, their cannon clear and in good order, to gainstand them and their doings (if they came) to the uttermost; but they were shortly pacified, because thir people neither came nor went past by Aberdeen, but rode the highway by Muchalls.

Right suae, the members of the King's College of Aberdeen, possess with the like fear that they should come and hold a

committee within their college, by procurement of Mr. John Lundie, as ye have heard, who, without warrant, desired the bishop of Aberdeen, as alleged chancellor, Mr. James Sandilands, canonist, and Dr. William Gordon, doctor of medicine, to be removed, as unnecessary members, frae the said College; and unlawfully brought in and established, by umquhile, Patrick, bishop of Aberdeen, against the foundation set down by umquhile king James, taking up the rents without any lawful service, whilk rather belonged to the masters and inward members of the said College, who carefully attended their classes for up-bringing of youth. The foresaid petition was given in before the general assembly without warrant of the College members, yet was well heard by the assembly, who ordained a committee to come and visit the said College; the which coming to the masters' ears, they accused Mr. John Lundie for passing by his commission, and giving in such a petition; and accused him before Bishop Bellenden, and other outward members of the said College, alleging he had wronged the liberties of the house, by drawing them under censure of a committee of the assembly, who were only answerable to the king and council for any offence or oversight; but the said Mr. John Lundie pleaded guilty and confessed his error, and by an act (not subscribed with his hand) confessed he had no warrant nor commission to the effect aforesaid. But the masters being under fear that the committee holden at Turriff would come and visit their College in their home-going, therefore they set their hail students to liberty, closed up the gates, and ilk man went a sundry way, thinking if they came they should find fast gates, and no mau there to abide their censure; but they were disappointed of their expectation, and seeing they came not, they conveyed their scholars, and ilk man fell to his own study and charge calmly and quietly.

About the 9th of March, there came to Aberdeen an imprinted declaration, declaring how his majesty with patience had suffered our Scots Covenanters' disloyal procedure, who, under pretext of religion, had turned rebels, without any ground of religion for their warrant; how they had used frequent convocations of his lieges, guarded his castles, kept assembly after they were discharged, set down stents, taxations, and impositions upon his good subjects, for maintenance of war against the laws of the kingdom; how seditious pasquils were daily written and printed and sent to England, whereof his majesty had seen the principal missive directed out of Scotland. It likewise declared how by subscribing of this covenant, the English preachers denied his majesty's supremacy and oath of allegiance; that his majesty would maintain episcopacy, and that he had no mind to alter or change any material point of religion; that his Confession and our Confession of Faith was but one; that the inbringing of the Service Books was to make God to be worshipped throughout all his dominions after one form

and manner ; declaring also the haill Covenanters, for this illegal procedure, to be traitors ; and ordained this proclamation to be read at the church doors of every parish church in England, that the Christian world might see how he was abused, and how his majesty was forced to take up arms : charging, therefore, and commanding the nobles, earls, lords, knights, &c. throughout all England, to muster their men and inroll their names, that his majesty might know their number, and to meet him at York in their best arms, upon the — day of March next. Thir letters were dated the 27th of February. How soon this proclamation was published to the town of Aberdeen they rejoiced heartily thereat, but all their mirth soon turned into mourning. They desired this proclamation to be published at the Scots parish kirks also, but none durst offer to do the samen.

Upon Sunday the 24th of February, about eighteen gentlemen, of the names of Fraser, Ross, and Cummine, passing the water of Findhorn in a fish-boat, were pitifully drowned.

Upon the 27th of February, the earl Marischall mustered his men, tenants, and servants, within his lands of Kintore and Skene, and inrolled their names so strictly that few men were left to hold or drive the plough. There was also a meeting amongst the Forbesses and Frasers at Monymusk about this time.

The town of Aberdeen, still trusting to the king's letters and protection, and hearing the Covenanters were raising forces to come to Aberdeen, and compel them to yield to their will, whether they would or not, resolved to bide the worst, and by the marquis' advice began to try what provision was within the town, in case they were besieged ; next they began to cast ditches by his advice, and advice of Colonel Johnstoun, who all this time was in the town drilling up the town's soldiers, and upon the 1st day of March fell to work and digged deep ditches frae the Gallowgate port, down the north side of the town to the Castle-hill, and about the hill ; and upon the south side of the town they raised up timber sconces anent the loch, whereby the town's musqueteers might safely stand and molest the enemy. They had the like sconces upon the Gallowgate port, upon the hill. They had eleven pieces of ordnance, which was planted most commodiously upon the town streets, ilk piece having a timber sconce for soldiers to defend the same ; and thus were they busy, man and woman, making great preparations to hold them out, who would not be holden out by them, as ye may shortly hear.

Upon the said 1st of March, Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Pitsligo, came with his wife and children to Old Aberdeen, where he lodged all night ; and upon the morn, being Sunday, on his journey, preached at Banchory Devnick, to whom flocked several puritans out of Aberdeen to hear him. He was transported from Pitsligo to Newbottle, and was now upon his jour-

ney thither : a great Covenanter, very busy in thir alterations, and a mortal enemy to the bishops. He was thereafter transported from Newbottle to Aberdeen.

Now the Covenanters have daily meetings at their council table at Edinburgh ; men taken up in the south country, and daily mustering ; commissioners also appointed to take up their number, and see their order and armour : they omitted no occasion to advance their purposes. But the bishops lay still and beheld all stedfastly, depending on the king's protection and defence, as he had often promised ; and in the mean time the country is brought under great fear.

About this time, Mr. John Hay, minister at Rafford, Mr. David Dumbbar, minister at Ardc lash, and William Ross, provost of Nairn, all Covenanters and commissioners of the general assembly, came to Elgin, met with the bishop of Murray coming frae sermon at the kirk door of Elgin, and there publicly intimate to him of his deprivation, charging him also to make his public repentance ; whereupon they took instrument. The bishop seeing matters to go so, left off to preach any more : albeit, he preached after his deprivation till now. He left off to preach ilk Sunday, according to his custom, and resolves to keep his castle of Spynie close, and come no more out, having furnished the same with men, munition, and victuals, and resolved to keep this strength to the uttermost ; but he was forced to give it over before all was done.

The king's proclamation was not suffered here to be published as in England, but altogether suppress, alleging they were there all called traitors who were of the covenant, against all order, for none should be proclaimed traitors till first they be tried, assized, and legally convicted of treason in council or parliament, according to the Scottish laws ; and that his majesty ought not, upon evil information of their enemies, go about to proclaim them traitors without advice of the lords of council ; and so would not suffer them to be published.

Upon the 14th of March, there was a meeting among the nobles and others at Perth, where the earls of Argyll and Montrose, the lord Couper, and master of Forbes, and some others were. It was said Argyll wrote to his good-brother, the marquis of Huntly, desiring him to be at this convention, or then send his eldest son ; but he wrote back his excuse, saying, he could not come himself, and his son was but young, but he should send a commissioner there, as he did, and sent Dr. Gordon to Perth. This convention continued till the 18th of March, syne dissolved. It was said the marquis of Huntly was desired by Argyll's letter to meet him at Brechin, but the marquis excused himself, saying, he could not win. Argyll urged a meeting with him quietly, either at Brechin or Fettercairn, to have communed about thir affairs, but he still refused. He was also diverse times advertised by some of his friends, that if he would



Now as the marquis is thus occupied, the Oldtown and Spital bounds was mustered upon the 22d day of March, and ranked and numbered with the men of Seatoun, in presence of the bishop of Aberdeen and the laird of Clunie his baillie depute, at the Dovecoat Green, and estimate to the number of eight score men, for the most part feeble, weak, and unarmed. The marquis directed threescore muskets and staves, powder, lead, and match, and thirty pikes for helping to arm thir people, and took their tickets for the price of restitution foresaid. Now the Oldtown people thus armed with the people of Spital and Seatoun, were all charged to go meet the marquis of Huntly the foresaid 25th of March at Inverurie, with fifteen days lone, which they obeyed, and went out of the Spital, Oldtown, and Seatoun, two hundred men, with diverse musketeers of New Aberdeen. Thus were the country people drawn to such extremity that they knew not whom to obey, whether the king's proclamation and lieutenant's charges, or the Covenanters' commands.

Upon the foresaid 22d of March, the College of Old Aberdeen was left desolate; the masters, members, and students, took all the flight, hearing the Covenanters coming with irresistible forces, and closed up the College gates. They had received before of the marquis' armour twenty muskets, and thirty pikes, for defence of the college, but they did little service, being plundered from them afterwards.

Upon the 25th of March, being Monday, the marquis went to horse at Aberdeen, with one hundred horse, having the lord Seatoun then in his company, with his children, and rode altogether that same day to Inverurie, and left orders to transport the haill family out of Aberdeen to Strathboggie, whilk was done, because he had gotten sure information that the Covenanters were coming with an army in all haste to Aberdeen, and against himself also. However he rides forwards to Inverurie upon the hearing of the Covenanters coming, and for the particular reason following; which was, he being in Aberdeen, there came to him James Burnett of Craigmyle, with some other well-affected friends, showing that the Covenanters were gathering, and that they had a convention to be at Old Montrose, shortly resolving to come to Aberdeen, and publish the assembly acts, and visit the Oldtown college, and to take order with the Anticovenanters in their country in all haste; seeing the haill kingdom was obedient except Aberdeen, and the marquis, and some of the north, and therefore desired him, out of love (without any warrant), that he would be pleased to behold them to go on, otherwise they were making such preparation that they would come and might not be resisted. Thereafter they went to the council of Aberdeen, desiring them willingly to come in and subscribe the covenant, obey the assembly acts, and suffer them to be published, and suffer the Oldtown college to be visited, and contribute in expences, and all other things, with the Co-

venanters frae the beginning of this business; otherwise it would stand to their shame and skaith beyond their expectation. The marquis, the provost, and baillies, heard all, but gave little answer to their friends; however they go to council, to see what was best to be done, and in the end concluded, that the marquis should send to this convention, holden by the Covenanters at Montrose, two friends in commission, and the town should send other two commissioners to them, to understand thir Covenanters' minds; likeas his lordship sent Robert Gordon of Straloch, and Dr. Gordon, medicinar in Old Aberdeen; and the town sent Dr. Johnston, physician, and George Morison, burgess in Aberdeen, upon the 21st of March, to Old Montrose, where the earls of Montrose and Argyll, the lord Couper, and diverse other Covenanters, had their meeting. The commissioners declared they were sent frae the marquis and town of Aberdeen (hearing of their gathering of forces) to demand if they had any intention against them, or to pursue, injure, or molest them by arms; if they had such intention, to advertise them, whereby they might be upon their guard; if otherwise, to send assurance to them by write of their peaceable resolutions. Whereunto answer was made to the said commissioners, that they were not to do any wrong violently, but to such as stood out against them and their covenant, and that they would strive to compel them to yield who would not submit willingly: further assurance by write they would not grant. The commissioners told how the marquis and town of Aberdeen were peaceably set, obedient to the king and his laws, and daily wishing the weal and quiet of the kingdom, and therefore looked not to be invaded or punished without doing any wrong. The commissioners got no other answer, but returned to Aberdeen, and told the marquis and town their answer, and that there was great appearance of trouble to follow, whilk bred no small discontentment to the marquis, and great fear to the burrow of Aberdeen. Upon receipt of this answer, the marquis hastily resolves to leave Aberdeen in the midst of their distresses, takes his children with him, and leaves direction to his servants to flitt and remove themselves after him to Strathboggie, goes to horse, and upon the 25th of March comes to Inverurie, where there met him about five thousand brave men, whereof there were about one thousand horse, in good order and well armed; but the earl of Findlater, whom he chiefly expected, came not there; the marquis causes draw them up in order of battle, and was glad of their coming; they came, some for fear of, and obedience to, the lieutenantry, but most part were of his own vassals, friends, and followers. After this view they encamped there all night, and upon the morrow, the marquis goes to council, where it was found expedient to dissolve this army, in respect of the great army coming from the south, who had great assistance here in the north, ready to meet them, which he could not resist or defend. Whereupon the

marquis, after, with a good countenance, thanking the people for their obedient coming, gave them leave to go home without more ado, and so dissolves them, and he himself rides to Strathboggie. Many marvelled at this purpose; some were of opinion that the marquis might have stayed and given the Covenanters battle, others alleged that it was most dangerous, the chance of war being uncertain, so that if he had fought and been overcome, his kin, friends, and their lands, had been entirely spoiled, and undone, without any appearance of help or recovery. And though it happened him to be victorious, yet the Covenanters were able to renew the battle, and bring the whole power of the country against him, which he was unable to gainstand, and had no hope of help from the king. Howsoever men thought of this affair, the marquis took this course and dissolved, as said is.

About this same time, the marquis' foot post, called William Nicolson, after going to the king with letters, in his coming home again was taken by the Covenanters, and his letters masterfully taken frae him, whereat the marquis was offended, as he had reason, for his own letters were kept up against himself; yet it was willingly done by the post, for which he was afterwards hanged.

Word came also that the castle of Edinburgh was rendered by one called — Hadden, brother to the laird of Glenlogie, under captain thereof, to the town of Edinburgh, and taken in by them.

The noble burrow of Aberdeen being daily assured of the coming of an army, and considering and pondering the answer which came frae the Covenanters to them, and withal how the marquis had left them, in whom they had great confidence, and of his deserting his army at Inverurie, and seeing no help come frae the king, they began then to be heartless and comfortless, and entirely to despair, not knowing what course to take; the town being also divided amongst themselves, some following the king, and some the Covenanters. At last, after diverse consultations, they concluded to give it over and to quit the cause, and to think all their pains and travel in this business clearly lost; and therefore seeing they were not able to make defence against the incoming of this army, resolved to cast their swords from their sides, whilk were then daily worn; leave off their mustering, casting of ditches, keeping of watches or catbands, removed their ordnance off the streets with their fortifications, threw open their ports, and made them ready to give the army peaceable entrance within the town without impediment, suppose sore against their wills, and in the mean time, each man began to look to his own particular weal for eschewing this imminent danger; some removed their best goods out of the way, others fled the town with their families; amongst others, there fled beyond sea sixty of the bravest men and youths of Aberdeen,

well armed with swords, muskets, and bandoliers; they took one of the town's colours and their drummer with them, and resolved to go to the king. Thus they all fled before they should be compelled to subscribe the covenant, contribute in expences, or see the assembly acts published, whilk they had so long withstood before; others bade within the town, such as Mr. Alexander Jaffray, provost, the baillies, and other Covenanters. About the 28th of March, the foresaid sixty persons shipped at Torrie in a ship attending them there, with whom shipped Dr. Leely, principal of the King's College; Dr. Baron, professor of divinity; Dr. Sibbald, one of the ministers of Aberdeen; Dr. Ross, and Dr. Guild, two of the town's ministers; but Dr. Ross might not flee, because he was sick at that time. They all fled to England, except Guild, who fled to Holland. There also shipped with them the lairds of Drum, Pitfoddels, young Foveran, and Balgouny, with Mr. Alexander Irvine, Robert Irvine, and some others; and upon the said 28th of March, hoist up sail, and to the king go they. Dr. Forbes of Corse, Dr. Scroggie, minister at Old Aberdeen, and Mr. Gilbert Ross, reader, fled all to the country. Mr. Alexander Middleton, Mr. Alexander Garden, and Mr. Alexander Scroggie, regents, with Robert Ogilvie, sub-principal of the King's College, threw up the gates of the College, and set the students at liberty, and themselves fled through the country. This was done upon the 22d of March. The bishop of Aberdeen, with John Bellenden, his son; Mr. John Bellenden, his brother; and John Blackwater, his servant, flees upon the 27th of March, and through the country goes he.

The laird of Ethie in Angus, with some friends, Anti-covenanters, fled his country, and shipped for France; he is driven by tempest to Dunbar; they all are taken, ship and goods, and warded, yet upon conditions they are set at liberty, and their goods restored.

Now our Aberdeen's men and country barons fled all to the king to complain upon the disorders of the land; but they lost all their travel, and were forced to come home again, except Dr. Baron, who died at Berwick in August, and Dr. Sibbald stayed in England, and Dr. Guild returned also frae Holland.

The bishop of Aberdeen was ill thought of by the Covenanters for preaching ilk Sabbath day till the 24th of March, and giving of the communion after he was excommunicated, but he preached no more after that. Thus the assembly foresaid, without authority of the king, and expressly against his command, excommunicated and deposed bishops as they pleased, to the admiration of many, against the laws and their consciences.

Now the ministers of Edinburgh and elsewhere begin to preach boldly out of the pulpits, exhorting the people to maintain this good cause; whereupon they went on furiously by their persua-

sion in defence of this Covenant, without the king's warrant or authority.

The council table finding that they had gotten obedience through all the burrows of Scotland, and through the country also, and none to stand out but Aberdeen, and the doctors thereof, with the marquis of Huntly, his friends and followers, and some of the country ministers who took their dependance frae the king against them and their covenant, and would not hear the assembly acts published within their kirk, subscribe their covenant, nor contribute with them; that they were casting ditches, and using devices to defend themselves; and that the marquis of Huntly was dwelling among them, the bishops also of the same town giving advice and council; that the marquis had gotten home arms, with a lieutenantry, to cross their designs; upon thir reasons, and diverse others, they raise arms in the south, and hastily directs Mr. James Baird and Mr. Gibeon, two advocates in Edinburgh, to go quickly to the north, and cause the Covenanters there convene and meet their army at Aberdeen, which they did, and therewith resolved either to bring the marquis, the burrow of Aberdeen and their doctors and ministers, and all other outstanders, to come in and subscribe their covenant, and to do all other obedience willingly, otherwise to compel them by force of arms to do the samen; and upon this resolution they list their army with great diligence. In the mean time the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the earl of Errol (being but a young bairn) his men, tenants, and servants, under the conduct of the laird of Delgaty, the lord Pitaligo (being also but a bairn) his men, tenants, and servants, under the conduct of Alexander Forbes of Boyndlie his tutor, with diverse other barons and gentlemen, Covenanters, convened upon the 28th of March at Kintore, about the number of two thousand men, horse and foot, ready to meet the Southland Covenanters at Aberdeen, as they were directed. From Kintore they came in order of battle to Old Aberdeen, where part of them were lodged that night, but the most part lay in the fields about the Oldtown, abiding the coming of the other army; upon whilk Friday the 29th of March, there came in the evening to the north side of the Tollo-hill, beside Banchory-Devenick on Dee-side, within three miles of Aberdeen, the earl of Montrose, lord general, the earl Marischall, the earl Kinghorn, the lord Erskine, the lord Carnegie, the lord Elcho, his excellency Felt Marischal Lesly, with a well prepared army, both of foot and horse, drawn out of the sheriffdoms of Fife, Perth, Angus, Mearns, and burrows thereof. They were estimate to be about nine thousand men, horse and foot, with the carriages; they had two cartons or quarter cannons following them, with twelve piece of other ordnance. They might easily come to Aberdeen that night, having daylight enough, but they would not come,

but stented their pavilions upon the said hill, and rested there all night. Upon the morrow, being Saturday, they came in order of battle well armed both on horse and foot, each horseman having at least five shot, with a carabine in his hand, two pistols by his sides, and other two by his saddle; the pikemen in their ranks with pike and sword; the musketeers in their rank, with musket, staff, bandelier, sword, powder, ball, and match; each company both of horse and foot had their captains, lieutenants, ensigne, serjeants, and other officers and commanders, all for the most part in buff coats, and in goodly order. They had five colours or ensigne, whereof the earl of Montrose had one, having the motto "*For religion, the Covenant, and the Country.*" The earl of Marischall had one, the earl of Kinghorn had one, and the town of Dundee had two; they had trumpeters to ilk company of horsemen, and drummers to ilk company of footmen; they had their meat, drink, and other provision carried with them, all done by the advice of the said Felt Marischal Lesly, whose council, general Montrose followed in this business. Now in seemly order and good array this army came forward, and entered the burrow of Aberdeen about ten hours in the morning, at the Upper Kirk-gate Port, syne came down the Broadgate and Castlegate, out at the Justice Port, to the Queen's Links directly. Here it is to be noted, that few or none of this army wanted a blue ribband, but the lord Gordon and some others of the marquis' family had a ribband when they were dwelling in the town, of a red flesh colour, which they wore in their hats, and called it the *Royal Ribband*, as a sign of their love and loyalty to the king. In despite and derision thereof this blue ribband was worn, and called the *Covenanters' Ribband* by the haill soldiers of the army, who would not hear of the royal ribband, such was their pride and malice. There came to the links the same Saturday frae the Oldtown and fields thereabout, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the laird of Delgaty, the tutor of Pitsligo, the earl Marischall's men in Buchan, with diverse other barons, their men, tenants, and servants, about the number of two thousand horse and foot, and meet with the army in kindly manner; shortly after their coming, a general muster was made of the haill army, which was estimate about eleven thousand horse and foot, carriage horse and all; muster being made, all men were commanded by sound of trumpet in general Montrose' name to go to breakfast either in the links or in the town. The general himself, nobles, captains, and commanders for the most part, and soldiers, sat down in the links, and of their own provision, with a servit on their knee, took breakfast; others went to the town, and as they were commanded returned shortly to the army, who complained that they were not made welcome, and paid dear for what they got. However another view was taken of the army, and some weak armless bodies got liberty from the general to go home. Thereafter the

general sent for the provost, Mr. Alexander Jaffray, and told him that his soldiers who went to the town could not get welcome nor meat, albeit he directed them to take nothing for naught, and for such as they get they were extorted. He said, the town of Aberdeen upon their great expences and sore travel was casting ditches to stop their army, and using many other devices to withstand their coming, wherein they proved more wilful than skilful, and had lost all their labour; therefore he commanded the provost in all haste to cause fill up these ditches, to the effect his army might pass and repass without impediment, and in the mean time to see that his soldiers be well entertained without extortion, as occasion offered; all which the provost humbly promised, and performed by causing the town's men hastily fill up the ditches. After these speeches the army was again drawn up, and the earl of Kinghorn with fifteen hundred men had orders to go to Aberdeen, take in the town and watch the same, and to send after the army two quarter cannon, having a bullet of above twenty-four pound each. Conform to this order, Kinghorn, after he had taken his leave of the general in the links, came up to the town the same Saturday with the lairds of Benholm, Auldbar, and diverse others in his company; the earl with some others lodged in skipper Anderson's, to whom came the provost and bailies, and rendered to him the keys of the tolbooth, their kirks and posts; he causes quarter his soldiers, and set strong watch both day and night at ilk port, none day nor night went in or out but by their permission; the gates were closed ilk evening, and opened in the morning about seven o'clock. Now brave Aberdeen, who went wisely to guard themselves, is brought under subjection, and commanded by a stranger governour, because they were loyal to the king, depended upon his protection and missive letters and proclamations, which now against their expectation had failed them, to their great grief, shame, and sorrow, and none of all the burrows of Scotland brought under this trouble but only Aberdeen; but patience persevere. Governour Kinghorn, for the earl is now stiled governour of Aberdeen, the same Saturday at night, after he had received the keys of the town, received also from the lady Pitfoddels, the keys of her lodging, wherein the marquis had lodged short while before; but at the delivery of thir keys, there was a sudden fray among them, occasioned by a shot racklesly let go in the same house, where the governour and lady with others were together. None knew from whom nor how this shot came, for all the trial could be made; in which tumult and confusion the lady Pitfoddels lost per purse, well plenished with gold and rings, and could not get the same again; and so she took her leave of the governour of Aberdeen, leaving with him the keys of her husband's house, and wanting her purse also; but she was restored back her own keys without further molestation.

General Montrose, upon the same Saturday afternoon, came

not to Aberdeen as the town expected, but marched frae the links to Kintore about four afternoon, with his army in brave order, where they encamped that night, and Sunday all day, having their own minister preaching. Monday the 1st of April they marched to Inverurie, two miles distant, where they encamped all night.

The marquis of Huntly hearing of their march, understood certainly they were coming for him (as it was indeed) and to bring him to their opinion perforce. He considered the time, and saw he could not make his part good, and that he had gotten no help frae the king as was promised, resolved suddenly to take the best course for himself, to save his honour, his house unspoiled, and his friends and servants unplundered; and therefore upon the foressaid 1st of April, he sent Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, and Dr. Gordon, physician in Aberdeen, to Inverurie to the camp, before they should march any further on, and speak with the earl of Montrose, general, and to desire him to come, eleven and himself, with a sword at ilk man's side, without any more armour, to Sparrmuir, near Blackhall, two miles distant frae the camp, where the marquis of Huntly should come with the like number and arms, to the effect that they might confer together about this business. The general was content, by the advice of the nobles, Felt Marischal Lealy, and others that were in the camp, to meet the marquis the 4th day of the said month of April, being Thursday.

Upon the 1st of April, governour Kinghorn directed to Old Aberdeen twenty musketeers, to take one of the marquis of Huntly's foot-posts, called Jacques, who was presently come frae the king with letters to his master. He is had to Aberdeen, and warded in the tolbooth. Upon Tuesday the 2d of April, he also caused transport twelve pieces of ordnance pertaining to the town from off the causey, and carry them into the earl Marischall's close, and anent his gate.

Upon this Tuesday, word came to Aberdeen, that Dumbritton, the king's house, was taken in by the Covenanters by a slight, which was thus: The captain thereof, called Steuart, a religious gentleman, true to the king, happened upon a Sunday to go to hear devotion at a church without the castle, fearing no evil nor danger, but he is suddenly taken by the Covenanters who laid wait for him; he is compelled to cast off his cloaths, which are shortly put on upon another gentleman of his shape and stature, and put on the gentleman's cloaths upon him. Thereafter they commanded the captain, upon pain of death, to tell the watch-word, which for fear of his life he truly told; then they go on the night quietly, unseen of them in the castle, and had this counterfeit captain with them, who cried the watch-word, which being heard, the gates were casten open; in goes the Covenanters with greater power than that was within to de-



send it, and take in this strong strength, and man and fortify it to their mind.

The king's house of Dalkeith was also taken by the Covenanters, out of which they took the royal ornaments of the crown, such as crown, sword, and scepter, and had them to the castle of Edinburgh, which was also taken by them before.

Upon the same Tuesday, and 2d of April, there was a committee holden within the Gray Friars kirk of New Aberdeen by governour Kinghorn, the master of Forbes (who came for that purpose frae the camp), the lairds of Auldbar, Benholm, Dun, Leys, with some others. Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, was said to be moderator of this committee, to the which committee, upon the 24th of March, were summoned, in name of the assembly and moderator, the principal of the King's College of Old Aberdeen, the four regents, the canonist, doctor of medicine, civilist, sacrist, and janitor, founded members thereof, as also, the hail doctors and ministers of Aberdeen, such as John Forbes of Corse, professor; Dr. Lesly, principal; Dr. Scroggie, minister at Old Aberdeen; Drs. Baron, Sibbald, Ross, three ministers at New Aberdeen, together with all the other ministers within the province or diocese, who had not as yet subscribed the covenant, to compear upon the 2d day of April, within any of the Aberdeens where it should happen the moderator and assessors to be for the time, and there to underly such censare, and with certification contained in the principal summons. Thus were summoned both churchmen, nobles, barons, burgesses, and others. Whereupon the provost, baillies, and council of Aberdeen (who had stiffly stood out before), came now in perforce, so many of them as were at home, and had not fled; and diverse of the ministry and gentlemen and others came all in through plain fear, and humbly subscribe and swear this covenant, albeit they had sworn the king's covenant before. The ministers of Aberdeen would not come in upon any condition to subscribe this covenant; and the principal and members of the King's College were not called at this time, so nothing was done against them. This committee sat all Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, then rose; they continued some business to the 16th of April, and so dissolved, referring the rest to the provincial synod, to be holden the foresaid 16th of April.

Upon Wednesday the 3d of April, governour Kinghorn caused take up inventory of such goods and gear as was within the laird of Pitfoddels' house, as well pertaining to the laird himself, as that which the marquis left behind him, at his removing therefrae; and inventory being taken, he caused deliver back to the lady Pitfoddels her keys, which he had taken before, without any more ado.

The samen Wednesday, the governour caused quarter the town of Aberdeen, and commanded the provost and baillies to see the

samen done, to the effect knowledge might be had, how the army should be sustained at their back-coming.

Thursday the 4th of April, the laird of Auldbar, with some soldiers, came over frae the town to the Oldtown, and having gotten knowledge that the people had hid such arms as they had frae this army, within some of the kirk vaults, he masterfully took the keys, and meddled with the arms, but they were all restored back again, except ten muskets. In the mean time, some of his rascally soldiers began to abuse (which none did before) the bishop's stately palace, and spoilzie the samen, against Auldbar's will and commandment.

Ye heard before of a meeting agreed on betwixt the marquis of Huntly and general Montrose. The 4th of April, being Thursday, the marquis came with other eleven, with only swords by their sides, whereof the lord Oliphant was one, and his son James, the lord Aboyn, was another; the general, in like manner, met him at the place appointed, with eleven and himself, in like arms, whereof the lords Elcho and Couper were two; after salutation they lighted frae their horses, and upon foot fell to conference, yet nothing was ended, yet both took advice till to-morrow; they parted, the marquis rode that night two miles frae the camp to Legatsden, where he supped, and went at night to Pitcaple to his bed, and the general returned back again to the camp.

Upon the morrow, being Friday, and 5th of April, the said lords met again in the same place, where it was said the marquis past some conditions in write, obliging him to stand to the Confession of Faith, made in anno 1580 and 1591, and that he would defend the king, the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom to his power; that he would do his best to cause his men, tenants, and servants, subscribe the covenant; thir were the conditions whilk was alleged the marquis subscribed and delivered to the general; thereafter they parted in peace, without dissimulation, as was thought. The marquis went not near the camp, but straight to Strathboggie, and the general rode close to the camp, where after consultation they were well pleased; and the general praised for his pains.

Upon the same Friday, and 5th of April, the lairds of Benholm and Auldbar came out of the Newtown to Old Aberdeen, accompanied with soldiers and musketeers. They first heard devotion; Mr. James Martine, minister at Peterhead, being with them, preached in the Oldtown kirk, upon the last verse of the twenty-eighth psalm; he laboured to condemn episcopacy, and persuade the people to subscribe the covenant. Sermon being ended, the said barons, ministers, and others, went to the consistory house, where the Oldtown people also flocked; and although many of them had subscribed the covenant before, yet for fear of trouble, and plundering of their houses and goods, they subscribed the samen over again. Thus the covenant being

subscribed, the laird of Auldbar gave them back the keys of their vaults where their arms lay, that ilk man might receive back his own; but there were ten muskets wanting, being conveyed away before by some of Auldbar's soldiers.

In the meantime, thir soldiers began to abuse the bishop's palace, entered the gates and doors, and began to spoilzie the same, but Auldbar (being advertised thereof) went himself and put them away, so that there was little wrong done that day. Thereafter they all returned to New Aberdeen.

This same Friday word came to Aberdeen that the marquis and army had settled and ended, charging them to make proclamation through the town for preparing lodgings and entertainment for the army, upon their own expences, whilk was done by the provost and baillies at the governour's command.

Thus, upon Saturday the 6th of April, the army lifted their camp from Inverurie, and began to march towards Aberdeen. By the way, there came and met the army twelve highlandmen, who declared to the general, that the earl of Argyll, their master, had sent out of his country five hundred men, well armed in highland fashion, with their officers, to attend the service, and his service as general. He received their commission graciously, thanked the earl of Argyll, their master, and directed them to go and live upon the lands and bestial pertaining to the lairds of Drum and Pitfoddels, and to keep together unbroken or separate, and there to stay while further advertisement, forbidding them expressly to come near Aberdeen at this time, because the army was going there. Thus the gentlemen returned to thir highland company with these directions, which they took in good part, and lived royally upon the corns and bestial of the said ground, to the great hurt and wreck of the country people; and as this general had directed thir highlandmen to do, so he himself did during the time his army was lying at Inverurie, for they plundered frae Thomas Crombie of Kemnay, as an Anticovenantar, about twenty-two score bolls of victual, which he had laid up in store within his giral, in Kemnay. The earl Marischall's men, Skene and Kintore, were busy about this plundering with the rest of the soldiers; and it was sold very cheap, at six shillings and eightpence the boll, because they could not carry it with them. The lord Erskine caused plunder frae Mr. Alexander Reid six score bolls of victual out of the lands of Kildrummy. The laird of Pitfoddels' grounds of Barrack about this time was also plundered, whilk made them all to come in and subscribe the covenant: albeit, they had subscribed the king's covenant before, and were glad to obtain the general's protection to save their ground from any further molestation. Then the army marches on and comes to Aberdeen the same Saturday, before even, and went not to the links to bide, as they did at their outgoing. The general himself, governour Kinghorn, and the rest of the nobles, were all lodged in Patrick

Laely's house. The rest of the army, according to their rank, were quartered and well served, but little payment was made therefor, because the general commanded the provost and baillies to make provision, and pay the people for the samen, whilk they did not, to the hurt of several honest people, who had made the provision out of their own purses, and got no payment from the magistrates, as said is.

The bishop of Murray fearing this army should come to Spynie, had beforehand manned and fortified the same strongly for his own defence, which was but folly, and to no purpose. But at this time, since they got the marquis of Huntly, they counted for him, but allowed him to keep his house.

However, the haill other bishops, except the archbishop of Glasgow, who was old and tender, keeping his bed, and Mr. John Abernethy, bishop of Caithness, and the bishop of Dunkeld, who had disclaimed episcopacy, and yielded to the assembly acts, were forced to flee into England for their safety and protection. About this same time, the bishop of Ross' wife fled her dwelling house in Chanrie, and went to her brother, the minister of Rothemay, and dwelt and remained with him till her husband sent for her.

After the meeting betwixt the marquis of Huntly and the general, as ye have heard, many of his friends, such as the lairds of Gight, Haddo, Newtown, Foveran, Pitmedden, Harthill, and diverse others, came in perforce, seeing no other help, and subscribed the covenant; but neither the fear of this army, nor nothing else, could move the laird of Banff to come in and subscribe the covenant, but stoutly stood out the king's man, for the which he paid dear.

About this time, Donald Farquharson of Tilliegarmouth, baillie of the marquis' lands of Strathaven, having gotten some muskets, pikes, and other armour frae him, while he was dwelling in Aberdeen, and his servants bringing home their armour to him out of Aberdeen at his direction, Alexander Strachan of Glenkindie, a great Covenanter, masterfully took them by the way, whereat the said Donald took great offence, and repaired himself afterwards, as ye may hear.

There was also taken by the Covenanters about this time certain carabines, muskets, pikes, and ammunition, pertaining to the lord Rae, out of a bark happening by chance to come to Peterhead, as she was carrying them to Strathnaver, the said lord's country. The master of Rae being in this country, hearing of this wrong, went and told the earl Marischall how his father's arms were plundered in his bounds by the Covenanters. The earl gave him no contentment, but allowed of this wrong, saying, his father was not a good Covenanter, or else this had not been done; and that when the country turned peaceable, he should be restored them again; and so the master of Rae took his leave.

Ye heard how the army returned to Aberdeen upon Saturday the 6th of April. Upon Sunday thereafter, strange ministers preached through all the pulpits of the town, seeing their own ministers were fled and gone; the nobles and others filled the churches. After sermon, intimation was made of the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator of the assembly, against the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, and the rest of the bishops, charging all men not to hear their preaching nor bear them company, under pain of kirk censure.

Mr. Patrick Lesly, minister of Skene, (Doctor Scroggie being fled) taught this samen Sunday in the Oldtown, and made intimation of the said sentence out of the pulpit.

Upon Monday the 8th of April, the general took a new muster of his army in the links: some weak persons got leave home. Both New and Old Aberdeens were quartered, and the poor people of the Oldtown got no payment for such soldiers as they had.

Upon Tuesday the 9th of April, the earl of Seaforth, the master of Lovat, and the laird of Innes, with the provost of Elgin, and diverse other persons, came out of Ross and Murray, about three hundred well horsed gentlemen, to salute the army at Aberdeen, and to offer their service. They were made welcome, and stayed to the 13th of April, syne got leave and returned home without more employment.

Wednesday the 10th of April, a solemn fast was kept through New Aberdeen; (but none in Old Aberdeen, for Dr. Scroggie durst not be seen) both before and after noon there was preaching and prayers. Mr. Robert Douglas, minister at Kirkaldie, preached beforenoon. After sermon, he read out the covenant, and caused the hail town's people be convened, who had not yet subscribed; both men and women to stand up before him in the kirk, and the men subscribed the covenant. Thereafter, both men and women were urged to swear, with their uplifted hands to God, that they did subscribe and swear the covenant willingly and freely, and from their hearts, and not from any fear or dread that should happen: syne the kirk dissolved. But the Lord knows how thir town's people were brought under perjury for plain fear, and not from a willing mind, by tyranny and oppression of thir Covenanters, who compelled them to swear and subscribe, suppose they knew it was against their hearts. Brave Aberdeen is forced to obey, notwithstanding they had small assurance of the army of Argyll's highlandmen, but their goods might be plundered, the best whereof they cautiously convoyed out of sight: so all sware and subscribed within the town of New Aberdeen, except such as were happily out of Scotland. The king's covenant and country covenant were thought to be agreeable in terms, except only that the country covenant abolished bishops, and the king's covenant approved them, as his majesty alleged.

Upon the foresaid 10th of April, the marquis of Huntly, with his two sons, the lord Gordon and lord Aboyn, came frae Strathboggie with about forty horse, sore against his friends' will, to New Aberdeen, and lodged in the laird of Pitfoddels' house. But whether it was communed betwixt him and general Montrose at their conferences, that he should come into the town and visit him, or whether he was written for by the general, I know not; but it was reported he would not have come but upon the general's letter. Upon the morrow, being Thursday, there was a council holden amongst the nobles and others, who sent for the marquis, who came, and after some consultations this council shortly dissolved, and the marquis returned to his own lodging. Likeas, immediately thereafter, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the laird of Innes, Benholm, Auldbar, and Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, being directed by the said council to go and visit the college of Old Aberdeen, as they who were appointed commissioners for the general assembly, and the said Mr. David Lindsay, moderator of this commission. The members of the said college were summoned to this committee, except Mr. William Lesly, principal, and Mr. Alexander Scroggie, younger, one of the regents, who fled of set purpose from this work. The rest of the members compeared, and were ordained to make public repentance, such as received the communion out of the bishop of Aberdeen's hands after his excommunication, and this repentance to be at Machar's kirk, thereafter to continue in their places; but they were not put to it, and so quietly kept their rooms. The absents were discharged of their offices. Mr. Gilbert Ross, cantor, was discharged as an unprofitable member; Mr. James Sandilands, canonist, was also discharged, but he made appellation to the next general assembly, and craftily by moyan got his place, to teach the canon law by limitation, viz. to teach *de matrimonio, testamentis*, and teinds, because all the rest of these laws smelled of popery, as they alleged. These things being done, they adjourned their committee to the 15th day of May, and caused summon the hail members to that time, for taking a full order with the college; but none came to keep this committee, but only the parson of Belhelvie, and so wanting assessors he could do nothing alone. But it is to be marked there were no students in the college at this time, being all fled before the incoming of this army.

Upon Sunday the 11th of April, the earl of Argyll's highlandmen, at command of general Montrose, came out of the bounds of Drum and Pitfoddels, and the country thereabout, where they had very good fare for little payment, in order of battle, with bagpipes and highland arms, about five hundred men. They went about the cross in rank; and being viewed, the general commanded them to go to their lodgings, which were prepared within the town for them, and that they should do no

wrong, whilk they carefully obeyed, for which the town gave them five hundred merks in money, when they removed with the foot army.

General Montrose commanded the magistrates and council of Aberdeen to convene within their council-house, where the general, in presence of them all, declared, that the outstanding of Aberdeen was the cause of the coming of this army, tending to their great charges and expences, and that the town was ordained to pay a hundred thousand merks to set up their loss; whereunto the provost answered that they were unable to pay the samen. Then the general nobly said, since ye have subscribed our covenant, we think us all but one, therefore we will not take so great a fine from you, upon condition ye contribute with us, in time coming, with men and money, as occasion shall offer; and in the mean time give up the names of your neighbours who have fled the town for fear of us, that we may plunder their goods at our pleasure during their absence; and likewise, with all convenient speed; to go fortify your block-house with men and cannon, and other necessaries, for defence of foreign invasion, if it shall happen at the water mouth, and withal to lay us down ten thousand merks for support of our army's charges. What shall be said? The town of Aberdeen was forced to pay the samen, and to promise performance and obedience to all the rest; but neither was the block-house fortified, nor yet the absent burgesses' houses plundered. However, he ordered the town to send over their commissioners to the green table, to learn what fine they should pay for outstanding against the committee as they did, by and attour the ten thousand merks.

Upon Good Friday, the 12th of April, there was no preaching in any of the kirks of Aberdeen, as the use was; but Felt Marischal Lesly, upon this same day, marched from Aberdeen with the foot army south, and the field pieces also, leaving the horse behind him, with general Montrose and the rest of the nobles. He took also with him to the green table the marquis' boy, called English Jacques, with another called Gordon, by trade a mason, for alleged saying they would shoot Felt Marischal Lesly, and were therefore taken and warded in Aberdeen, and both were bound together and had to Edinburgh; and after long imprisonment and sharp trials they are found innocent, and set at liberty out of the tolbooth of Edinburgh.

Now all these things being done, the general and nobles began to think how they might captivate and treacherously take the marquis of Huntly away south with them, as doubtless they had orders to do, before they came north, as many men thought. Upon this same Good Friday, at even, the general and nobles invited the marquis and his two sons to supper, in their own lodging in skipper Anderson's house, where they supped altogether, and made merry. After supper they confer with the

marquis, saying it was good to him to quit his lieutenantry, and to send the same back again to the king, shewing that it was stopped at the seals, and therefore none would give obedience to the same in thir dangerous times; as also to write to his majesty favourably and friendly of the Covenanters, as his good and loyal subjects; and upon the morrow to send thir letters and lieutenantry to the king with the laird of Cluny. The marquis understanding that his lieutenantry was not, nor could be got through the seals as they said, and without the same being past he would get little obedience, resolved shortly to do as they desired, because he had some reason; and wrote the letters, and in their presence directed the laird of Cluny to take journey upon the morrow, being Saturday, towards the king. Thus, all being ended, the marquis with his two sons took their leave frae the general and nobles, and peaceably came over to Pitfoddels' house, his own lodging, and presently directed a boy to go to Legatsden upon the morrow, to have his dinner ready, but he was deceived. The lords finding the marquis to yield most nobly to their desires, which they never thought he would do, thinking if he had refused, to have made some ground of quarrel to have had him south, resolved upon another course to draw him under, which with reason they could nowise bring to pass; and first, (the marquis minding no evil), the general caused set strait watches at the fore and back gates of his lodging, and at the stable where his horse stood, to the end the marquis might not ride home to Strathboggie, as he intended, on the morrow, whereof the marquis had no knowledge.

The general and the rest, upon the morrow, being Saturday the 13th of April, in the morning, sent in two of their number to the marquis' lodging, desiring him, with his two sons, to come into the earl Marischall's house and speak with the general. The marquis wondering at the watching of his lodging, and now sending for him after he had taken his leave in a friendly manner the night before; but he went in, with his two sons, to the general, and after friendly salutations the general begins to make a new ground of quarrel, and says to the marquis, "My lord, I would desire you to contribute to pay William Dick two hundred thousand merks, which was borrowed frae him for lifting this army to come north." The marquis answered, he was not obliged to pay any part thereof, because it was borrowed, wared, and employed without his advice and consent; and that he had spended as mickle in this business for his own part, as any nobleman in the land had done. 2dly, He desired him to take James Grant, John Dugar, and their complices, robbers, blood-shedders, and murderers, and great oppressers of the country people. The marquis answered, he had no public office or commission to that effect; whilk suppose he had, James Grant had gotten the king's remission, and so could not take him; and as for John Dugar, he would concur with the rest of the country



to take him as he was employed. Sdly, He desired the marquis to agree with the laird of Frendraught, and take him by the hand, because the covenant admitted of no hatred to stand unreconciled. He answered, what he had subscribed to the general in nowise obliged him to take Frendraught by the hand, nor would he take him by the hand on any condition. The general having proposed and used these frivolous petitions and demands, and getting such reasonable answers, he then brake up the thing he most earnestly would have been at (which was the marquis himself) and changes his purpose, saying, "My lord, seeing we are all now friends, will ye go south with us?" He answered, he was not of that mind, nor was he prepared to go south at this time, because he was going home to Strathboggie. The general said, "Your lordship will do well to go with us." The marquis seeing his purpose, answered quickly, "My lord, I came here to this town, upon assurance that I should come and go at my pleasure without molestation; and now I see by condition my lodging was guarded, that I could not come out nor in, and now contrary to expectation ye would take myself and carry me to Edinburgh, whether I would or not; this in my opinion seems neither fair nor honourable; however," says he, "my lord, give me my bond whilk I gave you at Inverurie, and you shall have an answer;" whilk the general obeyed, and delivered to the marquis. Then he said, "Whether will you take me a captive to Edinburgh, or willingly of my own mind?" The general answered, "Make your choice." Then said he, "I will not go as a captive, but as a volunteer;" whereupon he comes to the door, and hastily goes to his own lodging, whilk he finds straitly guarded with musketeers; then he goes in and sits down to breakfast, sends post after the laird of Cluny to stay his journey, so that he went no farther than Edinburgh. Some of the marquis' friends thought hardly of his going south, without some hostage left behind for his safe return, but the general refused to grant any. Thus is this great marquis, his majesty's lieutenant in the north, a man of singular spirit, great courage and friendship, brought under thir straits and hard conditions by his fellow-subjects, for being a loyal subject to his master the king, which otherwise they durst not have enterprized by their own strength and following in thir parts; all this he was driven to, and which he most patiently suffered, for the love he has bore to the king his master, his kin, and friends; chiefly his children were grievously offended thereat, to see him taken frae his friends, and had to Edinburgh among his enemies, who never liked his house nor standing; and so after breakfast the marquis with his two sons the lords Gordon and Aboyn, made themselves ready to go. In the meantime, the general causes restore to the provost and baillies the keys of their porta, tol-booth, and kirke, with their ordnance, and plundered not so much as one musket out of the town; and gave orders also to

the magistrates to pay for their entertainment while they were quartered in the town; but the honest town's people got little payment for their furnishing.

All these things done, the general with the nobles go to horse with the rest, the marquis with his servants, and his two sons horse also, trumpets sounding; the provost and baillies caused bring wine and confects to the cross, and humbly entreated them to drink, which they gladly did, and the marquis with his two sons also. The marquis sent his second son, the lord Aboyn, to Strathboggie, by permission and leave of the general, for bringing of money to his father, upon promise that he should come quickly south after them.

Then the trumpets began to sound, and the army to march, with whom went also the highlandmen of Lorn and Argyll, and marched forwards frae Aberdeen, and that night came to Dunottar, where they staid till Monday, and then rode all the way together till they came to Edinburgh, which was upon the 19th of April.

Sunday the 14th of April and Pasch day, Mr. Thomas Mitchell, parson of Turriff, preached in Old Aberdeen, Dr. Scroggie our own minister being fled, but no communion was given, as was lately used.

Upon Monday the 15th of April, according to the general's direction, Aberdeen directed Mr. John Hay, Mr. Robert Farquharson, and Mr. John Gray, commissioners for the said burgh of Aberdeen, to the green table, to underly and abide their censure anent the paying of such a fine as they should be enjoined, for their standing out against them and their covenant, and biding by the king and his covenant; they were forced to submit, and ordained to pay forty thousand merks of fine, and to set caution for payment, or to remain in Edinburgh while it should be paid; whereupon they remained in Edinburgh till order should be had therewith.

Upon Tuesday the 16th of April, a provincial synod or assembly was holden in New Aberdeen, but not in the College Kirk of Aberdeen, as they sat before. Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, was moderator; the rooms of the absent ministers of Aberdeen who were fled, such as Dr. Sibbald, Dr. Guild, and Dr. Barron, professor, were ordered to be filled up again, and the town to be served by other ministers in their stead within the presbytery till the next synod, to be holden the 16th of May. Syne they dissolved, and continued their affairs till that time.

Upon the foressaid 16th of April, the lord Aboyn being going south with money to his father, and sitting at breakfast at Park-cock, there came to him the laird of Banff, (who never would yield), the laird of Gight, the laird of Haddo, the laird of Faveran, and diverse others of his kin and friends, who had sub-

scribed the covenant before, and declared plainly he should not go south, but bide in the country, now left headless, and that it was too great a pledge to have both his father and brother south at the green table already. The lord Aboyn yielded to their desire, and turned back again to Strathboggie with his father's trunks, with resolution to go together for their defence of themselves and friends on all occasions; but this plot did no good, but bred much sorrow, as ye may hear.

Word came, that there was a committee to be holden at Turriff, upon Wednesday the 24th of April, by the earls of Marischall and Seaforth, the Lord Fraser, and master of Forbes, and some others, with their kin and friends; to the which meeting were warned to come, all such persons who had not subscribed their covenant, and there to subscribe the same under pain of plundering; the like pain was never given out by any king in this kingdom, but now began by subjects upon subjects without any authority.

The lord Aboyn and Banff, with the rest of their kin and friends, who had not subscribed, hearing of this charge, (under pain of plundering their houses and goods), to come in and subscribe the covenant, thought heavy of this charge, and resolved to gather together for their own defence; so those that subscribed against their wills, as well as those who had not subscribed, flocked together and drew up to an head, as ye shall hear.

No letters came frae the king to his loyal subjects, but what are intercepted by his rebel subjects the Covenanters, and such as are sent to his majesty are right suae used; so they left off frae writing any more, and the country who depended upon his majesty is now left helpless.

Monday the 22d of April, there was a meeting holden at Monymusk, by the earls of Marischall and Seaforth, the lord Fraser, and master of Forbes, with sundry other barons of the Covenanters, who hearing of the lord Aboyn's rising, resolved to continue the committee at Turriff frae the 24th of April to the 26th of the same month, upon hopes that by that time there should come sundry gentlemen out of Caithness, Sutherland, Murray, Ross, and other parts; and in the meantime they themselves to meet again at Kintore, the said 24th of April; and so dissolved.

Upon the 24th of April, the earls of Marischall and Seaforth, the lord Fraser, and master of Forbes, with sundry barons and Aberdeen's burgesses, met together at Kintore, where it was concluded that this committee to be holden at Turriff should dissolve, and not be holden the 26th of April. To this meeting at Kintore, there came out of Aberdeen about fifty musketeers at thir nobles' command, but they soon turned back without more ado, fearing the lord Aboyn's power and friendship to gainstand their committee; but it was agreed that they should

meet again in Aberdeen upon the morrow; so this night the earl Marischall had Seaforth with him to Hallforest, and kept him all night.

Upon the 25th of April, the foresaid earls and others met at Aberdeen, to whom came also diverse barons, gentlemen, and others, out of Buchan, Mar, and other countries, amounting to one thousand men, whereof there were eighty horsemen, and the number of the haill were about three thousand men. The earl Marischall takes in the town of Aberdeen at his own hand; meddled with the keys of the tolbooth, kirk, and ports; quartered the men, who were well entertained, but not well paid; guarded the ports that none came in nor went out without his knowledge; now calling himself governour of Aberdeen, whereat the town's people were vexed, yea, and some for fear left their lodgings desolate, others shifted their best goods aside, with wae and sorry hearts; but patience perforce.

Now I here leave them, biding and oppressing Aberdeen, and return to the committee at Turriff, to be holden the 26th of April, where there convened the earl of Seaforth's friends, (himself being in Aberdeen), the earl of Findlater's friends, the minor earl of Errol's friends, under the conduct of the laird of Delgaty, the minor lord of Pitsligo's friends, under conduct of Alexander Forbes of Boyndlie his tutor, the lairds of Innes and Grant came out of Murray, and their people in haill were estimated to be about one thousand six hundred men; but because Marischall, Seaforth, the lord Fraser, and the master of Forbes, were in Aberdeen, and came not to Turriff, this committee dissolved, and ilk man went home, whereat sundry marvelled, being the first committee that ever was so dissolved without more ado.

Now the earls and lords aforesaid being in Aberdeen at this time, as ye have heard, they there appointed a committee to be holden over again at Turriff upon the 28th day of May next, and continued all matters to that day. The earl Marischall caused take out of the laird of Pitfoddel's cellar, two barrels full of powder, pertaining to the marquis of Huntly; he delivered back the town's keys to the provost and baillies; some got payment for their entertainment, others wanted, being there Thursday at night, Friday all day, and Saturday till afternoon, that they got their leave; charging them to be in readiness upon twenty-four hours warning. The earl of Seaforth that samen night took his leave, and went home; the earl Marischall removes to Dunotter; but sundry honest men's houses in Aberdeen were robbed and spoilzied, and the people grievously oppressed by lowns and limmars that came here at this time, and were blythe to be quit of them, who had fled the committee at Turriff only for fear of the lord Aboyn.

Upon Friday the 26th of April, the laird of Cluny, upon safe conduct frae the green table, comes back to Aberdeen,

being stopped in his journey south, as ye have heard. Marischall yet being in the town with his army, sends for him, who upon written assurance, went and had conference with him, syne went to the Oldtown, and declared that the marquis, with his eldest son, were both warded in the castle of Edinburgh, and that he had written for his three daughters, lady Anne, lady Henrietta, and lady Jean, to come to Edinburgh. Cluny stayed short while here, but rode with his letters frae the marquis to the lord Aboyn his son.

Upon Sunday the 28th of April, Dr. Scroggie teacht in Old Aberdeen, who had lived obscurely in the country since March, and now returns to his own charge, and Mr. Gilbert Ross to be reader.

The lord Aboyn and his friends hearing of these meetings at Monymusk, Kintore, and Aberdeen, and looking assuredly that they should hold their committee at Turriff, and thereafter plunder the laird of Banff, and the rest who had not, nor would subscribe this covenant: thereafter, by advice, he grows to an head, and conveens of highlandmen and lowlandmen about two thousand horse and foot, and resolved to keep this meeting, or otherwise defend themselves from plundering. Lieutenant Crowner Johnston was in his company, a gallant gentleman, who went out of Aberdeen with the marquis to Strathboggie, where he remained during these troublesome days, and whose advice the lord of Aboyn chiefly followed; but hearing this committee was adjourned to the 20th of May, they beheld, but keept still the fields. It was said, while the earls Marischall and Seaforth were in Hallforest, after their meeting at Kintore, the lord of Aboyn was then in the fields; and Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, and Dr. Gordon in Old Aberdeen, went to Marischall for peace, and to eschew blood; but they got a bleat answer, and so tint their travel.

Ye heard before how the noble marquis of Huntly was treacherously had to Edinburgh; he lodges in his ordinary lodging, well watched. Upon the morrow, being Saturday the 20th of April, he and his son are convoyed up the street and ignominiously warded within the castle of Edinburgh, without any other reason but because he loved his master the king, and would not follow their course and subscribe their covenant, whilk he would never grant to do willingly, and therefore his neighbour subjects, without law or authority, at their own hands, would bring him perforce to their opinion: as first, they raised an army and came to Inverurie, whilk he could not resist, nor from whom he could in nowise flee, either by sea or land, and was forced to tryst and give his band, no doubt to their contentment; thereafter, under trust, taken south to Edinburgh, against his will, and last of all warded, as ye have heard. Thus was this great and mighty marquis, wise, valourous, and stout lieutenant of the north, brought under his fel-

law-subjects' obedience, his castle of Inverness taken by them, and masterfully withholden frae him; the like injuries that noble house never sustained in any preceeding age; however, he resolved if he could, he would endure more before he proved disloyal to his gracious king, and so beheld patiently. The green table appointed five guardians to attend upon him and his son night and day, upon his own expences, that none might come in nor out but by their knowledge.

The green table and Covenanters no doubt rendered great praise and honour to general Montrose and his company for bringing Aberdeen under subjection, and the great marquis of Huntly to Edinburgh, whereby they expected no more disobedience in the north; wherein they were much deceived, and whereof they had cause to repent, in respect of the troubles which followed, and which perhaps the marquis might have stopped, if he had been suffered to bide at home, and not have been so used; nowise tending to his disgrace, but to the shame and endless indignity of the devisers and doers thereof. It was said the king (not knowing his warding) sent him letters, whilk were intercepted and broken up by the Covenanters.

Ye heard of a proclamation set out by his majesty at all the parish churches of England, against his disobedient subjects in Scotland. The Covenanters wrote out an answer thereto, called, *The Remonstrance of the Nobility, Barons, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons, within the Kingdom of Scotland. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by James Bryson, the 22d of March, 1639.* By the whilk they set down an answer to ilk particular reason contained in the king's proclamation, and that they had done no wrong in their hail procedure, and that any proclamation made in England, or sent down here to be proclaimed in Scotland, declaring them, and the most part of the body of the kingdom, to be rebels and traitors, was in itself null and unlawful, as done by the king upon information of wicked and seditious persons, seeking their own ends, without advice of council or parliament, who had special power in declaring matters of treason, and therefore had good reason to stay the publication of such illegal proclamations.

The king alleged, he had princely power and authority to set out the like proclamations against his rebellious subjects, without consent of council or parliament, being a born monarch, and not an elective king, subject to none but Almighty God; and also that he might, without their advice, denounce open war and hostility against his rebel subjects for their disobedience and rebellion. Nevertheless, the king's proclamation is proudly stopped from being proclaimed, as his majesty desired, lest thereby the hearts of the people might be drawn from their sworn covenant. The king's mind was never to abolish bishops, but truly to maintain them in their rents and dignities, and declared the same by proclamation about this time at the cross of

Edinburgh: but the Covenanters compeared, and made protestations against the samen, as contrary to their assembly lately holden at Glasgow, whereby bishops were absolutely abolished, and the kirk to be governed by sessions, presbyteries, provincial and general assemblies.

About the 28th of April, the drum was sent through Aberdeen, that no fisher-boat should speak with any stranger ships that should come to the road, which was done by advertisement from the green table; but no ships came at this time.

Monday the 29th of April, lady Anne Gordon, lady Henrietta, and lady Jean, her two sisters, came frae Strathboggie to Aberdeen, and frae that went to Edinburgh and supped with the marquis at the castle; but on the morrow the green table caused transport them frae the castle to their lodging, and would not suffer them to bide beside their father, to his further displeasure, and beyond his expectation, when he sent north for them; and he was so watched, that none of his bairns, friends, nor servants, could come nor go but by advice of this green table; and in the meantime was dealt with by the Covenanters to subscribe the covenant, which he would never grant to do, but at the king's command, as by a paper set out by himself called, "*The Marquis of Huntly's Reply to certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, Covenanters in Scotland, sent from their associates, to signify to him that it behoved him either to assist their designs, or to be carried to prison in the Castle of Edinburgh; 20th of April, 1639. Now published, because of a false copy thereof lately printed without authority or his own consent, and printed at London by Robert Young, his majesty's printer for Scotland, 1640.*"

#### The Marquis of Huntly's reply to certain Noblemen, &c.—

"To be your prisoner, is by much the less displeasing to me, that my accusation is for nothing else but loyalty, and that I have been brought into this estate by such unfair means, as can never be made appear honourable in those who used them.

"Whereas you offer liberty, upon condition of my entering into your covenant, I am not so bad a merchant as to buy it with the loss of my conscience, fidelity, and honour, which in so doing I should make account to be wholly perished. I have already given my faith to my prince, upon whose head this crown, by all law of nature and nations, is justly fallen, and I will falsify that faith by joining with any in a pretence of religion, which my own judgement cannot excuse from rebellion; for it is well known that, in the primitive church, no arms were holden lawful, being lifted by subjects against their prince, though the whole frame of Christianity was then in question. Whereas you would encourage me to be a partaker with you, by your hopes of supply from France and other foreign nations, together with your so good intelligence in England, as no danger will come from thence. Let me tell you, that in my opinion thir reasons are but vain; the French being now more straitly

ties than before to uphold the authority of our sacred sovereign by a new cemented league of marriage, whereby their interest in his majesty's progeny will overbalance you, though your cause were better; other foreigners are merely unable by their own distractions, and the English have ever been strong for us, when only their own king, and not ours too, did lead them. For my own part, I am in your power, and resolve not to leave that foul title of traitor as an inheritance to my posterity. You may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my sovereign."

This reply is dated the 20th of April, upon which day he was warded in the castle of Edinburgh: no doubt he was hasted thereto upon sight of this his noble reply, whereby his loyalty to his master the king may be clearly seen, his taking dishonourably the Covenanters' course not well grounded, and their hopes of help weak and uncertain. Now I leave this noble marquis still in ward till afterwards. Yet it seems he knew not the strict combination betwixt us and England, as hereafter may appear.

In the month of April, Dr. John Gordon, minister at Elgin, fled his charge. He was first deprived for not signing the covenant, syne went to England, where he got a kirk, and lived quietly there during the time of these troubles.

Ye heard before how the bishops fled into England, but none durst come back again to their places, and the king is grieved and daily vexed with their complaints and maintenance.

About this time, Donald Farquharson and some highlandmen of Brae of Mar, came down to the Mearns and plundered the earl Marischall's bounds of Strathachan, whereat the earl was highly offended.

Upon Thursday the 2d of May, there came to the Firth of Forth a navy of ships, whereof there were four ships royal, and twenty-six other ships, well furnished with men, meat, and munition, captains and commanders, whereof the lord marquis of Hamilton was admiral. There were three thousand soldiers appointed to be landed in the north, for defence of his majesty's loyal subjects, with four months' provisions, and all materials necessary for that effect; and his majesty gave his letters patent to the said marquis of Hamilton for that service, trusting to his loyalty. This expedition, so much tending to the king's honour, wherein his majesty was clearly deceived, as ye shall hear, lost his travel and expences, amounting to thirteen thousand pounds sterling, which he caused deliver to the said admiral for furnishing all things necessary for this army. How soon their ships are seen come up Forth, the bonfires were set up in Fife and Lothian, and ilk county, to advertise other for convening hastily together in arms. Edinburgh goes hastily to work; but many within that town, Dundee, and Montrose, were sore astonished and affrighted, that knew not the secret of things. Some fled, some set their goods aside without just cause, for the marquis of



Hamilton was admiral, as is before noticed; and we were assured of his favour and friendship, and that he would do no skaith to a Covenanter; but for fashion's sake, we made mustering of men in Fife and Lothian, and through the country.

At this same time, those who had fled out of Aberdeen, and out of the country, hearing of the coming of this navy for their relief, hastily embarked in a Kirkaldy ship, about the number of forty-eight persons, and came forward; but their ship being spied by the admiral, he causes take her, and take out her ordnance and mariners, and place them in one of his fleet, syne directed mariners of his own to convoy our Aberdonians in their Kirkaldy bark.

The lord Aboyn, upon his own reasons, caused break up his army, and ilk man to go home to his own house; and suddenly, upon Friday the 3d of May, shipped in the *Eagle* at Crookedhaven, with some few persons, and to his majesty goes he. His departure was joyful to his enemies, and sorrowful to his friends, who had kythed with him, especially the lairds of Gight, Haddo, Foveran, Udny, Newtown, Pitmedden, Tipperie, Harthill, and others, who had followed him after they had subscribed the covenant. The laird of Banff, and some other barons and gentlemen, seeing the lord Aboyn's sudden departure, began to look to themselves, and had a meeting at Auchterless the 7th of May.

The names of Forbes and Fraser had likewise a meeting at Inverurie, upon the 8th of May, and likewise a great meeting held at Edinburgh among the Covenanters the said day.

Upon this same 8th of May, the barons, such as Banff, Gight, Haddo, Cromartie, Foveran, Crombie, and some others, with lieutenant Crouner Johnston, about eighty horse and sixty foot, came to the kirk-yard of Ellon, and sent to the laird of Kenmuck, being in his own house of Arduthie, desiring him to refuse the country covenant and subscribe the king's covenant. There happened to be with the laird of Kenmuck, the lairds of Watertown and Auchmacoy, with about eighteen persons. He returned answer, he could not perjure himself and leave his covenant; however, they did no more wrong to him, and some went in and drank friendly in his house. They urged others likewise to quit this covenant, but came no speed. There were together the lairds of Banff and Gight, the young laird of Cromartie, with some others, who, with lieutenant Crouner Johnston, upon the 10th of May, intended to come to the place of Towie Barclay, and there to take out such arms, muskets, guns, and carabines, as the lairds of Delgatie and Towie Barclay had plundered from the said young laird of Cromartie, out of the place of Balquholly; but it happened the lord Fraser and master of Forbes to see their coming, so they manned the house of Towie, closed the yeatts, and shot diverse shot frae the house head, where a servant of the laird of Gight's was shot, called

David Prett. The barons seeing they could not mend themselves, left the house, thinking it no vassalage to stay while they were slain: syne without more ado rode their way. But here it is to be marked, that this was the first time that blood was drawn here since the beginning of the covenant.

Word came to Aberdeen that the king was coming to Berwick with a land army, and before his incoming he had sent a proclamation to be proclaimed at all the mercat crosses in Scotland, bearing in effect his majesty's great patience and gracious proceeding from time to time since the beginning of thir uproars, as his proclamations often made before, bearing his loving intentions, clearly do declare; and now as before, nowise willing to trouble his antient kingdom of Scotland, if so be the Covenanters would break their lawless covenant, and dissolve; render and restore his own castles; set at liberty such as they had without warrant warded and incarcerated; and restore such ministers and pastors to the churches whom they had violently thrust out, and diverse other articles; and that the Covenanters should acknowledge their disorder, ask mercy for the same, and promise loyal obedience in all time coming. Upon thir conditions, his majesty would most freely and graciously pardon and forgive all bygone faults, free them from all fears anent inbringing alterations or changes in church or policy, and that he should indict a parliament anent the lawfulness or unlawfulness of their last general assembly holden in Glasgow, and strive in every thing to give his good subjects pleasure and contentment. Otherwise, if the Covenanters would refuse these his majesty's most gracious offers, that then he did protest before the King of kings, that if he was compelled to draw his sword for their rebellious behaviour, that the innocent blood should not be craved at his hands, but at their hands who were the procurers and workers thereof; and therewithal, by this proclamation, denounced open war and hostility against thir rebellious Covenanters, with promise of mercy and forgiveness to all such as by constraint or fear had subscribed the samen; and likewise with power to all the commoners, labourers of the ground, tenants, servants, and yeomanry, not to pay mail-duty or service to their masters who were Covenanters, frae this time forth; and ilk tenant to pay half of their mails, farms, and duties, to the king, the other half to pertain to themselves, and to keep their tacks and possessions for payment of half duty to the king alleenarly, and nothing to be paid to their covenanting masters, heritors of the samen; and further charging and commanding them to go on in his majesty's service, with force of arms, fire and sword, against the Covenanters, promising maintenance and assistance, and a free remission of what hurt and prejudice followed thereupon. This proclamation, containing diverse other clauses and conditions, was imprinted; but howsoever, it was his majesty's will and command that this proclamation should be

publicly proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, and other burrows of Scotland, yet no obedience was given thereto, but was masterfully stopped and concealed by the green table, lest being proclaimed, his majesty's lieges should hearken thereto, and flee the covenant, and leave the cause manless; and therefore no herald, pursuivant, nor messenger, durst hazard, for fear of their lives, to go proclaim the samen. This printed proclamation came to Aberdeen about the 14th of May, but the king was not come to Berwick, but lying still at Newcastle, and could get no obedience in this point.

There came orders frae the green table about this time to Aberdeen, charging them to transport their twelve pieces of ordnance to Montrose, for certain causes, whilk the town thought hardly of: first, in respect the king himself had gifted the town six of these pieces, and next in respect of the trouble of carrying them, and so they sat this charge, and nothing followed thereupon.

Ye heard before how the committee to be holden at Turriff was adjourned to the 20th of May. Now there began to gather, to keep this committee, the earl Marischall's men of Buchan, himself being absent, the young earl of Errol's men, the minor lord of Pitsligo's men, with their captains and leaders, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the lairds of Delgatie, Towie Barclay, Ludquharn, Craigievar, Echt, Skene, Tolquhon, and Watertown, being present, and diverse others, their kin, friends, men, tenants, and servants, and were estimate to be about twelve hundred horse and foot; and on Monday the 13th of May, they came forward to Turriff, thinking there to abide while the 20th, that more forces might gather together, to hold their committee, and thereafter to go in feir of war upon the laird of Banff, and such others as had assisted the lord Aboyn to plunder their goods, and take their persons and abuse them at their pleasure. But how soon the barons (who had assisted Aboyn) heard of this meeting, they resolved shortly to wait upon the samen, and convene the lairds of Banff, Abergeldie, Haddo, young Cromartie, Craig, Auchindore, Foveran, Crombie, Gight, Newtown, Harthill, Udney, and lieutenant Crouner Johnston, with diverse other brave gentlemen, about the number of eight hundred horse and foot, with some good commanders, such as Arthur Forbes of Blacktown, &c., and quickly brought out of Strathboggie four brasen field pieces; and understanding the Covenanters' forces to increase daily, therefore they stoutly resolved to be at them in time, and to go on with all diligence: for this committee was to be holden at Turriff the 20th of May, and the Covenanters came to Turriff upon the Monday before, being the 13th of May, thinking there to abide till the 20th, and then to hold their committee. But the barons quickly followed; and that same Monday, about ten o'clock at night, they began to march in very quiet and sober manner, and

by the peep of day came by an unexpected way (whereof the Covenanters had no knowledge) to the town of Turriff; the trumpets began shortly to sound, and the drums to beat. The Covenanters, whereof some were sleeping, others drinking and smoking tobacco, others walking up and down, hearing the noise of drums and trumpets, ran to their arms and confusedly to array; and by this time both the Covenanters and Anti-covenanters are in sight of one another, in order of battle. There were two shots shot out of the earl of Errol's house against the barons, whilk they quickly answered with two field-pieces; then the Covenanters began on hot service, and the barons also, and shot many musket-shot; then the barons shot a field-piece in among them, which did no skaith, but frightened the commons; at last another field-piece was discharged, which made them all take the flight for fear; they followed the chase. The lord Fraser was said to have foul foldings, but wan away; the lairds of Echt and Skene, and some others, were taken prisoners; there were some hurt, some slain; the barons sounded the retreat, and came presently back to Turriff, where they took meat and drink at their pleasure, and fied Mr. Thomas Mitchell, minister at Turriff, very sore; and so this committee was after this manner discharged at this time. Likeas upon Wednesday the 15th of May, the barons, with Banff, and lieutenant Johnston, rode frae Turriff to New Aberdeen, about eight hundred horse; they plundered the laird of Kenmuck and his brother's horse out of a stable in Aberdeen, because they had subscribed the covenant; but they got their horse again.

The Covenanters hearing of this trott of Turriff, and that they were come into Aberdeen, began to hide their goods, and to flee out of the town for safety of their lives, marvelling at the overthrow of the meeting of Turriff, whilk was the first since the beginning of the covenant. However, the barons at their own hands meddle with the town keys of the kirks and ports and tolbooth of Aberdeen, set strait watches, lodged their men chiefly in the Covenanters' houses, such as Mr. Matthew Lumeden's, Patrick Lealie's, Mr. William Moir's, Walter Cochran's, the Burnets' and the Jaffrays', who had fled the town for fear of their lives, except Mr. Alexander Jaffray, provost, who for shame could not well flee; and the Covenanters' wives and bairns kept their houses and furnished the soldiers abundantly; the rest were sustained upon the common charge. No doubt this was very grievous to Aberdeen, to be so used by each party that were masters of the field; whereas all the other burrows of Scotland lived both first and last at great rest and quietness.

The foresaid 15th of May, Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, came to the college of Old Aberdeen, there to have holden a committee; but finding neither masters nor students within, all being dispersed and fled, the house left desolate, and the gates closed, he takes instrument that he could get no en-

trance, and went to the town, where Mr. Robert Ogilvie, the sub-principal (happening to be at home) followed and desired him to come back again, and he should have patent gates, but he refused so to do; whereupon the sub-principal also took instruments, and so parted.

The barons being come into Aberdeen, upon Wednesday the 15th of May, they stayed there all night, and Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Those of the barons and gentry who came not first into Aberdeen, now daily came in, such as the lairds of Gight, Haddo, Foveran, Newtown, Harthill, Udny, Craig, Auchindore, and Abergeldy; the gentlemen of Enzie and Strathboggie, with the tenants and servants of the lairds of Drum and Pitfoddels, howbeit themselves had fled the kingdom; many Covenanters of the name of Forbes, through plain fear came into Aberdeen, and yielded to the barons; but no Covenanters of the town's men durst be seen upon the causeway, and their houses were well quartered with soldiers, as well as the Anti-Covenanters were quartered by general Montrose or the earl Marischall before; but all were sustained upon the town's charges, for neither Covenanters nor Anti-Covenanters got payment worth a plack. The barons with their men in Aberdeen were estimate to be about the number of five hundred horsemen and seven hundred footmen, besides Lodowick, the marquis of Huntly's fourth son, who came down Dee-side with some highlandmen out of Brae of Mar, under Donald Farquharson, and the laird of Abergeldy, and diverse others, among whom was James Grant, the sometime rebel, with his followers, about five hundred men; they took in the place of Durriss, pertaining to John Forbes of Leslie, a great Covenanter. There was little plenishing left unconveyed away before their coming: but they got good beer and ale, brake up girdles, and baked good bannocks at the fire, and drank merrily upon the laird's best drink; syne carried away with them as mickle victual as they could carry, which they could not get eaten and destroyed, and then removed from that to Echt, Skene, Monymusk, and other houses pertaining to the name of Forbes, all great Covenanters. The laird of Glenkindy's bounds was also plundered at this time by Donald Farquharson, for taking of his arms away, as ye have heard before.

The barons resolving to go to Durriss, and spoilzie what was left, rendered the keys back to the town of Aberdeen, and upon Monday the 20th of May they rode out about the number foresaid; but by the way it is to be remarked, that the barons having come victorious frae Turriff to Aberdeen, they thought best to send John Leith of Harthill, and Mr. William Lumsden, advocate in Aberdeen, upon the 17th of May, to Dunotter, to sound the earl Marischall's mind, what he thought of this business, and to understand if his lordship would behold them, or if he would raise forces against them, whereby they might be on

their guard; whereunto the earl answered, that he could say nothing till he had eight days' leisure to be advised with his friends. It is said the earl was not well content with thir commissioners, and scarce gave them a hearing, the one being in manner a peasant, and the other a papist; and so they return with this answer to the barons, whereat they were not well content. Thereafter, Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, and James Burnet of Craigmyle, brother-german to the laird of Leys, two peaceable-set men, and fearing great troubles shortly to follow if the barons kept the fields, being assured an army would be raised up against them, they therefore laboured to get the barons to break up their army, for eschewing of innocent blood; and to this effect they rode both to Dunotter and spake with the earl Marischall, who declared to them he had no intention to raise an army, except he had orders from the table; and if the barons would dissolve their army, he would give them lawful time of advertisement to reconveen their forces for their own defence; and in the meantime that they should not trouble nor molest Marischall's ground. Thir speeches was thought to be past, but there was no write thereupon, and Marischall denied these terms of communing. Afterwards, the barons upon the 20th of May rode up Dee-side to Durris, and plundered what they could get from the name of Forbes and other Covenanters. They were led by lieutenant Crouner Johnston, Crouner Garden, captain Ker, and Arthur Forbes of Blacktown, expert and brave commanders; with some others, who kept their council of war daily while they stayed in Aberdeen within the tolbooth; and general Johnston for his wit and policy was honoured among them all, and had the first place at all their meetings. After the plundering of Durris, the barons hearing no word of raising of forces, and confident of Mr. Robert Gordon and James Burnet their speeches, resolved to disband their army, and ilk man to go home to his own house, and let the highlandmen go plunder up and down amongst the Covenanters as they best pleased; and so unhappily they dissolved their army upon the 21st of May, and that samen night there only returned back to Aberdeen the barons, with about thirty horse; they staid Wednesday all day till Thursday morning; they did no wrong within the town, but lived upon their own expences at this time. In the meantime, the earl Marischall having sure intelligence of the scaling of the barons' army, began hastily to convey forces through Angus and Mearns, and comes to Tollo-hill beside Banchory-Devnick upon the 28d of May, being Thursday, with about eight hundred horse and foot. The major part of the barons being in Aberdeen, looking for nothing less than this army, according to the commissioners' speech, except upon lawful advertisement, evidently now perceived their mistake, and were highly offended at the scaling of their army so rashly as they did, without any warrant from the earl Marischall, who constantly refused any such communing with Mr.

Robert Gordon and James Burnet, as they had promised in his name, and the barons had nobody to blame for this unlooked-for disgrace but their two commissioners, to whom they gave too much credit in this business.

In this meantime, Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, came in upon the 16th of May to keep the synod at Aberdeen, according to the last ordinance. Diverse other ministers came also; himself preached, and touched the Anti-Covenanters upon perjury and promise against their covenant-oath and subscription; whereat the barons foresaid, being in Aberdeen, took exception. After sermon, as the custom is, the ministers sat down in the session-house, and called over their names, and marked the absents; but the lord Fraser, and master of Forbes, the laird of Towie Barclay, and the rest of the laick elders, came not to this sub-synod, because the barons were in the town before them; so without more business the synod dissolve; but the moderator and his wife's horses were plundered out of the stable, and himself narrowly escaped, otherwise he would have been reproved for his bold preaching against the barons in their own hearing within the kirk.

Now to return to the barons. They seeing themselves unable to meet the earl Marischall, resolved to quit the town, did no wrong, but took their entertainment; and upon Thursday morning, the 23d of May, they rode therefrae to Strathboggie, about thirty horse, where they had a meeting the 24th, but did no good but mischief to themselves, as ye shall hear.

Upon Sunday the 19th of May, the barons being in Aberdeen, the bishop Bellenden came pertly to his lodging in New Aberdeen, with his ordinary servants; syne upon the morrow came over to the Oldtown to see his own palace, and returned back to New Aberdeen again, where he durst not bide long, but was forced again to flee.

How soon the table understood how the barons were receipted in Aberdeen, they shortly caused ward Mr. Thomas Gray, Mr. Robert Farquhar, John Hay, and George Morison, their commissioners, until payment were made of their fine of forty thousand merks; but it was not taken up, by reason of the pacification; but they were otherwise pitifully fined, as in the sequel of this history shall be made appear.

New, the samen Thursday that the barons left Aberdeen, the earl Marischall raises his army from Tollo-hill, and comes in to Aberdeen, and of new again takes in the town, meddles with the keys of the ports, kirks, and tolbooth, and quarters his soldiers through the hail houses thereof. The Anti-Covenanters seeing his coming, shifted their goods, and some locked up their gates and house doors, and ilk ane went a sundry way.

The bishop of Aberdeen, John Bellenden, his son, and Mr. John Bellenden, his nephew, and John Blackwood, his servitor,

the laird of Cromartie; younger, Mr. Alexander Innes, parson of Rothemay, Mr. Alexander Scroggie, one of the regents of the King's College of Old Aberdeen, and some others, that same day that Marischall came in, went aboard of Andrew Findlay's ship, lying in the road, and attending their service, hastily hoisted sail, and for England to the king go they; but all for nought, since they were all forced to come home again, except the bishop, who durst not return.

The Covenanters who had fled the town before, returned proudly back again, and crop the causeway courageously. Thus is the miserable burrow of Aberdeen brought again under slavery and subjection, without authority, for giving way to the barons, whom they were not able to keep out of the town by force of arms, as was well known.

Upon Friday the 24th of May, the earl Marischall's men of Mar, Skene, and Kintore, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, their kin, friends, and followers, with diverse other barons, came into Aberdeen, about two thousand men; there were about two hundred of the master of Forbes and laird of Craigievar's men quartered in Old Aberdeen; their entertainment was small, and they paid as little for it. Many of this company went and brake up the bishop's gates; set on good fires of his peats standing within the close; they masterfully brake up the hail doors and windows of this stately house; they brake down beds, boards, cap ambries, glass windows, took out the iron stenchens, brake off the locks, and what they could get carried with them, and sold for little or nothing; but they got none of the bishop's plenishing worth noticing, because it was all conveyed away out of the way before their coming. Thus is this stately palace pitifully abused by thir rascals, followers and soldiers of the master of Forbes and Craigievar, albeit the bishop of Aberdeen was uncle to the said master of Forbes, being his father's brother upon the mother's side, but no respect was had to blood in thir miserable days. The bishop of Brechin's house was so used, himself, wife, and children, forced to save themselves by flight; right so the bishop of St. Andrew's house, in the abbey of Holyrood-house, was so handled; pitiful to see this our good cause begin with such barbarity.

Now the country lords and barons of the covenant being come in to the earl Marischall, as said is, they sent out their horses and destroyed both grass and corns, fed where they pleased in the bishop's ward, and round about New Aberdeen, to the great grief and skaith of the poor labourers; but they durst not complain: and upon Saturday the 25th of May, the earl of Montrose, the earl of Kinghorn, the lord Drummond, the lord Couper, the master of Gray, the young constable of Dundee, and diverse others, came to Aberdeen about three in the afternoon. They were estimate to four thousand men, foot and horse, besides baggage horse, estimate to be about three hun-



dred, carrying their provision, with thirteen field-pieces. They entered the town at the Upper Kirk-gate Port, in order of battle, with sounding of trumpets, beating of drums, and displayed banners; they went down the Broad-gate, through the Castlegate, and to the Queen's Links march they, where they staid all that night under strait watch. The reason of the convention of this haill army south and north, was against the barons and laird of Banff, for stopping of the committee of Turriff, and for their oppressing and frightening the Covenanters both in burrow and land, and for taking order with such as had not yet subscribed the covenant in their parts, and for the barons plundering the Covenanters' houses and gear. Now Aberdeen begins again to groan and make sore lamentation at the incoming of this great army, whom they were unable to sustain or get meat to buy, being estimate as follows, viz.—Four thousand men out of Angus and Strathern; nine hundred men out of Buchan, Mearns, and Mar; the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the tutor of Pitaligo, the lairds of Monymusk, Leslie, Echt, Craigievar, Glenkindy, Delgatie, and many other country barons, estimate to one thousand men; the earl of Athol had three hundred men in highland arms, with whom he came himself; the lairds of Philorth, Kenmuck, and diverse others, came into the town; attour there were about four thousand brave men on horse and foot coming out of Caithness, Strathnaver, Sutherland, Ross, and Murray, with the earl of Seaforth, the lord Lovat, the lord Rae, the sheriff of Murray, the lairds of Innes and Pluscarden, with diverse others, their captains and commanders, and were upon their journey towards Aberdeen, to have joined with the army; but were bravely interrupted and withstood by the name of Gordon and laird of Banff, who hastily convened a brave company of horse and foot, and rode over Spey, whereat the town of Elgin was sore afraid, and stood to their arms; the earl of Seaforth and the rest, seeing thir barons boldly ride Spey, and come forward in order of battle, they go to array, and resolve to meet them, and were upon their march within two miles of each other. In the mean time, some peaceable-set men on both sides settled the matter; so that Murray, Ross, and Sutherland, should not come over Spey, but return home to their houses; and on the other side, the name of Gordon, Banff, and the rest, should return over Spey, and go to their houses; and thus thir people were stayed uncome to Aberdeen at this time, whereat the army there took great exception; this was done by the barons upon the 28th day of May.

Upon the 26th of May, being Sunday, the earl of Montrose, now called General again, with the rest of the nobles, heard devotion; but their rascal soldiers in time of both sermons, are abusing and plundering New Aberdeen pitifully, without regard to God or man; and in the meantime, grass and corns are eaten

and destroyed about both Aberdeens, without fear of the maledictions of the poor labourers of the ground. This same Sunday, after sermons, the general gave order to quarter his haill soldiers within both Aberdeens, whilk was done that night, and upon the morrow in New Aberdeen, because Old Aberdeen was quartered before by the master of Forbes, his kin and friends. The bishop's servants saved his books and other plenishing, and hid them in houses of the town from the violence of the runnagate soldiers, who brake down and demolished all they could get within the bishop's house, without making any great benefit to themselves.

And as the houses were thus abused and spoiled, right so the corns were eaten and destroyed by the horse of this great army, both by night and day during their abode; the salmon fishers both of Dee and Don were all masterfully oppressed, and their salmon taken from them, whereupon one of their rascal soldiers was slain at Dee-side by the watermen. Now thir matters pertaining heritably for the most part to burgesses Covenanters, they complained upon thir oppressions to the general, who commanded a watch to be kept night and day to defend both the rivers of Dee and Don from such wrongs and oppressions, and thus the watermen are made free. But the country round about was pitifully plundered; the meal girnels broken up, eaten, and consumed. No fowl, cock, or hen, left unkilld; the haill house-dogs, messens, and whelps, within Aberdeen, killed upon the streets, so that neither hound, messen, or other dog, was left alive that they could see. The reason was this, when the first army came here, ilk captain and soldier had a blue ribband about his craig, in despite and derision whereof, when they removed from Aberdeen, some women of Aberdeen (as was alleged) knit blue ribbands about their messen's craigs, whereat thir soldiers took offence, and killed all their dogs for this very cause.

Upon Monday the 27th of May, the general goes to a council of war. They take ten thousand merks frae the town of Aberdeen to save it frae plundering, and took twelve pieces of ordnance from them, and shipped them in a bark to send them to Montrose. Their arms were plundered: seventeen muskets taken out of the college and Mr. John Lundie's house.

This same Monday, the lairds of Delgatie and Ludquharn, with the earls of Errol and Mariseshall, came and took in the place of Foveran, belonging to Sir John Turing of Foveran, and the place of Knockhall, pertaining to John Udny of that ilk, both Anti-covenanters: they sustained themselves, both men and horse, upon the ground, so long as the army staid in Aberdeen, and did no more skaith. Thir soldiers brake up the laird of Cluny's yett in Old Aberdeen, and haill doors, went in, and took out about six score pikes, whilk, at the general's command,

were given to the master of Forbes' men, and no more skith was done within that house, Cluny himself being absent.

The drum went through the Oldtown, commanding and charging the hail indwellers thereof to come the same day, the 21th of May; with their hail arms, to Mr. Thomas Lesly's house, and deliver the same to the laird of Craigievar, under the pain of death. The Oldtown people, trembling for fear of this uncouth kind of charge, came all running to Mr. Thomas Lesly's house with some few muskets and hagbutts, others with a rusty sword, others with an headless spear. The laird of Craigievar took up all, both good and bad, and divided them among his own armless soldiers. Thus were the poor Oldtown men oppressed and spoiled of their arms; but no other goods or gear were plundered out of any of the towns of Aberdeen, as the general had given orders, except arms and the town's fine.

Tuesday the 28th of May, the tutor of Pitaligo and laird of Philorth came with about two hundred men to attend the general's army. They were forced to lodge in the Oldtown College for want of quarters, no other being to be got that night.

Ye heard before how the noble marquis of Huntly was dishonourably taken and warded, and of his evil usage; none of his daughters suffered to bide with him; his eldest not suffered to lie in the chamber with him, but he himself alone; albeit he was compelled, upon his own expences, to sustain five guardians to over-watch him, as if he had been an odious traitor or grievous malefactor. All this he behoved to suffer for the king's cause, who was never letten to understand the truth of this marquis' miseries; but contrarywise, by his cruel and malignant enemies, the king was informed that the marquis had proved disloyal, had heard willingly and subscribed the covenant, and that he had sold the king's armour which came frae England to him, to the king's enemies, Covenanters, and that he came in willingly to Aberdeen with set purpose to be taken by Montrose and his complices. Thus was this noble marquis traduced to his majesty, whereof he then had no knowledge, and doubtless it offended the king, till the truth was tried, and the marquis found loyal and true to his majesty; and then the king begins to lament the miseries that this noble marquis was brought under for his sake, but could in nowise relieve or help him, who was kept in ward still.

The town of Aberdeen, seeing themselves sore oppressed by the feeding and sustaining of thir armies without payment, besides other slaveries, began heavily to regret their misery to the general and nobles, and commanders, saying they had subscribed the covenant, and yet were born down and persecuted daily, whereas the rest of the burrows of Scotland lived at peace and rest without perturbation or inquietation. There was no compassion had to their clamours, but the general answered, "Ye

have done what ye can to save the king and his subjects unsettled in peace;" and read letters sent by the marquis of Huntly and town of Aberdeen to his majesty, assuring him of their service, and that he would get great assistance in the work if his majesty had ado, whilk letters were intercepted by the Covenanters on the way; and that after they had sworn and subscribed the covenant, they had willfully and willingly receipt the barons within their town, who were enemies to the good cause and to their haill designs, and who had oppressed and plundered the haill Covenanters in their persons, goods, and gear, and therefore the town of Aberdeen was not to be trusted nor believed, for the most part, to be good Covenanters, albeit they had sworn and subscribed the covenant. Whereunto the town of Aberdeen made answer, What they had written or done was out of good intent; and as for the barons, they had no power to hold them out of their burrow, but were troubled and molested with them, and got no more good. But no regard was had to their response, nor their complaints, but forced to suffer and abide their calamities with very sore hearts. And as they were oppressed, so the country Anti-covenanters were pitifully plagued and plundered in their victual, fleshes, fowls, and other commodities, whilk bred great scarcity in this land, without authority of the king or regard to their country, for the whilk they got daily maledictions.

The king all this while is lying at Newcastle with some volunteers and feed servant-soldiers; and England had refused to raise an army, whilk the king earnestly desired, saying they could not raise arms against their neighbour nation, except they had been declared by council or parliament open rebels and traitors against his majesty, according to the Scots laws; and however, by instigation of wicked men and malignant persons, he had sent out his proclamation declaring them rebels and traitors, without advice of his council or parliament, yet it was no ground or just cause to move open war betwixt the king and his subjects; whereupon the king was compelled, sore against his will, to lie all this time at Newcastle, not knowing of the secret clandestine band and combination past between the English and Scots, through which he was fully disappointed of his whole designs.

Upon Thursday the 30th of May, the lairds of Banff, Newtown, Foveran, Federat, and diverse others, take ship at Downie, and resolved to go to the king, since they could not keep their country with safety; but the lord Aboyn brought them back again.

The foresaid Thursday, about ten hours in the morning, the general raises his army out of both Aberdeens, and begins to march through Old Aberdeen. The footmen marched first, and the horsemen with the general followed. They were estimate about six thousand foot and horse, besides baggage-horse estimated to six hundred, that came out of Angus and Strathern

only, with three thousand men on horse and foot; nine hundred men came frae the earl Marischall out of the Mearns, Kintore, and Skene; one thousand men came frae the lord Fraser, master of Forbes; tutor of Pitsligo, with the lairds of Philorth, and diverse others barons of Buchan, Mar, and Garioch. This people lived all upon the country and Aberdeen, but the Angus men had their provision following them in their march, but likewise lived upon their quarters as the rest did. There met the general on his way the earl of Errol's men out of Buchan, and the earl Marischall's men out of that bounds also, with many barons; the earl of Athol's two hundred highlandmen was likewise in this army. They took one of the town's colours of Aberdeen, and gave it to the town of Aberbrothock's soldiers, because they had none of their own, and whilk was not their kind to carry. Thus this army goes forward in order of battle, with ensigns, trumpets, drums, bagpipes, captains, and commanders, through the Oldtown; the brazen field-pieces followed them; and so they went to Udney, where they camped that night. Friday the last of May, they marched from Udney to the house of Haddo, pertaining to the lord of Haddo, called Kelly. Saturday the 1st of June, they marched frae Kelly to the place of Gight, where they remained all night; they did no more skaith, but took their entertainment off of the ground wherever they came, upon their own private expences.

Now as this army is lying at Gight, resolved to take the house, with the rest of the Anti-covenanters' houses thereabout, such as Udney, Kelly, and some other places, there came to the road of Aberdeen, upon Sunday the 2d of June, being Whitsunday, a collier ship, in the which was embarked the earls of Glencairn and Tullibardine, the lord Aboyn, the laird of Drum, with Crowner Gunn, and some other English captains and leaders. This ship meeting with the bark wherein Banff, Federat, Newtown, and the rest was, caused them to come aboard of their ship, and leave their voyage. There came also in a ship which was in company of the said ship, sundry of our Aberdeen's men who had fled the town and gone to England; and siclike sundry ministers, such as Mr. Thomas Thoirs, minister of Udney, Mr. John Paterson, minister at Foveran, Mr. David Leith, minister at Ellon, Mr. John Gregory, minister at Dalmoak, Mr. Francis Thomson, minister at Peter Culter, Mr. John Kemp, preacher, with some others, who for this covenant had fled the country to the king. This great ship had also in her great store of ammunition, powder, ball, muskets, swords, pikes, and the like arms. She had a pinnace following her, and two barks lying beside her; in the one the Aberdeen's men and ministers were; in the other were the lairds of Banff, Newtown, Foveran, and Federat, going to the king. This ship was directed by the king to the Forth, where the royal navy was lying, with special direction to the lord Aboyn to speak to the admiral to receive three thousand

soldiers, with all kind of provision and money to sustain them during the space of five months, frae him, according as his majesty had commanded him, and that he should land them at Aberdeen or Cromartie, for defence of the country and brave Aberdeen, and to send expert captains and commanders, whereby they might join and knit with the king's loyal subjects in the north for their defence. The lord Aboyn speaks to the admiral in Forth, according to the king's command; he day by day promises, but never minds to perform, as he who is set against the king's cause. The lord Aboyn depended day by day, but comes no speed; and the admiral's last answer was, that he should come his way to the road of Aberdeen, and he should have his soldiers shortly after him. The lord Aboyn believing his word, and under no suspicion of deceit, takes his leave, and forward comes to the road of Aberdeen upon the said second day of June with his pinnace; but by the way he meets a bark going to Montrose with some few pieces of ordnance and muskets, swords, pikes, and other brave arms, plundered from Aberdeen, as ye have heard before, directed by the general to Montrose; but Aboyn takes back the ordnance and arms, and brings them all to the road; and hearing Montrose had shipped other five pieces of ordnance, and sent to Dundee, whilk belonged to Aberdeen, he sends hastily and takes thir five pieces of ordnance also, whereat general Montrose was much offended.

About the last day of May, his majesty came to Berwick with seven thousand foot soldiers, three thousand horsemen, and five hundred dragoons; right sua he had directed a navy from England to come to Forth, of thirty ships, whereof there was some ships royal. His majesty also made the marquis of Hamilton his admiral over the fleet, wherein there was eight thousand soldiers, captains and commanders, besides skippers and sailors, with powder, ball, ammunition, and other provision necessary for some months space, and money about thirteen thousand pounds sterling; he directed this admiral (in whom he had too much trust,) to land three thousand soldiers for defence of Aberdeen and the north, whilk he slighted fairly.

The lord Aboyn comes to the road of Aberdeen, still looking for the coming of his soldiers, but he was beguiled; however, according to the laws of the sea, he sends the twelve pieces of ordnance to the good lord admiral as sea plundering, but more wisely he kept all the rest of the town's arms to himself; and did not send them also; which twelve pieces were cast upon the shore of Bruntisland by the admiral, when he went out of Forth back with his army, where they yet lye.

How soon the town's Covenanters heard that the king was come to Berwick with a land army, and a navy come to Forth, and therewith seeing a collier with a pinnace and two other barks come to the road, they apprehended great fear and dreadure, and hastily sent word to the army lying at Gight, who shortly

left the siege, and upon Monday the 3d of June they came all in marching to Aberdeen, without doing of more vassalage; albeit their resolution was to have wrecked and abused the hail barons and heritors who were at the Raid of Turriff, and that by plain force, without authority of a king or law; howsomever they plundered their victuals, beef, mutton, cock and hen, destroyed both grass and corn wherever they came, to the great wreck of the country. Yet God blessed the corns thus eaten and destroyed, that they produced a plentiful crop; yet peats and fire was very scarce through want of servants to cast and win them, and through troubles in the country.

It is said, while this army is lying at Gight, John Spence, herauld, was sent for by the laird of Dun, or taken and apprehended by him as an Anti-covenanter; as likewise Alistair Sandieson, messenger, being at his lawful affairs within the Mearns, was, by means of a recanting Jesuit, called Abernethie, taken, with an Aberdeen's burghess, called John Gordon; and they with John Spence were had all three to Dunotter as Anti-covenanters, and warded in a strait dungeon, put in irons without any offence but being the king's servants. No comfort they had of fire or candle, meat or drink or bedding, but lay fast in the irons day and night, without sunshine or light of the heavens, and were miserably fed upon brown bread and small drink during the space of fourteen days, while it pleased the Lord to relieve them. Thus was the king's heraulds, messengers, and burghesses, cruelly detained and abused without respect to the king or his laws.

It is here also to be noticed, that Dr. Scroggie, seeing their ships come to the road, came back and preached at this Oldtown kirk upon Whitsunday, who durst not be seen since the 19th of May.

Ye heard how the army came back again to Aberdeen from Gight upon the Covenanters' advertisement, who no doubt had gotten council and advice by moyan of the marquis of Hamilton, to retire now before the incoming of this army. Aberdeen carefully caused tuck drums through the town, charging all men to be in readiuss with their best arms to defend the incoming of their ships lying in the road, and to attend the incoming of the army from Gight, who came in about five hours at even; but before their incoming, the town of Aberdeen sent out to the road, Mr. Matthew Lumsden, and some other honest men, commissioners, for them to demand what they were, and what was the cause of their coming: the lord Aboyn gave them no good answer, but dismiss them shortly, and in the meantime keepled beside him the said Mr. Matthew Lumsden, because he was a known Covenanter, till he got liberty.

The same Monday that the army came back to Aberdeen the earl Marischall left them in the town, and that same night rides to Dunotter with some few horse. The army bides still Monday all night, Tuesday, and on Wednesday, trumpets sound and

drums tuck; they left their army and begin to march forth again, carrying in their company their field-pieces, whereat the town of Aberdeen was very joyful, and glad to be free of their quartering and charges, whilk was no small burthen to them. The nobles ride that night to Dunotter, syne south, and scattered their army, to the great fear and dreadure of the Covenanters within Aberdeen; for provost Jaffray, Patrick Lealy, John Lealy, the Burnets, Thomas Mowat, Thomas Mortimer, and many others of that faction, took all the flight frae the town, ilk ane for his own safety, after they had first put their goods and best gear out of the way. In like manner, the earl Marischall caused transport his hail goods and gear out of his house in Aberdeen, such as might be transported, to Dunotter; but his meal girnals bade behind, whilk was well plundered afterwards.

Upon Thursday the 6th of June, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Tullibardine, the lord Aboyn, the lairds of Drum, Federat, Foveran, Newtown, and their followers, came ashore, with whom came also the laird of Banff sore sick in an hot fever, and was transported in a wand bed to William Cordiner's house in New Aberdeen, and from that carried in the same wand bed to Foveran, where he lay still till God sent him his health again.

There came also ashore, Crowner Gunn, with diverse other English captains and officers; and presently after their landing the lord Aboyn caused Robert Irvine, one of the town's officers, (because neither herauld, pursuivant, nor messenger could be found), go to the cross, and there, as he had orders frae the king, caused make proclamation of an imprinted paper, commanding all his majesty's loyal subjects not to obey the Covenanters, nor pay them maills, farms, duties, nor obligation debt, but to pay the one half to the king and the other half to be kept by themselves; that such as were threatened or persuaded to subscribe the covenant against their will, upon their repentance, should be remitted and forgiven; and that ilk true subject should come in and subscribe the oath urged in England, whereof the tenor follows:—

"I do faithfully swear and subscribe, profess and promise, that I will honour and obey my sovereign lord King Charles, and will bear faithful and true allegiance to him, and defend and maintain his royal power and authority; and that I will not bear arms, or do any rebellious act of hostility against him, or protest against any of his royal commanders, but submit myself in all due obedience; and that I will not enter into any covenant or band of mutual defence of any sort of persons by force, without his majesty's sovereign and royal authority; and do renounce and abjure all other covenants and bands whatsoever, contrary to what I have sworn, herein professed and promised: as help me God in Christ Jesus."

This oath was imprinted at England, sworn and subscribed by



all the king's loyal subjects there, whereof the lord Aboyn brought an imprinted double, to be subscribed here in their parts.

Likewise his majesty, having made him lieutenant in the north, in his father's place, now lying in captivity, he caused even then proclaim the samen, at the said mercat cross, bearing him to be lieutenant frae the north water to Caithness. Thir proclamations ended, the nobles would stay no longer in Aberdeen, but came down to Footdee-well, convoyed by such of the town's men as were loyal to the king, with hagbutts and muskets. The lords sup in Footdee; and after supper went aboard in their own ship-boats attending upon them, where they stayed that night, long looking for men from the admiral Hamilton, but none came at all. The earls of Glencairn and Tullibardine in two or three days took their leave of the lord Aboyn in Aberdeen, and departed home. Lewis Gordon, the third son of the marquis of Huntly, hearing of the tidings of his brother, the lord of Aboyn, with assurance of three thousand men to come from the admiral, hastily raises his father's ground-friends and followers, men, tenants, and servants, who most gladly and willingly came with him, and upon Friday the 7th of June, marched in brave order, about one thousand men on horse and foot, well armed, brave men, with captains, commanders, and leaders, trumpets, drums, and bagpipes, and to Aberdeen came they to meet the lord Aboyn, having also in their company four field-pieces of brass, whilk they brought with them frae Strathboggie. Thus again is poor Aberdeen brought under subjection and quarters; but the Covenantants being all fled, the men enter their houses and get good entertainment from their wives, without any payment. The nobles come again on shore to meet this company, with Crouner Gunn, and some other English captains; they take in both Aberdeens, and quarter their soldiers.

John Dugar, with his lawless followers, was in this company, and lodged in Old Aberdeen, in George King's house; but he was shortly discharged as a runnagate limmar, blood-shedder and murderer, and in whatsoever company he was, the same could not well prosper, as was most evident; yet it is true Lewis knew nothing of his being in his company.

The laird of Drum sent in the same night to the town one hundred horse.

James Grant, sometime rebel, and now remitted, came in with his followers, and takes up his lodging at Don-side, in Patrick Lesly's house. Donald Farquharson and his highlandmen also came to the town. Thir soul-less lowns plundered meat, drink, and sheep, whatever they came; they oppressed the Oldtown, and brought in out of the country honest men's sheep, and sold at the cross of Old Aberdeen to such as would buy, a sheep upon foot for a groat. The poor men that ought

them followed in, and bought back their own sheep again; such as was left unslain were for their meat.

The foresaid Saturday, all manner of men within both Aberdeens were charged, by tuck of drum, to rise in arms and serve the king, upon his majesty's expences, under the conduct of the lord Aboyn, his lieutenant. This charge was given out at the king's direction, willing him wherever he went, to raise soldiers upon his expences, and gave order to admiral Hamilton to give him money for that effect; but neither men nor money came as the lord Aboyn expected, to his great grief, shame, and disgrace. Yet the lord Aboyn proved wise in this point: he held still his collier and pinnace lying in the road, however the matter went, and nightly goes aboard till he landed altogether, at last sails to Berwick. The lord Aboyn, with his captains and crowners, lands in arms, takes in of new again this noble burrow of Aberdeen, meddles with the keys of the ports, kirks, and tolbooth, to their great misery. They quartered both Aberdeens, and set their watches round about the haill town, still confident of men and money daily to come frae admiral Hamilton for their help and support, but was ever deceived. He also sent Mr. Matthew Lumsden on shore upon swearing the oath, as was said, who was detained in the ship.

Many barons and gentlemen hearing of the lord Aboyn's coming with assistance of men and money from the king, came into Aberdeen most gladly to him: yea, and many Covenanters proved turn-tail through plain fear, and came in most willingly to him, and makes up a trim company, about two thousand men. His out-watches took in the Mearns provost Jaffray and his son, both great Covenanters, who for plain fear had fled the town and hid themselves. They took also James Burnet of Craigmyle, Robert Keith, writer, servitor to the earl Marischall, and Alexander Erskine, brother to the laird of Pitodrie, great Covenanters, who had fled their own houses, and lay lurking in the Mearns. Robert Keith was sent aboard to the ship still lying in the road: the rest get liberty, upon swearing and subscribing of the oath and band of allegiance; but Robert Keith staid still in the king's collier ship, as he who was thought to be one of the earl Marischall's chief counsellors in all thir troubles, being dwelling hard beside Dunotter, in Cowie. He was sent to Berwick, and there put at liberty.

Monday the 10th of June, the lord Aboyn convenes his army, being about two thousand horse and foot, and daily increasing, and marches from Aberdeen to Kintore, where they caused the people swear and subscribe the oath and bond of allegiance. They plundered meat and drink, and made good fires, and where they wanted peats, broke down beds and boards in honest men's houses to be fires, and fed their horses with corn and straw that day and night, without doing any more wrong. Upon the morn they ride out to Hall Forest, the earl Marischall

chall's house, which was straitly kept, but they at the first rendered the same to the lord Aboyn, and delivered the keys. The soldiers entered, plundered muskets and guns, and other arms within the same; breaks up the girdles, to sustain their army, but would not plunder or take any of the country people's goods and gear, which was put in this castle for preservation and keeping in their troublesome times, but ilk man came and received back his own without harm or prejudice, which was nobly done.

The laird of Craigievar's lands of Fintray, a great Covenantant, was plundered by the laird of Haddo; and upon the 12th of June, they rode to the lord Fraser's house of Muchalls, but he was fled frae home. The soldiers meddled with and plundered his oxen, kine, and horse, and all other goods that they could get. They threw down hie stacks of corn among their horse feet to cut and destroy. Those that were within the house shot out some muskets, but did no skaith, whereupon they resolved to lay a siege about the house; but seeing there was forces rising in the south, they resolved to leave that purpose, and return back to Aberdeen again, where Aboyn resolves to go to the Mearns and proclaim the king's proclamation and his own lieutenantry, at the mercat cross of Stonehaven, and to cause all manner of men swear and subscribe the oath. He raised out of Old Aberdeen twenty soldiers to go with him, which was never burthened with the like before. He also raised out of New Aberdeen two hundred soldiers, and makes up about two thousand five hundred men, horse and foot, highland and lowland men, in great order.

Upon Friday the 14th of June, the lord Aboyn begins to march out of Aberdeen towards Stonehaven, to the effect foresaid, and to cause the people give obedience, or then to persecute them to the death with fire and sword; and that same night he camped about Muchalls in the Mearns.

The earl Marischall hearing of his coming, sends shortly to Montrose for two cartows, and brings out of Dunotter some pieces of ordnance, conveys about twelve hundred men, and stiles his pieces very commodiously, to cross the lord Aboyn's coming the way that he was unwisely counselled to come by Crouner Gunn, who led him on the Meagra-hill, and sent word to the earl Marischall that the army would come that way. This Gunn was sent by the king, with the rest of the English captains, to attend the lord Aboyn's service, being but a young soldier himself, and to counsel and advise him in all his wars, as he who was an approved expert captain; but he proved traitor in this business by information of the marquis of Hamilton, ere he comes out of England, as clearly does appear.

Now the lord Aboyn coming down the Meagra-hill, whereas they might have gone a more safe way if Gunn's counsel had not been followed, the earl Marischall at Stonehaven had stiled

his cartows and ordnance just in their faces, and began most furiously to play upon the army. The highlandmen hearing the noise of the cannons, whereof they were not in use, took the flight presently: the retreat was sounded, for they durst not hazard to go farther that way in the very face of the cannon. Two poor men were hurt, but little more skaith, and back returns he without any more vassalage to Aberdeen. The highlandmen got away, and in their home-going plundered the earl Marischall's lands of Strathauchan, and took horse, milt, and sheep, to the wreck of the country people. The hail foot army also fled.

Sunday the 16th of June, the lord Aboyn heard devotion in Aberdeen before and after noon; syne went to his council of war, being about nine score brave horsemen, and few footmen, except James Grant and his company.

Upon Monday the 17th of June, the lord Aboyn sends out to re-collect his army that was scattered at Cowie, and directs watches out to the Mearns to spy the country, where they take the lairds of Pury Ogilvie and Pury Fotheringham, both strong Covenanters, after some skirmishing, and brings them to Aberdeen their prisoners, whom the lord Aboyn directed to be warded in Mr. Robert Farquhar's house during his pleasure, but were thereafter shortly put to liberty. His foot army gathered, and was about four thousand men, at Legatsden, but came not in time to the Bridge of Dee.

Upon the same Monday, the earl Marischall, seeing the lord Aboyn returning back again to Aberdeen, gathers his forces, writes to the earl of Montrose, and the said Monday comes forward to Tollohill, where he encampa. More friends came to him, such as the said earl of Montrose, and earl of Kinghorn, who came indeed.

The lord of Aboyn, advertised of this gathering, upon Tuesday the 18th of June, about ten hours, goes to array his soldiers, and such as he got also out of both Aberdeens; and resolves to stop their coming to the town, by keeping of the Bridge of Dee. They carried out their four brazen pieces, which did little skaith. Lieutenant Crowner Johnston mans the bridge, fortified the port upon the south end of the same, and caused close it up strongly with faill and thatch to hold out the shot of the cartow. He had about a hundred brave musketeers, whereof fifty was still in service by turns.

Upon the same Tuesday, the earls of Montrose and Kinghorn comes frae the south, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, with diverse barons and gentlemen, comes frae the north to the earl Marischall: they were estimate altogether about two thousand men on foot, and three hundred horse. The lord Aboyn's was of no less number, and more brave horsemen, lying about the Bridge of Dee, but few footmen. This Thursday, the earl Marischall and the rest goes to array, and marches forward frae

Tollobill to the bridge. They begin to shoot their cartow at the same, whilk was very fearful, being a quarter cannon, having her ball of twenty pound weight; but courageous Johnston manfully defended the same with brave musketeers that came out of both Aberdeens, who gave fire so abundantly upon the enemies' musketeers that they were of them praised and admired for their brave service. Thus the hail day, they on the one side pursuing the bridge with cannon and musket, and on the other side they are defending with muskets and their four brazen pieces (which did little service) yet no skaith on our side, except a townsman, called John Forbes, was pitifully slain, and William Gordon of Gordon's Mill was rashly shot in the foot, both Anticovenanters. Thus, night being come, both parties left off and set their watches, attending the coming of the morning.

Upon Wednesday the 19th of June, the town's folk, about fifty musketeers, foolishly left the bridge, with about the like number to keep the samen, and went convoying the corps of the foresaid John Forbes to be buried in the town, whilk was very unwisely done, and to the tinsell of the bridge. In the meantime, a new assault was given: courageous Johnston placed his few soldiers (as he did first) in the bounds of the bridge so commodiously, as they defended themselves very stoutly and manfully with little loss.

The confederate lords seeing they had come no speed, devises a pretty slight to draw the horsemen frae the bridge, (being about the number of nine score brave gentlemen, albeit they had no footmen, except James Grant's company, and the town's men of both Aberdeens, because they had scattered at Cowie as ye have heard, and was quickly gathering again, but came not in time to the defence of the bridge), better horsed and more in number than they were of good horses, therefore they stringed up their horse company on the other side of the water of Dee, making shew to enter the water and come through the same, and pursue the lord Aboyn this side of the water, which was far from their mind, and over hastily believed by Aboyn; whereupon he rides up the water side to meet thir horsemen at their coming through the water, and leaves the bridge foolishly with brave Johnston and about fifty musketeers only, who wonderfully stood out and defended the samen, albeit cruelly charged with cartow and musket-shot in great abundance, which was more fearfully renewed; whereas the lord Aboyn was marching up the water side. At last brave Johnston is unhappily hurt in the thigh or leg by the buffet of a stone thrown out of the bridge by the violence of a shot, so that he could do no more service. He hastily calls for a horse, and says to his soldiers, "Do for yourselves, and haste you to the town;" whereupon they all, with himself, took the flight. Then followed in certain captains, and quickly took in the bridge peaceably, and cast out their colours. The lord Aboyn seeing thir horsemen stay upon the

other side of the water, and not coming through the water as they seemed to intend, and withal seeing their colours upon the bridge, takes the flight shamefully without stroke of sword, or any other kind of vassalage, for he and his horsemen lay under hawks and braes saving themselves from the cartow, and beheld Aberdeen's men defend the bridge, which was lost by the incoming of the soldiers to John Forbes' burial, and by the lord Aboyn's leaving of the samen, and chiefly by the unhappy hurt which brave Johnston received. Our Aberdeen's men were praised even of their very enemies for their sure and ready fire. There was slain of townsmen the foresaid John Forbes, Patrick Gray, David Johnston, Thomas Davidson, and some others hurt and wounded; amongst the rest, Seaton of Pitmedden, a gentleman, was suddenly shot riding up the water-side with the lord Aboyn; and on the other side, a brave gentleman, called — Ramsay, brother to the laird of Balmain, and some others hurt and wounded. This bridge was unfortunately taken in upon the 19th of June, about four afternoon, whereas support was coming that same night of Aboyn's friends; but hearing of the winning of the bridge, came no farther than Legatsden, syne dispersed and scattered.

Aboyn takes the flight; takes the laird of Pury Ogilvie and Pury Fotheringham out of Aberdeen, his own prisoners, whom he had taken before, and sends them back to the lords safe and sound, freely without ransom. Few followed the chase, so that Aboyn, his friends and followers, go no skait.

The confederate lords meddle with the marquis' four brazen pieces, and with their own two cartows came to Aberdeen with sound of trumpet, displayed colours, and tucking of drums. As the army marched, the haill Covenanters was blyth, and the royalists as sorrowful at this sight, who for plain fear fled the town, with their wives and children in their arms, and carried on their backs, weeping and mourning most pitifully, straying here and there, not knowing where to go. Thus were they so distressed for the love they had to the king, and now for following Aboyn.

Thir nobles take in the town, meddle with the keys of the ports, kirks, and tolbooth, quarter their soldiers and set watches, and send for the town's people that had fled, charging them by tuck of drum to return to their houses, promising they should get no wrong; whereupon some returned, others would not, but hid themselves here and there in the country.

There were some footmen of this army who had free quarters in the Oldtown at this time, and all the Covenanters now proudly crop the cawsy, glad at the incoming of this army. After quartering in both Aberdeens, the soldiers made search for such musketeers as served against them at the bridge of Dee, and found about forty-eight cavaliers, brave men, whom they caused bind by the gardies with tows, in disgraceful man-

ner, and brought to the tolbooth, where that night they got neither meat, drink, fire, nor candle, nor bed, and watched the tolbooth for that effect.

Upon Thursday the 20th of June, the nobles went and took up the corps of Pitmedden and Ramsay; and both were buried in the kirk of Aberdeen by their own friends with lamentation. There was a dead volley shot by the soldiers for their own man Ramsay at the Old Kirk door; where William Erskine, brother to the laird of Pittodrie, was suddenly shot dead through the head, standing among the rest, whereof never word nor trial was gotten, whilk was thought marvellous, but indeed he was a wilful malicious Covenanter.

Thereafter the nobles, in a council of war, (hearing for certainty of a treaty past betwixt the king and his subjects at Berwick, whereof they had knowledge before the intaking of the bridge) fines Aberdeen in six thousand merks, which was presently paid, looses the town's men's gardies, who were knit two and two together, sets them to liberty upon the same Thursday; the town was saved from plundering upon payment of this sum.

Upon the morn, the 21st of June, orders was given for transporting south the two cartows and marquis of Huntly's four brazen field-pieces, delivered the town's keys to the magistrates, and marches the same day south again; whereupon the rest of the honest men and women who had fled, returned gladly to their own houses in Aberdeen.

The lord Aboyn seeing this army gone, and no appearance of help, as he daily expected, from admiral Hamilton, upon the 26th of June boats at the Sandness, and goes aboard of his own ship (which all this time was lying in the road attending his service, with the rest of the English captains, and traitor Gunn also), and to Berwick sails he; for it is most certain this Crowner Gunn deceived Aboyn (whose counsel the king had commanded him to follow), by persuasion of the admiral as was said, a great favourer of the covenant.

Ye see before of the king's coming with his army to Berwick; the Scots army at the same time came to Dunse, four miles frae the king's army, where they lay encamped, estimated in horse, foot, bag, and baggage, to about twenty thousand, with brave captains, officers, and commanders, whereof Lesly was general, furnished with store of ammunition, powder, ball, and good arms. Now both armies being encamped within four miles of others, the Scots humbly desired his majesty to appoint some of the English to hear their humble desire, which his highness graciously granted; then our Scots were desired to put in their demands in writing, whereof one was, that his majesty would ratify the acts of the late assembly holden at Glasgow, in the next ensuing parliament. The king craved to understand by write the grounds and reasons of their desire. The lord London (who was one of our Scots combinator), commissioner with the

earl of Rothes for the nobles; sir James Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale, commissioner for the barons and gentry; John Smith, baillie of Edinburgh, commissioner for the burrows; and Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, commissioner for the clergy, said, their desires were only to enjoy their religion and liberty according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of this kingdom, and in clearing particulars they would not insist upon any that were not such; whilk his majesty desired him to set down in writing, which he did in the subsequent words:—

“Memorandum.—That our desires are only the enjoying our religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of his majesty's kingdoms; to clear by sufficient grounds that the particulars we crave with all humility are such, and shall not insist to crave any point which is not so warranted; and that we humbly offer all civil and temporal obedience to your majesty, which can be required or expected of loyal subjects.

(Signed)

“LOUDON.”

Whereunto his majesty most willingly condescended, as most reasonable grounds, founded upon the laws of the kingdom; but under the fair general lurked much poison and great bloodshed, woe, and wracking throughout the king's hail dominions, through interpretation or misinterpretation of our laws, to his majesty's high displeasure; he not seeing the combinator's subtile intention, both in church and police, yea, and against his royal prerogative, as hereafter is shortly noted in this discourse.

However, the foresaid memorandum being the ground of the agreement, it was brought to a conclusion upon the 17th of June; and of the same date the king sets out his declaration conform to these grounds, which was well accepted by these who came in the name of the covenant, with humble thanks to the king for doing the samen; and giving an answer to their petition within the said declaration, which was fully agreed upon, together with sundry articles by both parties. The pacification concluded, the articles on both sides were to be performed. Accordingly these on the king's part were in the declaration following:—

“We having considered the papers and humble petitions presented to us by these our subjects of Scotland, who were admitted to attend our pleasure in the camp, and after a full hearing by ourself of all that they could say or alledge thereupon, having communicated the same to our council of both kingdoms there present, upon mature deliberation, with their unanimous advice, we have thought fit to give this just and gracious answer,—That though we cannot condescend to ratify and approve the acts of the pretended General Assembly at Glasgow, for many grave and weighty considerations, which happened before and since, much importing the honour and security of that true monarchical government lineally descended upon us from so many of our an-



cessors ; yet such is our gracious pleasure, that notwithstanding the many disorders committed of late, we are pleased not only to confirm and make good whatsoever our commissioners have granted and promised in our name, but also we are further graciously pleased to declare and assure, that all matters, according to the petitioners' humble desires, that are ecclesiastical, shall be determined by the assembly of the kirk ; and all matters civil, by the parliament and other inferior indicatories established by law ; which assembly shall accordingly be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon at the General Assembly.

“ And for settling the general distraction of that our kingdom, our will and pleasure is, that a free General Assembly be kept at Edinburgh the 1st day of August next ensuing, where we intend (God willing) to be personally present ; and for the legal indiction whereof we have given order and command to our council, and thereafter a parliament to be holden at Edinburgh the 20th of August next ensuing, for ratifying of what shall be concluded in the said Assembly, and settling other things, as may conduce to the peace and good of our native kingdom, and therein an act of oblivion to be passed.

“ And whereas we are further desirous that our ships and forces by land be recalled, and all persons' goods restored, and they made safe frae invasion, we are graciously pleased to declare, that upon their disarming and disbanding of their forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended tables and conventicles, and restoring unto us all our castles, forts, and ammunition of all sorts, as likewise our royal honours, and to every one of our subjects their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and monies, whatsoever, taken and detained from them since the late pretended General Assembly, we will presently thereafter recall our fleet, and retire our land forces, and cause restitution to be made to all persons of their ships and goods detained and arrested since the aforesaid time ; whereby it may appear that our intention of taking up arms was nowise for invading our native kingdom, or to innovate religion or laws, but merely for the maintaining and vindicating of our royal authority. And since that hereby it doth clearly appear, that we neither have nor do intend any alteration in religion or laws, but that both shall be maintained by us in their full integrity, we expect the performance of that humble and dutiful obedience which becometh loyal and dutiful subjects, which in their several petitions they have often professed ; as we have just reason to believe, that to our peaceable and well disposed subjects this will be satisfactory, so we take God and the world to witness, that whatsoever calamities shall ensue, by our necessitated suppressing of the insolencies of such as shall continue in their disobedient courses, is not occasioned by us, but by their own procurement.”

After his majesty's declaration thus expressed, follow the articles of pacification tending thus, which were agreed upon :—

1st, The forces of Scotland be disbanded and dissolved within forty-eight hours after his majesty's declaration is published, being agreed upon.

2d, His highness' castles, forts, ammunition of all sorts, and royal honours, to be delivered after the said publication, so soon as he should send to receive them.

3d, His majesty's ships to depart presently after the delivery of the castles, &c. with the first fair wind, and in the meantime no interruption of trade or fishing.

4th, His majesty was graciously pleased to cause restore all persons, goods, and ships, detained and arrested since the first of November then last past.

5th, No meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations of any of his majesty's lieges, but such as are warranted by act of parliament.

6th, The fortifications to desist, and no further workings therein, and they be remitted to his majesty's pleasure.

7th, To restore to every one of his majesty's good subjects their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and monies whatsoever, taken or detained from them by whatsoever means since the aforesaid time.

Upon Tuesday the 18th of June, the foresaid declaration and articles of pacification were signed at the king's pavilion, by his majesty, and by the commissioners for Scotland, who also signed another paper of submission to his majesty, as follows :—

“ In the Camp, the 18th of June, 1639.

“ In obedience to his majesty's royal commands, we shall, upon Thursday next the 20th of June, dismiss our forces, and instantly thereafter deliver his majesty's castles, &c. and shall ever in all things carry ourselves like humble, loyal, and obedient subjects.

*Sic subscribitur,*

“ ROTHES.

“ DOUGLAS.

“ DUMFERMLING.

“ ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

“ LOUDON.

“ ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.”

The Scots commissioners did likewise condescend, that his majesty's declaration should be read and published in the army, which, by Lyon king of arms of Scotland, was done upon the 20th of June, in presence of some commissioners of the king's sent to see it published; against the whilk (contrary to his majesty's expectation) protestations were made.

Now matters being in the way of settling, his majesty desired, before removing of the army frae Dunee, that some of the Scots nobles and other men of note should come and confer with him at his camp, whilk was plainly refused by the Covenanters, whereat his majesty took high offence; but they alleged some reasons which were sent in write.

In the meantime, the marquis of Huntly, and his son lord Gordon, and some others who were warded in the castle of Edinburgh, are put to liberty. The marquis places his virgin daughters in the place of Seytoun, with his cousin the earl of Wintoun, syne rides with his son to the king's camp at Berwick.

Robert Keith, writer, who was taken and had to Berwick, is set to liberty, and sent home, whereupon the earl Marischall relieves John Gordon, John Spence, Rothsay, herauld, and Allaster Sandieson, messenger, most unwisely imprisoned and cruelly handled, as before mentioned.

Now there was great preparation for choosing miniaters and ruling elders, commissioners to the General Assembly, to be

holden at Edinburgh the 6th of August next: but none except known Covenanters were chosen through all the presbyteries of Scotland; among whom our presbytery of Aberdeen elected Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, and Mr. Andrew Abercrombie, minister of Fintray, who were their commissioners, with the earl of Kinghorn, now being in this country, to be a ruling elder, because he had the lands of Belhelvie pertaining to him within the presbytery, yet had neither dwelling place nor household remaining within this diocese, yet he is thus chosen, being a great Covenanter, a ruling elder for the presbytery of Aberdeen.

The king lies still at Berwick, makes general Ruthven captain of the castle of Edinburgh, which was delivered to him with the royal ornaments, viz. crown, sword, and scepter, to be kept within the said castle. The Covenanters disband their army at Dunse, yet not fully; but the king disbands his army truly both by sea and land, and the admiral Hamilton, who had gotten directions to land forces to defend Aberdeen and the north; yet he obeys not direction, but lies still in Forth, having secret conferences with the nobles of the covenant night and day, whereof the king had neither knowledge nor suspicion, yet he revealed the king's projects and secrets, having too much his ear, as was thought, at all occasions, to the Covenanters, of whom also he politically made his own use, and held both the king and them in hand for his own ends, not yet known; but sure could not have power to act contrary to the Covenanters, because he revealed all, whereby they were armed against all dangers, which bred great trouble, sorrow, and doleful calamities throughout the king's hail dominions, which if he had been true to his master, might have been wisely and easily suppress in the beginning. Admiral Hamilton having gotten thirteen thousand pounds sterling frae the king for this fruitless expedition, he spende and spared as he pleased, comes to the king lying at Berwick, makes up an account of his expences to his treasurer, and gave in two hundred pound sterling he alleged unapended, but kept the rest to himself. The king approved his doings, and thought them good service, wherein he was mightily deceived. But Hamilton hereafter got his own reward.

In the meantime, the king lying still at Berwick, perceives the Covenanters slow to fulfil their part of the articles of pacification, and sees some other disorders unlooked-for beside, whilk he sets down in write, as follows, viz.—

1mo. First he alledged, that the Covenanters did make a protestation against the publication of his declaration before their army at Dunse.

2do. That the forces of Scotland raised against himself were not disbanded within forty-eight hours, but for sometime kept in body some forces, and held in pay their officers.

3tio. That full restitution is not made of his majesty's forts, castles, and

ammunition, and the fortifications of Leith stand entirely, albeit the king commanded them to be casten down.

4to. That they keept unlawful meetings at tables, conventicles, and consultations, after the 20th of July, (whilk day the king appointed to be the last that they should meet upon, and consult upon their mutual burdens only, and no other state matters), wherein they daily vex and trouble sic as do not adhere to their rebellious covenant and pretended assembly acts at Glasgow.

5to. Whereas all fortifications bigged by his warrant were referred to his pleasure, whether to stand or be demolished, and that he commandeth them to be cast down, yet no obedience given thereto.

6to. None of his majesty's good subjects has gotten their goods, nor dare hazard home to their own houses at full liberty, by reason of the Covenanters' fury, animated thereto by the said protestation and seditious sermons, and that they are threatened with the loss of their lives, in case they shall repair to their own dwellings.

7mo. Whereas it is declared that his majesty did not approve the late pretended assembly at Glasgow, yet contrary to his highness' pleasure they press the subjects to subscribe the approbation thereof, and to swear the samen.

8vo. Whereas it pleased the king to grant a free assembly, expecting a choice of sic commissioners as might stand with his highness' authority, they perverted his subjects by anticipating their votes, in making them swear to and subscribe the acts of the pretended assembly holden at Glasgow, and making choice of such commissioners (and no others) as adhered thereunto, and by oath were bound to maintain the samen, and further deterred others whom his majesty called to the next assembly by his lawful warrant, threatening them with the loss of their lives if they repaired thither.

9no. They brand his good subjects that adhere to his majesty's service with the vile aspersion of traitors to God and their country, threatening to proceed against them with censures accordingly, as though their serving the king were treason; whereas his subjects are bound to rise and assist him under the pain of treason.

10mo. Lastly, their protesting that all members of the college of justice and his highness' lieges were not to attend the session, and that all acts and decrees shall be null, taking his royal power out of his hand, who only might command his subjects to attend the session, or discharge the samen.

It pleased his majesty to send thir discontentments in paper with the lords Lindsay and London, and to report the combinators' answer to him in write, with their reasons why the nobles and others whom his majesty sent for in particular, came not to him, according to their bounden duty. Thir Scots commissioners takes their leave frae the king at Berwick, and came to Edinburgh, and delivered to the table the forenamed disorders; whereunto they made an answer shortly in write, with reasons why the noblemen should not have come to him at Berwick as he desired, and sends the samen papers with the lords Lindsay and London to his majesty, of the whilk answers and reasons the tenor follows; besides certain grievances which they sent likewise to his majesty with the said answers; so as the king

alleged, and that justly, that the pacification was not kept on their side; so unjustly it was alleged by them the king kept no condition contained in the said treaty, as their grievances purports, whilk, with their answers and reasons, follows:

1st, And first it is denied, that any protestation was made against his majesty's gracious declaration of the pacification, but on the contrary, both at Dunse and Edinburgh, publick thanksgiving, with a declaration that we adhere to the General Assembly.

2d, It is answered, the samen is obeyed by the general's surrender, which he had pressed many times before.

3d, The cannons which were at Leith are delivered to the Castle of Edinburgh, together with the muskets; and as for the balls, they are still lying unmade use of.

4th, It is denied that any unlawful meetings are kept but such as are warranted by act of parliament; and although we must adhere to our most necessary and lawful covenant, yet to our knowledge none has been urged to subscribe it.

5th, The fortifications shall be demolished with all convenient speed and diligence.

6th, The sixth is denied.

7th, We know none of his majesty's subjects who are now detained or threatened, nor do we allow that any should be troubled; and if any fear themselves, there is an ordinary way of justice which they may use.

8th, The eight is denied, because to our knowledge no such exception has been made at any time of the elections.

9th, To the ninth it is denied.

10th, There was nothing protested against the session, to infer any claim that any subject or all the subjects has power to hinder or discharge them, but only in respect of the time, for neither the lords could attend, nor had parties their writes in readiness to pursue or defend; they behoved to protest for remead of law if any thing should be done to their prejudice.

Besides these answers, which the judicious reader may easily perceive whether reasonable, to elude his majesty's just grievances or not, they eik thus:—

“As we are most unwilling to fall upon any questions which may seem to import the least contradiction with his majesty, so if it had not been the trust we gave to the relation of our commissioners (who did impart to us his majesty's gracious expressions related to us at Dunse, and put in not by any of our number, which was a great deal more satisfactory to us than his written declaration) the samen would not have been acceptable, which did call the assembly pretended, our humble and loyal proceedings disorders, our course disagreeable to monarchical government, nor the Castle of Edinburgh rendered (which was only taken for the safety of the town) simply without assurance by write of their indemnity, except for the trust we repose in their religion, and confidence in his majesty's royal word, which we believe they did not forget, but would bring those who adhere to the treaty to a right remembrance thereof; which

paper was only written for that cause, lest either his majesty or his subjects should aver that they spake any thing without warrant."

After this came to his majesty, with thir same answers, reasons for staying of thir noblemen, as follows in these words :

"Some few of the many reasons for staying of the noblemen and others (named by his majesty) from repairing at this time to the court at Berwick.

"His majesty has not been in use at any time of the greatest security to call any of his subjects out of the kingdom after this sort, as at this time, which is full of fear ; to call so many of such note without any command or warrant sent to themselves seems strange, and may we not say it was never his majesty's royal father's use and wont to do so unto us since his going into England unto this day, although his majesty's declaration at Dunse, contrary to our mind and merits, did call the late assembly a pretended assembly, our humble and lawful proceedings disorders, our course disagreeable to monarchical government, and did threaten us with the terrors of his wrath, yet our desire is to live a peaceable and quiet life under his majesty's government, and our zeal to his majesty's honour (although with some aspersions put upon us before the world) moveth us to receive them because of diverse gracious expressions, related from his majesty's mouth by our commissioners, which we did hear gladly, and did note diligently for our contentment, and that we might be able to satisfy others, and without which the articles of pacification had never served for the beginning of peace ; yet we now understand that all or the greatest part of these expressions verbal are denied, which makes our hope to waver, giveth us great cause of jealousy, and moveth us to call in question all the reports made to us from his majesty. His majesty knoweth that what is so instantly premised at this time was none of the articles agreed upon at that time, and if (besides restitution of goods, rendering of the castles, and dissolving of the army) it had been then required that these fourteen should be sent to the camp at Berwick, the condition should have been harder than that we could have yielded unto, because we cannot judge the minds, intentions, and dispositions of hearts, but by that which we hear with our ears, and doth appear in action ; we desire to be considered that all our expressions of favour are put upon our adversaries ; they are called his majesty's good subjects, and their practice, his majesty's service ; upon the contrary, haill volumes are spread (and ever since the treaty of peace put in all hands) against us, not only stuffed with such reproaches against almost the haill kingdom (and particularly against the persons now sent for) that it were a dishonour for the king to have such a kingdom, and a shame to be set over such subjects, as we are described to be, but also containing vows and threatnings of exemplary punishment, upon such as we are reported to be ; that the troubles in the most parts of the kingdom are not yet ceased ; that the garrisons are kept in Berwick ; that the Castle of Edinburgh is fortified and furnished above any thing that has been heard at any time ; that some bloody and cruel words against the Scots lords had been overheard in Berwick, and which we could not have believed, but that it is testified by so many letters sent hither, that our friends and countrymen not only in Ireland, but now in England, are not only stopped in their trade, but cast in prison for their modest refusing to take oaths contrary to their oath and covenant, which they

have sworn in their own country ; a violence not used before the treaty of peace, and contrary to the law of nations, (the rule of common equity) of doing that to others, which we would they should do unto us, and to the articles of pacification agreed upon with his majesty. These and other the like considered, do so work upon us, that for the present (except we will do against our own hearts, and deny our own senses,) we cannot give way to so many eminent persons to repair to Berwick, which we trust his majesty will neither interpret to be disobedience nor indiscretion, since we have been all careful to see all the conditions performed to the uttermost of our part ; and there is not of that number nor of us all, but shall be ready, for our own parts, to give the most ample testimony of obedience to his majesty's commandment, and of our consciousness of his majesty's justice and goodness, as his majesty shall really find (at his coming) during his abode in the kingdom ; for we are assured what hath been committed by any since they began pacification, contrary to any of the articles thereof, hath proceeded from the dispositions of the wicked instruments about him, who are enemies of his majesty's honour and our peace, and hath been the authors of our woeful divisions. Whilk we pray the Lord bring to an happy end, by a happy and everlasting peace."

With thir reasons, the foresaid lord Lindsay and lord London, commissioners foresaid, brought frae the Covenanters certain grievances to his majesty, to colour the more their breach of duty ; whereof the tenor follows :—

*" Grievances to be remonstrated to his Majesty :—*

" 1st, The provisions laid in the Castle extraordinary, as granadoes, pot pieces, and others, which are offensive and defensive.

" 2d, Protections given without payment of ———.

" 3d, Insolencies committed in the north.

" 4th, Oaths ministered to Scotsmen, (especially skippers and Scotsmen merchants, which is contrary to law of nations, and to the law of Scotland,) which will bring many inconveniencies, stop the trade, and bring a number of dangerous evils.

" 5th, Justice denied to all those who do pursue for their just debt in England, if the party shall alledge they have subscribed the covenant.

" 6th, Private men's outfallings and broils are questioned as national quarrels."

Here it is to be considered, 1st, The king's just desires contained in his regrets. 2dly, The Covenanters' ridiculous answers made thereto, containing many menacing, threatening speeches against the person of his royal majesty. 3dly, Their naughty reasons alledged for withholding of the nobles uncome to the king, backed also, with much more threatening : And, lastly, to consider the grievances given in by them, which is no way comprehended under the treaty of pacification, as is formerly set down.

The lords Lindsay and London, having presented to his majesty thir answers to his majesty's just desires, with the reasons

and grievances above exprest, and having read, and at length perused the samen, his majesty waxed wroth therewith, and became impatient, finding, instead of satisfaction, whilk he looked for, he received nothing but idle fruitless answers, backed with bitter threatnings. But this royal king was secretly born down in this expedition by the means and working of his loyal deceiving courtiers, and some of the English nobles who were lords of his council, straitly and privately bound to our Covenanters, by that doleful clandestine band and covenant, as ye have heard before, whereof the king had a kind of knowledge. They still after the hatching of this treacherous covenant (going on in other hands, though secretly) both in Scotland and England, for the king's overthrow, whereafter does clearly appear; likewise English and Scots Covenanters had foreseen (before the king's coming to Berwick) what to say and how to answer for concluding a pretended peace, tending to their own ends; likewise under trust his majesty was moved to condescend piece and piece, and day by day, to give content to the Covenanters by these English lords of his council, and wicked courtiers of our Scots about him, especially the marquis of Hamilton, privy to all their plots, and would never reveal the same to his gracious and royal master, as in the highest measure he was bound to, but held craftily both him and the Covenanters in hand, for his and their private ends and respects; albeit the king still liked and loved this marquis, and gave him too much credit, for the whilk also he got his reward at last. Now our Covenanters being thus assured of England, might boldly do, speak, and write, what they pleased to his majesty, without fear of censure or correction, as ye may perceive by their papers formerly expressed.

But his majesty finding himself so used, without more ado, or dealing with our Covenanters, upon the 29th of July leaves Berwick, takes journey and goes to London, after sundry nobles had taken their leave, sic as the marquis of Huntly, and the lord Gordon; but the lord Aboyn went with the king.

Here it is to be remembered, that while as the king was at Berwick, Mr. Thomas Gray, one of the baillies of Aberdeen, and Mr. Patrick Chalmers, sheriff clerk, were sent commissioners frae Aberdeen to his majesty, to show how they were born down and oppressed by the tyranny of the Covenanters, for their byding truly by the king, and to humbly desire him to take some speedy course for their safety and protection; his majesty heard them patiently, and lamented their usage, but could not help them at this time, and so they returned comfortless home.

This sudden departure of the king with sic grief and discontentment, bred great fear in the hearts of his loyal subjects standing to his opinion, looking for mickle trouble, sorrow, and vexation, as surely at length came to pass.



Through great appearance of thir troubles, there was no master-act kept in either Aberdeens at Lammas, as was used before, but their young scholars was made masters before time. Grammar-schools, song-schools, and other schools, were given up, and the bairns had home to their parents. No learning at all, fearing alterations and troubles to come, as came indeed.

Upon Sunday the 4th of August, fast and prayer through all Scotland, and both Aberdeens had the like, for a blessing to the next general assembly.

About this time the bishop of the Ross' wife lifts her household, family, goods, and gear, frae Chanry of Ross, and by sea sails to her husband, because he being in England had wrote for her.

Upon Sunday the 11th of August, Dr. Ross, one of the ordinary ministers of Aberdeen, departed this life in his own house; and likewise Dr. Baron, another of the ministers of the town of Aberdeen, who had fled from the covenant to Berwick, departed there about the same time. These were two learned divines, who with some other doctors of Aberdeen would not embrace the covenant, but stood to the king's opinion, as may be seen in their demands, answers, duplys, and other papers set out by them and imprinted. They both were well beloved of their flocks and people while they were in life, and after they were dead, heavily regretted. Dr. Baron finding himself heavily diseased, sent for his wife, who hastily went, but before she came he was dead; she saw him honestly buried, and with much sorrow she returned home. It is said the king ordained her to get a pension out of the bishoprick of Orkney during life.

Ye heard before of lieutenant Crouner Johnston, how he was hurt at the bridge of Dee; he now recovers his health, ships himself, wife and goods privately, and to the king goes he, who was graciously received, as he well deserved, for his stout service at the said bridge of Dee.

Upon Tuesday the 12th of August, the general assembly sat down in Edinburgh. John earl of Traquair came there commissioner for the king by his letters patent. Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine, was chosen moderator. The covenant made in 1580 and 1581 is explained by this general assembly, and declared to be an abjuration of episcopacy, and found to be unlawful in our kirk, and made up a new covenant bearing this explanation, that the book of common prayer, book of canons, book of consecration, and ordination, high commission, and articles of Perth, should be abolished. There was many other acts and ordinances set down in this general assembly, whilk here is referred to their own books. It is said the king's commissioner was not content with their procedure, tending to incroachment upon the king's royal power; in respect whereof, in the face of the said assembly, he made a declaration and protestation drawn upon write, whilk also was produced in presence of the lords of privy council, and registrate in their books.

This assembly took exception against this declaration and protestation and the commissioner himself, as ye may see at the 88th chapter of king Charles' second parliament. However, the assembly ordains the acts to be read through the pulpits of Edinburgh upon Sunday next. They indicted also, without the king's authority or his commissioner, another general assembly to be holden at Aberdeen, the 28th day of July next to come, in anno 1640; closes in peace, and rises up on the penult day of the said month of August. Ye may see before, how it pleased his majesty to indict this general assembly and the subsequent parliament to follow thereupon, relative to a treaty of pacification drawn up at Berwick before, and conform to the which indictment the foresaid general assembly sits down and rises, as ye have heard.

Now the parliament sits down at Edinburgh the penult day of August foresaid, the earl of Traquair commissioner; the crown, scepter and sword is born before him; the nobles, barons, and burgesses, and their commissioners, rides in wonted form up the gate to the tolbooth; the parliament is fenced, and all sits down in order. Here it is to be marked, no archbishop, no bishop, nor chancellor, nor clerk register, is at this parliament; for all had fled the land, and durst not compear. Mr. Alexander Gibson supplied the clerk register's place, as being his eldest depute. It was here long disputed who should have the third estate, seeing the bishops were abolished, and the parliament would be a nullity wanting a third estate; whereof the Covenanters were most careful, that their proceedings should be good and lawful, not subject to nullity or reduction; and first, as is alledged, it was proponed that fourteen men should be chosen in the fourteen bishops' place. Then it is questioned whether the king by his prerogative royal should have the election of this fourteen men, or whether the other two estates should have the samen. This question goes to voting, who should have the election; it falls by plurality of votes, that the other two estates, nobles, and burgesses, with the commissioners for the barons, should have the election for the fourteen persons to the three estates. The commissioner makes opposition, and plainly disassents thereto, making his protestations in the contrary, craving at the estates convened so far licence as to acquaint his majesty with this particular, before any further were done; whereupon he hastily writes to the king anent the premises; and, while his majesty sent back answer, the parliament sits still.

In the meantime, the marquis of Huntly being dwelling in the Canongate, having his three virgin daughters with him, lady Anne, lady Henrietta, and lady Jean, and the lord Gordon at Strathboggie, came to the parliament, where, in publick presence of the commissioner, his grace, the said marquis, and the earl of Kinnoul, swore and subscribed the covenant, as was reported, before any thing else was done.

Follows a complaint against the said marquis, at the instance of the earl of Errol, being but a bairn, through wicked council and malice of his tutors and guiders, for alledged plundering of his house in the town of Turriff at the raid thereof, as ye have before. The marquis answered, he was himself warded in the castle of Edinburgh, and he gave no warrant to do his service any wrong, nor any other man, and swa should be free. The lords of parliament thought his answer reasonable, and so the pursuers lost the cause.

There came then on another more malicious complaint against him, at the instance of the laird of Frendraught, Leely, Craigievar, Glenkindie, Alexander Forbes, alias —, and diverse others of the Forbes' faction, his old enemies, for alledged receipting within his ground of John Dugar, and his followers of the name of Clangregor, notorious thieves, murderers, and robbers of the king's lieges, and of themselves especially; this complaint was tried before a committee first, and thereafter before the parliament. Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, Mr. Roger Mouat and Mr. James Baird were advocates for the pursuers, Sir Lewis Stuart and Mr. John Gilmore were advocates for the lord marquis; and after long disputation the marquis was absolved. This he patiently suffered among the rest of his heavy crosses.

As thir things were doing, the king writes back, desiring the parliament to be adjourned to the 14th of November, whilk was granted, and the parliament continued to that day, the Covenanters making many protestations to the contrary; and so this parliament dissolves with little more ado. The commissioner, careful of the keeping of the ornaments of the crown, keeps them in a secret place while they should be sought.

The king sends down to Scotland for his commissioner, but the estates would not let him go for their own reasons, whereat the king was mightily incensed. It is here to be marked, that albeit the king had indicted his parliament, and frae the whilk to the 11th of July 1640, by continuation day by day; upon the whilk day the estates held a parliament by themselves, without any commissioner or ornament of the crown, yet there is none of the acts of parliament, but of set purpose omitted and left out by the Covenanters, except there is some mention made of that which makes for them in the parliament holden by the estates, and Robert lord Burleigh their president, upon the 11th of June foresaid, viz. the fifth act, as the same bears; see more hereafter. Thus is this parliament disdained and put in oblivion, albeit it ratified bishops, articles of Perth, and power of kirk-men to be unlawful.

About this time John Menzies, eldest son to Sir Paul Menzies of Kinmundry, late provost of Aberdeen, happened unhappily to perish riding through the North Water. His corps was hastily taken up and convoyed with lamentation to Aberdeen, and upon

the 29d day of August was buried with volleys of muskets instead of a funeral sermon, as was wont to be given, and many tears shed for his untimely death, being a brave youth of singular expectation.

Ye hear before about Traquair; the king would not hear the earl of Dumfermling and lord Loudon, whom the Covenanters sent up commissioners to his majesty, because they came up to him without his majesty's commissioner's consent, but he was nowise detained by the estates, as is noted before.

Upon Wednesday before Michaelmas, Patrick Lesly is now chosen provost of Aberdeen, (who to his grief was hindered from that place before): he being a prime Covenanter, and of good estate, recovers his place again by the consent of the most of the council, who were also Covenanters and upon his side, by express command of the estates of this kingdom, as a man fitting for their service in thir tumultuous times, and in such a burrow as the town of Aberdeen, whom the estates ever thought were not altogether of their opinion; however, many of the town's people thought not good of this election, fearing he was prideful and seditious, and ready to breed dissection among them, as over truly it afterwards came to pass. The laird of Drum at this Michaelmas continued sheriff-principal of Aberdeen for the next year, and Mr. William Davidson continued sheriff-depute thereof during life; and sir John M'Kenzie of Tarbet, sheriff-principal of Inverness for that time.

In this month of September, an Holland ship, with store of cheese, came into the harbour of Aberdeen; twenty-four pound weight whereof was sold for eight shillings Scots, whereof the people was well content.

Upon Friday the 27th of September, on the night, the east quarter of Marischall College suddenly took fire, (none knowing the manner how); the people gathered, but could not get it quenched till it was all burnt to naught. However, it was shortly bigged up again, yet taken for a visitation frae God.

About this time, the laird of Banff, seeing he could not live in peace at home, because he was still the king's man, and would never swear nor subscribe the covenant, takes course for refuge to go to the king, and seek his protection; but little help had he of him, suppose his majesty had a good mind so to have done; but Banff payed severely for his outstanding, and was cruelly punished and oppressed in his estate, as ye shall afterwards hear.

Ye heard before how Dr. Lesly, principal of the college of Old Aberdeen, Dr. Sibbald, minister in Aberdeen, and diverse others, went to Berwick to the king; they came home with the town's commissioners in August. This Dr. Sibbald was welcome, entered to his ministry in Aberdeen, and served for a while; but Dr. Lesly, being before deposed, took himself to a quiet chamber within the college, lived soberly upon his own

charges, beheld patiently Dr. William Guild occupy his place, and the changes in thir different times. He was a singular learned man, who would never be moved to swear and subscribe our covenant, saying, he would not hurt his conscience for worldly means. He was never heard to speak immodestly against the covenant nor procedure of thir times, but suffered all things with great patience, attending God's will; none more fit for learning to his charge in the college, and therewith godly and grave. It is said the king gave him some money at Berwick, whereupon he lived for a short while, and it is true he had no great means to the fore of his own at this time.

In this month of September, there came out a proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, forbidding the wearing of guns and pistols or carabines, under the pain of death; but through the use of inbringing of the wearing of thir forbidden arms for the good cause, the proclamation got no obedience, to the great abuse of the land.

Upon the 17th day of October, there was a committee holden within the college of Aberdeen, by diverse barons, ministers, and commissioners, and Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie. There were appointed to keep this committee sundry noblemen, but they were at Edinburgh attending the parliament. Their errand was for placing Dr. Guild in the principality, in the deposed Dr. William Lesly's place; but because the committee was not fully convened, they caused Dr. William Guild subscribe the covenant absolutely, who had subscribed the same before with limitation, and he is chosen rector of this university for a year, by such as were present, and thereafter he was chosen principal; and this committee was adjourned to the — day of November next. This Dr. Guild wrote out a paper, called, "*A Friendly and Faithful Advice*," whilk was printed, concerning thir troubles, and against the raising of an army by subjects against their lawful king. Nevertheless he now subscribes the covenant without limitation, contrary to the opinion of his printed paper, as it would appear, and to his first subscription, being always a temporizer.

Upon the third Tuesday of October, the provincial assembly sits down in the session-house of New Aberdeen, and not within the College Kirk of Old Aberdeen, as was used in the bishops' times. Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, being last moderator, taught, as the custom is. After sermon, he and the brethren, with the ruling elders, viz. each minister having a ruling elder chosen out of the worthiest of the sessioners of his presbytery; and so ilk minister with his elder is called, and by direction of the tables, this assembly is adjourned to the 19th of November next, and so without more ado dissolved.

Now the college is taken up shortly after Michaelmas, by Mr. Robert Ogilvie, sub-principal, Mr. Alexander Middleton, and Mr. Alexander Garden, regents not deposed; but the principal

and Mr. Alexander Scroggie were deposed, as ye have before. The grammar school, and schools which had lyen idle before, began now to flourish, and literature taught.

The court of session sits not down the 1st of November, for administration of justice, as use was, but was vacated the haill winter session, to the great grief of the true creditor, and joy of the debtor unwilling to pay his debt; yet sheriffs and commissaries held their courts, and other inferior judicatures, as they were wont to do.

Ye heard before how Mr. James Gordon, keeper of his majesty's signet, convoyed the samen away to England, to his master, the earl of Stirling, lest the Covenanters should seal their malignant proclamations with the samen; he now comes home about this time, and brought back the samen signet with him for serving of the king's lieges; but he got little thank from the Covenanters for carrying it away.

Ye heard also how the king had written for his commissioner, and he was keeped, because he refused to ratify the assembly acts, and consent to what was done in parliament, as was alledged, whilk he would in nowise grant to do without his majesty's command, as indeed he had reason not to go by his commission. In the meantime, the confederates sent up to the king the lord London, the sheriff of Tiviotdale, and Mr. Robert Barclay, provost of Edinburgh, with whom went also voluntarily the earl of Dumfermling. The king hearing of their coming, commanded them not to approach his court by eight miles, because he had written for his commissioner, who was detained by his subjects most unjustly against their oath of allegiance, and contrary to the laws of nations, whereby an ambassador or commissioner may be recalled by his master from any other nation, much more by a king from his own subjects, at his pleasure. Their commissioners seeing the king so set, returned back again, leaving the earl of Dumfermling with his majesty, whereupon the confederates suffer the earl of Traquair to go up to the king. But the truth is, Traquair was nowise detained by the Scots parliament, but suffered to go peaceably; yet the king was offended that they should send up the earl of Dumfermling and lord London to him, without warrant of Traquair: and therefore he would not give them presence, nor hear them.

Upon the 2d day of November, king Charles' *turners*, stricken by the earl of Stirling, by virtue of the king's gift, were, by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, cried down from two pennies to one penny; king James' *turners* to pass for two pennies, because they were no less worth, and the *kaird turners* simpliciter discharged, as false cuinzies; but this proclamation was shortly recalled, because there was no other money passing to make change, and so were suffered to pass for a time for two pennies.

Upon Sunday the 3d of November, Dr. Sibbald and Dr.

Guild, both ministers at Aberdeen, gave the communion to the people sitting at the table, but not upon their knees, as was wont, whereat many were sorry.

Upon the — day of November, John Dugar, that bloody murderer and oppressor, came to William Stuart's house at Spey-side, accompanied with twenty-four limmars, set out his watches, and took up house there; and in the meantime sent down to Garmouth for expences and spending-silver, otherwise he would come and plunder their houses and goods. The people are astonished at this charge, but gave the bearers fair words till the country was advertised, who shortly convened; and Dugar being informed thereof by his own watches, hastily takes both the ferry-boats, and carries over his men to the staners, whilk is in the midst of the water of Spey, and kepted the ferry-boats fast beside himself, so that there was no other boat thereabout to follow them. The country people seeing they wanted the boats, and that they could not ride the water, it being great, began to pursue them with shot; and they shot again; till at last Alexander Anderson in Garmouth, standing upon the water-side, shot this John Dugar dead. His men seeing this, immediately takes the flight, without any more skaith, and away go they, and the country people return home to their houses.

The confederates suffer the earl of Traquair to depart (although their commissioners came down again without the king's presence), who, upon the 22d of November, went up to his majesty, and was well received, and made knight of the garter. In the meantime, the confederates wrote to his majesty by a gentleman called William Cunninghame, who shortly followed the earl of Traquair, to desire the king to give presence to their commissioners when they came, and hear their humble petitions.

Ye heard before how the marquis of Huntly took up house in the Canongate. All this while he dwelt peaceably there as a good Covenanter. In the meantime the lord Drummond is married to lady Anne, his eldest daughter, who was a precise puritan, and therefore well liked in Edinburgh. This marriage was celebrated with great solemnity. Many nobles and knights were there; among the rest, the lord Gordon came frae Strathboggie to the samen, who had bidden there since August this year, 1639; and immediately after this marriage, he rides to England to the king, at command of his father.

Shortly after, the lord Seaton is married to lady Henrietta, the marquis' second daughter, who was not of her sister's religion, but a Roman Catholick. Their marriages were drawn on by their uncle Argyll, who was also cautioner for both their tochers, each of them getting forty thousand merks; for his relief whereof, he got the wadset of Lochaber and Badenoch, as for other sums beside. The marquis convoyed ilk ane of his married daughters to their own houses. He left his third daughter, lady Jean, with his sister, at Wintoun; procures a

safe conduct or pass from the tables to his son Ludowick (who then was at Strathboggie) to come to him wherever he was. Thir turns settled, the marquis gives up his house in the Canon-gate, discharges his servants, and about the 26th of November to the king goes he; his two sons, the lords Gordon and Aboyn, being gone before him. Thomas Crombie of Kemnay followed him also.

In this month of November, a part of the castle-wall of Edinburgh about the outer gate fell down, but it was hastily repaired and bigged up again, and the castle well provided and furnished with all necessaries. The castle of Dumbrittain was also manned and fortified with Englishmen. Thirty-two strengths were (at the treaty of pacification) rendered to the king, whilk bred mickle trouble to the country and confederates afterwards.

About this time, Mr. James Sandilands began to teach the canon laws in the College of Old Aberdeen, as he was restricted and limited by the general assembly, viz. to teach only upon teinds, testaments, and matrimony, and to handle no further of the canon laws but these three heads. Moyan (though he had enemies in the college) bare him through to be canonist in form foressaid, for the whilk he got yearly payment of about six hundred merks for teaching an unprofitable lesson when he pleased, anes in the week, or anes in the month as he liked best; for the whilk he was never found fault with, and he had few auditors except the regents and some students, who thought they tint their lessons idly to hear him, and that the gear wared upon him was ill bestowed and lost. However, he was carried through by moyan to be canonist. Strange! to see a man admitted to teach the laws, who was never out of the country, studying and learning them! but he got quit of the canonistry, and was chosen to be civilist afterwards.

About this time, the lord Balmerinloch and his associates, by direction of the tables, began to have meetings in Edinburgh, contrary to the 5th article of the pacification, where such meetings are discharged.

Upon the first day of December, being Sunday, Dr. Scroggie celebrated the communion in Old Aberdeen. He in his sermon began to exhort the people to obey the ordinances of the kirk, with much such matter. The people received the samen sitting, and not kneeling, as was wont to be. The minister gave it to two or three nearest him, then ilk ane took his own communion bread out of the bason, and in like manner the minister gave the cup to his neighbour. Strange, to see such alterations! one year giving the communion kneeling, by virtue of an act of parliament founded upon Perth articles; and that self-same minister to give the communion after another manner, sitting, at the command of the general assembly, unwarranted by the king.

About this time likewise, Mr. John Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and high chancellor of Scotland, about the age of



threescore and fifteen years, being chased out of his own room, and having fled to England, departed this life at London. Sir Robert Spotswood his eldest son, and president of the college of justice, is compelled to flee his country, and go to his ancient father, and durst not return.

Upon the 17th of December, four men about the shore of Aberdeen, bringing a keel down the water to a ship, by violence of speat water, are carried out at the water mouth of Dee, where they all pitifully drowned, and the keel casten in at the Five-mile Burn—another visit doubtless from God to Aberdeen, whereof little good use was made.

Upon Sunday the 22d of December, Dr. Guild and Dr. Sibbald admonished the people not to keep Yool-day next following, as contrary to the ordinance of the church. Some obeyed for fear; others made good chear; and the Covenanters durst not transgress.

Upon the 24th of December, John Leith of Harthill sat down in provost Lesly's desk in the kirk of Aberdeen. The provost coming to his seat, and seeing him there, was offended, and caused the officers put him out very pridefully. He being a baron, and chief of a clan, gave him some evil talk, for which he was presently warded in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, where he lay long unrelieved.

Upon the — day of December, the earl Traquair returns home frae the king. He is honourably received at his entry, and saluted with shot of cannon from the castle; he brings out of Holyrood-house the crown, sword, and scepter (whilk had lyen there since the parliament was ridden) and puts them in the castle, to be kept there. He renounces his commission, and none discontent, and shortly thereafter rides back to the king; after whom came Mr. William Cunninghame with a pacquet, and the 15th of January was appointed for breaking up thereof; and the confederates both of burrow and land warned to that effect.

Upon the 26th of December, Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, moderator of the presbytery of Aberdeen, appointed morning and evening prayers in ilk man's house, called the *Family Exercise*, according to the ordinance of the kirk.

#### ANNO 1640.

The confederates, with their commissioners, meet upon the 15th day of January, 1640, at Edinburgh, where the king's letter was broken up, declaring he was now content to hear their supplication; whereupon were shortly sent the lord Loudon, the sheriff of Tiviotdale, and Mr. Robert Barclay, to the king with their supplication. The earls of Dumfermling and Kinnoul, with some others who were lovers of peace, went with them.

About this time, the earls of Mar and Kinghorn, with sir

Thomas Hope, advocate, by command of the king, were put off of the council, and the said sir Thomas warded in his own house of Craigiehall during his majesty's pleasure, because James Grant's remission was not expedite and past the seals upon his majesty's command. However, he released him frae the horn, purchased his remission orderly, and went home to his own country peaceably, beyond all men's expectation, being such a bloodshedder and cruel oppressor, after he had escaped so many dangers.

Upon the — day of January, Mr. David Lindsay, archbishop of Glasgow, being about 74 years of age, and sore sick, is forced to flee to the king for refuge.

Upon the 14th day of January, the earl of Haddingtoun married lady Jean Gordon, third daughter to the marquis of Huntly (himself being in England) by the means of the earl of Argyll, who was surety also for her tocher, extending to thirty thousand merks, in absence of her father. Thus the marquis' three daughters are now married.

Upon the 19th of January, the countess of Murray departed this life in Elgin, and was buried in her father the marquis's isle, beside himself, and not beside her husband.

About this time, a wealthy ship of Aberdeen coming out of Flanders is casten away, men and goods, except two persons only; and likewise a little before, another of their ships was taken, being laden with salmon, by the Dunkirkers. Thus the Lord has his hand over Aberdeen by sea and land, but no repentance for our sins.

Sunday the 9th of February, an universal fast was kept through all Scotland for craving God's pardon for the sins of the land, and for his blessing that the king might give a gracious answer to the supplicants at court.

About this time there came to Forth two ships, whereof one of the king's yachts was one, having a hundred men aboard.

The soldiers and munition were landed, and upon the 10th day of February were convoyed up to the castle with a strong guard, having cocked guns, and were pleasantly received within the castle, without any kind of offence, according to the king's direction, and so the ships returned back again. It was said the cause of their coming was upon some contest betwixt the king and his nobles, who alledged that the king would neither get his men nor munition received into the castle of Edinburgh, and his majesty held the contrary opinion, and great sums of money were laid down in pledge; but the marquis of Hamilton being privy to the matter, wrote down hastily to Edinburgh, to receive thir soldiers in form foresaid, whereby the king might be the more confident of their loyalty, whereof his majesty was very doubtful, as the end indeed proved.

Word came here, that the king was under some suspicion of his counsellors, that they were revealing what they heard him

say to the Scots, whilk was not far wrong, as I believe, so long as he kept the marquis of Hamilton beside him; whereupon, and for the better security, the Scottish affairs were advised and ruled by a committee of eight persons, all English, except Hamilton. Word came also about this time, that the king was beginning to fortify Berwick and Carlisle, with men, munition, and other furniture.

Upon the 13th of February, Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, moderator of the presbytery of Aberdeen, declared in presence of the presbytery holden in New Aberdeen, that he had order from the tables to advertise the moderator of ilk presbytery within the province or diocese, that the ministry of ilk presbytery should convene at Aberdeen upon the 25th day of March next to come, and there to subscribe the covenant, with an explanation thereof made by the general assembly holden at Edinburgh, the 12th day of August, 1639, bearing that the covenant made in anno 1580 and 1581 abjured episcopacy out of this kirk as unlawful. Likeas, the said assembly declared the Articles of Perth and Book of Common Prayer to be unlawful in this kirk; whilk explanation was set down in a covenant, made up by the said general assembly at that samen time; that they had given order that it should be sworn and subscribed through all the presbyteries of Scotland, ministers and auditors, man by man, because this covenant, bearing the explanation foresaid, was ratified by the earl of Traquair, his majesty's commissioner. Likeas, the said Mr. David Lindsay made lawful advertisement as he was ordained, that the ministry should first come into Aberdeen, and swear and subscribe the covenant, and then ilk minister to cause his parishioners swear and subscribe the samen, or otherwise note up the names of those who refused to swear and subscribe the samen; but he at this presbytery desired Dr. Sibbald, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, to swear and subscribe, who, being present, refused; whereupon great trouble, sorrow, and calamity, befel him, as ye may see afterwards; but whether the brethren came in to Aberdeen the foresaid 25th of March or not, I cannot tell; yet, upon the 2d of March, Aberdeen subscribed.

There was also a band drawn up to be subscribed by all manner of men within the kingdom of Scotland, and whosoever refused to subscribe the samen, that their names should be given up. This band came to Aberdeen in the month of February foresaid, bearing in the end thereof an information, whereof the tenor follows:—

“ We — and others under-subscribing, considering that forasmuch as in the late troubles of this kingdom, diverse well-affected noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, and others, did deburse in money, victual, and otherwise, and have taken upon their credit great sums of money (the burden whereof being too heavy for them to bear, equity and reason craves that they were re-

lieved and reimbursed thereof), and especially seeing the benefits as well of removing of evils as reformation established by the last Assembly, indicted by our dread sovereign his royal authority, is communicated to all and every good and loyal subject within this kingdom, every one should and ought to contribute equally and proportionally, according to his means and fortune, for relief of the said common charges; and because the determination of the parliament ament the said common relief is delayed, and the time thereof yet uncertain, whereby those that have debursed, undertaken, and lent their monies and victual and others, lie out of payment, as well as annual rent, to the weakening and hazard of their credit, and to the endangering of their fortunes and estates, unless timeous and speedy remedie be taken by mutual concourse of the haill kingdom for defraying of the samen; and therefore we bind and oblige us and every one of us, our heirs, executors, and successors, ilk ane of us for our own parts, and conform to the proportion of our estates, means, and fortunes, either in lands, money, goods, or others, whereby profit and commodity yearly arises, to content and pay to ——— persons appointed for ingathering of the samen, the just, equal, and proportionable part of the saids haill common charges, debursed, advanced, and furnished for the common business foresaid, and the publick use of the country, since the beginning of these late troubles, as the samen charges shall be found to extend and amount unto, after trial and just calculation of the accompts thereof, by those entrusted with the samen, and that according to the proportion of our lands, goods, money, or others our estates aforesaid, as the samen shall be valued and estimate by four or more landed men, or others of good credit and reputation, sworn for that effect, to be appointed within ilk presbytery of the kingdom, to whose determination and estimation, to be given up under their hands and subscriptions, we do hereby submit ourselves, and the estimation of our said estates and means; and that at the term of Whitsunday, 1640 years, or at such other terms, or in such other form, as shall be appointed by the general order to be taken by those who are intrusted therewith. And because the foresaid sums, debursed as said is, does pay annual rent yearly and termly, therefore, in case of not thankful payment by us, or any of us, ilk ane for our own parts of our proportional parts of the said sum so to be imposed upon us at the said terms respective, we oblige us and our fore-saids to pay annual rent for the same at the ordinary rate after the said terms of payment, with ten merks of ilk hundred merks in case of failzie; without prejudice always to execution hereupon: and because the proportional parts are to be paid by us, as well heritors, liferenters, and others, according to the proportion of our yearly worth, and not burdened with debts and other burdens; therefore it is hereby declared, that the debtor shall have retention frae his creditor in the first end of his rent or annual rent of his due proportional part of the said sum, effeiring to the rate and quantity of the said annual rent or burden, payable by the said debtor to him or them. It is hereby also declared, that what sums of money, victual, or goods, or others, debursed, lent, or employed, for the publick use, or taken by warrant of the commissaries or officers of the army, and for the army's use, upon promise of payment, by word or write, the samen shall be allowed to the persons debursers, or from whom the same were taken, after trial made by those entrusted upon the said accompt, that the samen is just and reasonable; provid-

ing always the said deboursments be given to the said persons entrusted with the said accompts, betwixt and the — day of — next to come, together with the instructions thereof, otherwise no allowance nor retention to be granted. As also it is declared, that what person or persons soever shall not pay their annual rents yearly within the year, at least within three months thereafter, shall have no retention of the said proportional part; and for the more security," &c.

Note. Here was set down the common clause of registration used in bonds and obligations made in the country.

This band was marvellous in the sight of the people, so doubtfully and ambiguously drawn up, as none knew to whom he was bound, and left blank. Ilk man's estate to be valued, and conform thereto to make payment, without warrant or authority of the king, but extended by subjects upon grounds of troubles begun by themselves, and for their own relief, to implore sums upon subjects. This was thought very hard, and frightened the people, so that they knew not what to do; for if they refused to subscribe, they would be troubled for the samen, as ye may see in the end of the information following; and if they did subscribe, it would compel them to give out their gear whether they would or not for unprofitable ends, as they thought. Others that were true Covenanters went on and subscribed upon all hazards.

Upon the doubtful and ambiguous band followed another piece, drawn up likewise upon paper, in write by itself, called an *Information*, whereof this is the copy:—

"Forasmuch as many and diverse noblemen, burgesses, and others, out of their good affection for the religion and liberties of this kingdom, have debursed money, given out victual, or engaged themselves for sums of money and other provision necessary and urgent for the publick use of the kingdom, the relief whereof was expected by act of parliament to have been made; and now, seeing the determination of the said parliament is delayed, and the time thereof uncertain, whereby those who have engaged themselves, or debursed the said monies or other provisions, lie out of payment of principal as well as annual rent, to the hazard of their estates and credits, whilk is contrary to all equity and reason, seeing the benefits arising as well of removing evils as reforming religion, are equally communicated to all and every good subject of whatsoever estate and degree, we ought therefore in equity to bear a proportional part of the said common charges, according to our estates and fortunes. For effecting whereof, it is necessary that the rule of proportion be kept, and every man, as well in burrow as land, pay an equal part, according to his estate and rent of lands, money, trade, and others, whereby yearly profit and commodity arises; and to the effect the samen may be performed in the most equitable and fairest way, it is necessary,

"First, That the general band be subscribed by all the noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors within every sherriffdom, who shall be conveyed for that effect by the persons after specified, and whilk persons shall make a par-

ticular account, betwixt the day hereof and the — day of — next to come, with a particular note of all those who have subscribed the samen, and those who refuse and deny to subscribe the samen in burrow or land.

“ Secondly, That the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, heritors, within the presbytery, at least so many of them as after intimation to be made to them may convene, do make choice of four or more landed sworn men or others of good fame and credit, who shall take exact trial in just manner as they shall think fit, of the yearly worth of every man's estate, in money, victual, or other rent, whereby yearly commodity arises without burrow, and to distinguish the particular rents of every several parish, and to make the estimation of the victual, as they shall think reasonable.

“ Thirdly, They must keep the particulars of every particular man's rent by themselves, that the samen be not divulged to their own neighbours among themselves.

“ Fourthly, the said persons shall take up and esteem the said rents all as free rents, without deduction of any burdens, except ministers' stipends and feu duties, or others due to his majesty, as where there are clauses irritant.

“ Fifthly, The rents of buyers and sellers of victual, and others, traffickers without burrow, must be estimate according to the stock.

“ Sixthly, Liferenters must pay as heritors, and their rent given up in like kind with them; consideration must be had where grassums are paid at entry, and small duties thereafter, that their rent may be estimate conform.

“ So soon as the said persons have taken an exact trial of ilk man's particular rents within ilk parish of the presbyteries, they must set down a roll of the parishes within their presbyteries, together with the total sum *in cumulo* of the rent of the parish, as well in victual as money; whilk roll must be subscribed by them, testifying the same to be true, upon their honour and credit, according to their knowledge. There is one appointed in every presbytery within the kingdom for agenting this business, and to see it put to a speedy and final conclusion, who must be answerable to give an account thereof, and report the samen to those at Edinburgh who shall be intrusted in the common business, and that betwixt the — day of — next to come: and for keeping the proportion due by the burrows, it is condescended, that betwixt and the — day of — next to come, the magistrates within the burrow shall make choice of their own ordinary number and quality of the persons used in such cases, who shall be sworn to make a just and true estimate of every man's rent within the burrow, burgage land, and trade (their dwelling-house excepted), and give up the samen in particular to the foresaid magistrates, who shall be obliged to report the same *in cumulo* to those that shall reside at Edinburgh, under the said magistrates' hands, at their honour and credit; and for eschewing the discovery of every man's estate within or without burrow, whereby their credit may be engaged, it is to be remembered, that every man must pay for his rent (except the minister's stipends and feu duties foresaid) as free rent, without any burden of debt, valued bolls, or other duties whatsoever; for recompence whereof every debtor shall have retention from his creditor of a proportional part, according as the composition shall be laid on, and the annual rent shall be free of any other payment for that service out of which the proportional part shall be deduced, and shall not be stented for

the samen, whether he dwell within or without burrow; providing always, that in case the said annual rent be not payed yearly, at the least within three months thereafter, there shall be no retention of the said proportional part; the like retention is to be had for the valued bolts or other burdens, and debts payed out of their lands or rents; and lest the said common relief should be hindered or delayed in any sort, it is condescended, that if the report shall not come frae the parishes, presbyteries, or burrows, at the day prefixed, in that case it is determined, that those who shall have trust in the common affairs shall have power to impose upon the said parishes, presbyteries, and burrows, such proportional parts as they shall think expedient. So we entreat you to see these things done, as we shall be your assured friends.

(*Sic subscribitur,*)

" ARGYLL.

" ROTHES.

" MONTROSE.

" CASSILIS.

" EGLINGTON.

" Edinburgh, 18th January, 1640."

The foresaid ambiguous and blanked band frightened many from the subscribing thereof, as done without warrant of his majesty or authority of parliament, set out by subjects upon subjects, whilk ought not to have obedience, nor men to give out their gear upon such lawless statutes. Others again of the covenant yielded more willingly, and were content to subscribe to the good cause, suppose against their wills (if they durst have avowed it). Thus this band and information came to Aberdeen about the 3d day of February, as is said before; they went to council, and concluded, that what the kingdom and the rest of the burrows should do, the town of Aberdeen would do the like. No trouble followed upon the subscribing this band, as was looked for; yet Aberdeen payed well, as ye may see.

Upon the 14th of February, Ludowick Gordon came to George Middleton's house in Old Aberdeen, with trunks and money, to be carried to the marquis of Huntly, his father, now at court in England. He shipped at Aberdeen, having the lairds of Cluny and Foveran, and some others in his company, upon Good Friday, the 3d of April.

Sunday the 16th of February, Dr. Guild read out the covenant in New Aberdeen, after sermon, with the assembly of Edinburgh's explanation, and the earl of Traquair his majesty's commissioner's ratification of the samen, and approbation of the council, and exhorted the people to swear and subscribe the samen. Dr. Scroggie, upon the same Sunday, in Old Aberdeen, exhorted ilk master of a family to use the imprinted family exercise, morning and evening, whilk some were not able to do, others not capable to read.

Upon Monday the 2d of March, the earl Marischall and lord Fraser came into Aberdeen, with about sixteen horse; they lodged in skipper Anderson's house, and got wine and confections frae the town. Their errand was to see the covenant and band subscribed by the township. The drum goes charging all to

conveen within the tolbooth, where Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, Dr. Guild, and Robert Keith, sheriff-depute of the Mearns, were directed to attend their subscriptions; but the nobles stayed in their lodgings. Now the provost, baillies, and haill council (except Mr. Thomas Gray, one of the baillies, and and Thomas Buick, Adam Gordon, and George Morrison, three of the council) being all prime Covenanters, and for that cause put in office, came into the tolbooth, and subscribed the samen covenant, and swore also and subscribed the band formerly expressed; but the foresaid four would in no wise yield thereto. George Piper, Magnus Robertson, and William Ord, three of the deacons of the crafts, sware and subscribed, to break the ice for the rest; many others, both burghesses and craftsmen, sware and subscribed; others constantly refused, whose names were noted down. At last, the earl Marischall and lord Fraser commanded the provost and baillies to see the haill town swear and subscribe the samen, (whereas some were absent, others took to be advised, and others had subscribed and sworn) otherwise to take up the names of the refusers, and so they rode home again upon the 4th of March. But before their way-going, the earl Marischall caused Walter Robertson, town clerk, produce a band of allegiance, subscribed at command of the lord Aboyn by the burrow of Aberdeen, as ye have before, wherein they obliged themselves to stand and abide by the king in all fortunes, against whatsoever other factious and seditious persons; not to disobey his commands, but to submit in all obedience, nor enter into any covenant. This band was by common consent consigned to the keeping of the said Walter Robertson. The earl Marischall gets word of this from some of the Covenanters who had subscribed the samen, and whilk they would for their own honesty have seen destroyed. The earl sends for the same clerk, and craves this band, whilk he refused to him, but delivered the same to Patrick Leslie, who promised to warrant him; and the said Patrick delivered it to the earl, who immediately tore and destroyed the samen, that it should never be known what Covenanters were the subscribers; and syne he, with lord Fraser, departed Aberdeen in manner foresaid.

The king had indicted a parliament to be holden in England, and to sit down at Westminster on the 13th of April, 1640. The king was in a manner (craftily) compelled to indict this parliament (which bred him great sorrow, as after ye shall hear) upon two contrary ends,—the king seeking reparation of the Scots; they (his English subjects) seeking a parliament for reformation of kirk and police, according to the manner and form concluded betwixt the house of commons and some nobles of England, and some of our nobles and clergy of Scotland, in a clandestine covenant made betwixt them, whereby the church and state government should in both nations be alike and in one. The king, ignorant of this business, and taking none to be the



beginners and carriers on of this reformation but the Scots, craves the English to assist him against them; but they answered, without a parliament they could not condescend to the raising of war; and though his majesty was loath to grant a parliament, for diverse good reasons, yet he is compelled thereto, to get his will over the Scots, by granting the samen. So he indicts a parliament; they sit down the foresaid 13th of April, at Westminster. The first article that came in was (his majesty looking that they should have begun at the raising of an army against the Scots) about the incoming of the Spanish army defeated in the Downs; the estates were under deadly suspicion of his majesty; but he knew nothing of their coming nor of their intention; the estates alledged that they were sent (with the king's knowledge) by the pope and king of Spain to assist the papists of England. But his majesty having purged himself, craved a subsidy of men and money to war upon the Scots. The upper house, for the most part, and bishops, were content, but the lower house sent up to the upper house (before they would condescend) a commissioner, with three articles. 1st, Settlement of religion. 2d, Privilege of parliament. 3d, Right of subjects. Which articles his majesty would in no wise hear, since he said it was not for this cause that he indicted a parliament, but only to have gotten power to subdue the Scots; whilk being done, that then they should have their desires; but they would neither lead nor drive; whereupon the king in great anger raises his parliament, without any more ado. It was vehemently suspected that the duke of Buckingham's faction, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury and diverse papists, had been privy to the inbringing of this armada. However, this parliament is broken up by persuasion of the lieutenant of Ireland.

Dr. Gordon, medicinar, and one of the founded members of the College of Old Aberdeen, and common procurator thereof, departed this life upon the 10th of March, in his own house in Old Aberdeen; a godly, grave, and learned man; singular in publick works about the College, and putting up on the steeple thereof the stately and glorious crown, which you see thereon, which was thrown down by the wind. Mr. Robert Ogilvie, sub-principal, was chosen common procurator of the said College in his room.

Upon the — day of March, the earl Marischall compelled the town of Aberdeen to pay six hundred merks for maintenance of some captains and other officers who had lyen and wintered in New Aberdeen. Thus is this town grievously oppressed.

In this month of March, there came an imprinted paper to Aberdeen, intituled, "An Information from the estates of the kingdom of Scotland to the kingdom of England."

In this paper was set down diverse and sundry heads; as, 1st, The form of the Covenanters' procedure, justifying their covenant to be lawful, according to the laws of Scotland; willing

therefore their neighbour kingdom not to square their doings by the English laws, nor to take meddling betwixt their [king and them in state matters, more than they do betwixt their king and them about the same in England. 2dly, They find fault with the earl of Traquair anent his behaviour at our parliament, being the king's commissioner, and of some speeches spoken by him in presence of his majesty and council of England. 3dly, They find fault for putting of some lords from the council, without hearing or trial, as ye have before. 4thly, They find fault with the copper cuinzie passing for two pennies, being little or nothing worth. 5thly, They find fault with a treatise alledged set out by Mr. Walter Balcanqual, garnished, as they alledged, with two thousand lies and calumnies, and that they could not get him liable to the censure of the Scots laws for this his slanderous writing. There is diverse other regrets concerning both church and police set down in this paper; and withal, they use a friendly admonition towards Englishmen, wishing them in nowise to move war against the Scots lest the papists should take advantage of thir divisions, and subdue this island to popery. These are some of the particular heads of their paper, whilk was printed; and a Scotsman called James Colvill was sent out of purpose with two thousand copies of it to England, there to disperse and spread the samen through the country, to make their cause good, and grievances intolerable. The king hearing of this, takes it highly, and causes apprehend the spreader thereof, James Colvill, and ward him for dispersing of such seditious pamphlets; but he was shortly set at liberty.

This Walter Balcanqual was a laureat doctor, and a learned man, who had served the king as one of his chaplains; he attended the general assembly holden at Glasgow, and marked their procedure particularly; whereupon he took occasion to write a treatise, declaring the plotters and projectors of this covenant, the order and procedure of the assembly aforesaid, their acts, ordinances, citations, deprivations, excommunications, and the rest, to be altogether unlawful; against the laws and authority of the king's majesty; and offered to prove and verify ilk particular of their procedure to be no wise warrantable by law or authority, or could subsist as lawful, as is at great length set down in his printed paper. But how soon this piece came to light, it enraged the confederates so as they could get no rest till they had him censured therefor, and wrote to his majesty as it is noted in the Information; but he fled to the king for safeguard, who, (instead of sending him to Scotland, as the confederates desired), preferred him to an English benefice of one thousand pounds sterling a-year to live upon, because he durst not bide in Scotland, and that was to be dean of Durham. It was said he dedicated this treatise to the king himself.

In this month of March, Edinburgh begins to have a strong watch of about four hundred men nightly; they raise fortifica-

tions to defend the town against the violence of the castle ; they raise midding mounts upon the causeway, and fill up sundry houses with sand and water to resist fire works ; they set their engine to do what could be done to resist and withstand the firing of the castle cannon, if it occurred ; they set two hundred men on watch in Leith. General Ruthven, seeing and hearing of these doings, sends down to the town of Edinburgh five articles. 1st, To cast down such fortifications as were re-biggd. 2d, To desist and leave off from any further building. 3d, Not to muster their men daily in sight of the castle, as was done. 4th, To discharge their daily drilling within the town. 5th, To send in men and materials for repairing of some fallen down walls within the castle, otherwise to be upon their guard. The town discharged mustering before the castle, and were content that captain Scrimgeour should come down and make interruption to the bigging of their mounts, by casting down three or four shovelfuls frae the work, which was done ; and then sent in men and materials for helping of the walls within the castle, and a peace in the meantime, till both the town and castle advertized the king, and each sent unto him several messengers to that effect, and for a certain space a truce was kept between the town and the castle. But before any answer came frae the king, the truce expired, whereupon the town of Edinburgh began again to their fortifications, raised midding mounts at Heriot's Work, and upon the causeway, and sundry other parts within and about the town for their defence, stiled cannons on ilk ane of their mounts for pursuit of the castle ; whereupon the Castilians began to shoot at the town with great shot, but did no skaith ; the town's people not shooting again, but suffering patiently, and complaining by their letters to the king of this pursuit. General Ruthven thought he had good reason to do what he did, not only for their raising thir fortifications, but also for refusing him fresh meat, whereupon some of his soldiers stole away over the walls, others of the English soldiers fell sick of the flux. Now Edinburgh undermines the spur, thereby to take in the castle, but they wan nothing thereat. Letters were daily interrupted, whereby they of the castle had no word frae the king, because Edinburgh laid wait for such letters.

Word came to Aberdeen, about the last of March, that the earl of Southesk ; Mr. James Fairlie, bishop of Argyll ; Sir Lewis Stuart, advocate ; Mr. James Gordon, keeper of the signet ; Mr. James Farquharson, writer to the signet ; Mr. Robert Petrie, agent, with diverse others, about twenty-four persons, were all taken and apprehended in Edinburgh, as enemies to the confederates. They were all warded in townsmen's houses of Edinburgh, yet nightly watched that none should go out nor come in without their knowledge, because they were all Anti-covenanters. Many marvelled at thir proceedings, how the king's subjects should be taken and abused by subjects, without authority of the

king, law or reason; whether they would or not, they behoved to swear and subscribe the covenant, before they wan to liberty, together with the band of relief.

Thereafter, the new stiled estates send the earl of Southesk to England with a new imprinted information, to inform them of England of their business. Sir Thomas Thomson was also taken; he comes in, swears and subscribes the covenant and band of relief; he is put upon the council thereafter, and entrapped for sending some of the king's letters privately to general Ruthven in the castle, whereat the estates were highly offended, he sitting at the council table; for the whilk he is laid fast in the irons in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and thereafter put to liberty, and had to the Bowlroad with the rest.

Upon the 2d day of April, Dr. Guild, rector of the Oldtown College, with some masters and members thereof, had a meeting, where some of the regents had their stipends augmented. Mr. James Sandilands demitted his place as canonist with great subtilty, because our kirk would not suffer him to bruik it, nor let the canon laws be teachd; but he finds out moyan to be civilist, to make up commodity for light service; whereat the College members still grudged, he being also commissary clerk of Aberdeen.

Friday, or Good Friday, the 3d of April, no preaching or communing in either of the Aberdeens, as was used and wont, not yet given on Pasch-day.

Great frosts and snows in this oat seed-time, no ploughs going, and little seed sowing, so vehement was the storm; no peats could be had to burn, for a load would have cost a merk, whilk would have been coft other years for two shillings; the brewsters left off to brew for want of fire. The reason of this scarcity was, because the Covenanters coming here in March 1639, caused the servants who should have casten the peats for serving of both Aberdeens, flee out of the country for fear, so not only were our peats dear, but through the unseasonableness of the spring the victual also became very dear.

It is said that about the 4th of April, a lyon herauld, accompanied by James Philip, now clerk to the secret council, came to Dunotter, and charged the earl Marischall personally to compear before his majesty and parliament of England, at Westminster, the 13th of April, to hear and see our Scottish commissioners (now lying at court) receive an answer to their supplications, and for such other reasons as were contained in the charge, under the pain of treason; and upon this charge the herauld took instrument in this James Philip's hands, who was sent with him for that effect. The earl welcomed the herauld, and desired him to stay and drink, whilk he would not do, but took his leave. It was said that this herauld had given also the like charge to diverse other nobles, such as the earls of Rothes, Montrose, Cassilis, Kinghorn, Argyll, general Leslie, the lords

Lindsay and Balmerinoch, but they all disobeyed the charge; and upon their own reasons made protestations against the same.

About this time, Felt Marischal Lesly is again chosen general of our Scottish army; and the nobles, barons, gentry, burrows, and clergy, sworn to follow him as their general.

Upon the — day of April, the earl of Murray established his only sister in his dwelling-house of Elgin, and gave order for keeping her house in honourable manner; he gave her the haill jewels and gold work that belonged to her defunct mother; he kepted her pose himself; and after settling of his affairs, he goes directly to England; but shortly thereafter the laird of Grant is quietly married to the said lady Mary, without advice of her brother or any other friends.

Mr. John Peter, minister at St. Andrew's Kirktown, in Murray, about this time was deprived for not subscribing the covenant.

The king causes put in garrison within the town of Berwick, about this time, for his own service, about two thousand soldiers.

You see before some order taken with the passing of turners, whereof some were appointed to pass for a penny, but now they would give nothing for king Charles' turners, but king James' turners only should pass; whereby all change and trade was taken away through want of current money, because thir slight turners was the only copper passing through all Scotland.

About this time the earl of Stirling departed this life at London, who for all his court and accedents left no great estate nor means free behind him. The earl of Lanerk, brother to the marquis of Hamilton, and Sir James Galloway, fell conjunct secretaries in his place, for he was both secretary of Scotland, and secretary of the Scottish council of England.

About this time, the king sent down a letter to the provost and baillies of Edinburgh, with a proclamation, bearing that it was his majesty's will to discharge the earl of Argyll of his justiciary of Argyll and Tarbet, and that none of the king's lieges and good subjects should answer or obey him the said earl, in taxes or feu duties, or other homages belonging thereto, ay and while he should compear personally before the parliament of England, to answer to such things as were laid to his charge. Likeas the king commanded the foresaid provost and baillies to cause proclaim thir letters at the mercat cross of Edinburgh, under all highest pain and peril. They advise with the council table, and write back to the king, that in such troublesome times, the country being in uproar and afraid of the incoming of the sea and land armies, and also with the daily threatnings of the castle of Edinburgh, they durst scarcely hazard to make any such proclamation against the person of such a prime nobleman; besides, it was not agreeable to the Scottish laws, to deprive him of his estate or dignities but by advice of council and

Scottish parliament, and therewith no nobleman could be assured of his life, lands, or goods, if this past as a practice; and further, none of our noblemen are holden to answer but before his country, council, and parliament, and to be tried by his own Scottish peers, and not to go to England to underly their censure. Thir, with diverse other reasons, were written back to the king; and in sundries judgment were found reasonable, alledging the king cannot deprive any man of his estate or goods but by trial of parliament in manner aforesaid, yet that his majesty had power of himself to suspend any nobleman frae his offices and rents, while the matters of his accusation were truly and formally tried; and so this proclamation was left unpublished, contrary to the king's desire.

The third Tuesday and 21st of April, our provincial assembly sits down within the session-house of New Aberdeen; Mr. James Martin, minister at Peterhead, was chosen moderator; they cry out the non-subscribants of the covenant and band of relief. Dr. Scroggie, minister at Old Aberdeen, and Dr. Sibbald, one of the ministers of New Aberdeen, were referred to the next committee, for their outstanding, and so with little more ado they dissolve.

Mr. Robert Melvin, minister at Dyce, is made moderator of the presbytery of Aberdeen till the next assembly: and in the mean time the foresaid two doctors at this meeting had no voice in the assembly, and the said Mr. James Martin to endure moderator till the next assembly by the voices of his brethren and ruling elders; a novelty indeed!

About this time, word came that major-general Munro was coming with an army to Aberdeen, to guard the country, by direction of the new stiled estates; but his purpose was rather to oppress the king's loyal subjects; whilk being suspected by some barons in this country, they began to fortify their houses, such as the laird of Drum, Gight, Banff, Federet, Foveran, and sundry others, and furnished them with men and muskets, meat and drink, and other devices of defence against this Munro's coming; but he turned all these doings to nothing, as after does appear.

Ye heard before how the lord Loudon, the sheriff of Teviotdale, and Mr. Robert Barclay, were sent to supplicate the king. Now, about the 21st of April, word came home that they were all warded, and Loudon put into the Tower, upon a letter revealed and produced by the earl of Traquair before his majesty, alledged to be written to the king of France by some of our Scottish nobles, whereof this Loudon was one, whilk letter was subscribed with his hands. It was not delivered to the king of France, but appears to have been kept up by the earl of Traquair, as he who was upon the council at the plotting and devising of the bishops' overthrow with the rest, suppose not consenting to other matters that fell out thereafter. However Loudon is accused of subscribing this letter, before the king.

About the 27th of April, the earl Marischall (having some meetings in the Mearns, and gathered some soldiers) wrote to the provost and baillies of Aberdeen, that he was to come to the town, and desired that no ship should go out of the haven till his coming, because he was under fear that the town's Anticovenanters would flee; whilk the provost obeyed, and took the sails from the ships' yards. Many townsmen hearing of Marischall's coming to the town, took the flight; among whom Robert Buchan of Portlethen, with his second son, after his house and ground was plundered, took to sea; and so ilk man shifted for himself, part by sea, part by land, as they thought best.

Upon the 5th of May, the earl Marischall (being about twenty-three years of age, young and stout), comes to Aberdeen, about one hundred and sixty horse, with sound of trumpet, in peaceable manner. The lord Fraser and master of Forbes, and diverse barons, rode out to meet him. He took up house in his own lodging. There was a committee chosen to sit in Aberdeen, such as the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the lairds of Philorth, Monymusk, Craigievar, and George Baird of Auchmedden, and five other commissioners subordinate to them, to hold a council of war; whilk committee and council should sit weekly in Aberdeen at the council table, for guiding and ruling of the town and shire of Aberdeen in thir troublesome times; and the earl took the commissioners' oaths to do nothing but by his advice, as being general of the north.

In the meantime, they ordain the town of Aberdeen to subscribe the common band of relief, who had not yet subscribed. The baillies went quarterly about, to cause ilk inhabitant subscribe, whereof some were absent, some subscribed, and some refused; at last the town was compelled, for wealth and trade, to compons within the burrow and freedom of the samen, (the landward heritage belonging to burgesses excepted) for payment to the earl of the sum of six thousand merks. Thus is the king's burrow compelled to pay for this common band the fore-said sums, without law or warrant of the king, and is sore crossed and vexed, as ye have heard several times before; and is the third time now fined, extending in all to the sum of twenty-six thousand merks, by and attour many and diverse oppressions besides.

Thir things done, this general or governour Marischall, upon the 8th of May, rides back to Dunotter, and the rest go home, and at that time dissolves; but young Tolquhon, and diverse others of the name of Forbes, went out to convoy Marischall a piece of the way. Mr. George Lesly and William Fraser of Bogheads (both good-brothers, and the earl's tenants), being with the rest in his company, met with the young laird of Tolquhon, and unhappily discorded. Mr. George hurt him in the head upon the Tollo-hill: they were parted, he and Bogheads disarmed, and the governour promises satisfaction to Tolquhon,

who took his leave frae him, and returns to Aberdeen, and he forward to Dunotter; where the said Mr. George Lesly and William Fraser, (suppose he was innocent,) were both laid in the irons. Upon the morn, they were sent about by sea, shackled in irona, to Aberdeen, with warrant to the provost of Aberdeen to ward them both in the tolbooth, and to cause strike off Mr. George Lesly's right hand, at one stroke, for hurting the young Tolquhon, in the general's company, against the discipline of war. The provost receives them, wards them, and causes loose their shackles; but thought he was not judge to this punishment for such a riot committed in the shire of the Mearns, where Marischall himself was sheriff, who was only judge thereto. Many people murmured against this rigorous sentence given out against a gentleman for such a slight fault, done also in his own defence. Nevertheless, the general, of his own authority, upon the 18th of May, caused fix fast in the causeway, at the mercat cross of Aberdeen, a stock, and an axe beside it laid down; and a little scaffold of timber bigged about, with a fire kindled to burn the blood when the hand was cut off. There was also a chair set beside the stock, and the hangman ready. The gentleman is brought from the tolbooth, and as he is coming down stairs, the people being convened in great numbers about the cross, cried out pitifully against this cruelty, used so rigorously to the gentleman. However, he lays down his arm upon the stock, and the hangman ready to give the stroke. Beyond the expectation of the beholders, the master of Forbes suddenly comes, and lifts his hand from the stock, and made him free; whereat the people mightily rejoiced. He was had back to the tolbooth, where he was arrested at the instance of Mr. James Clerk, and remained in ward while the 25th of June following, syne put to liberty, but William Fraser was relieved out of the tolbooth upon the 25th of May.

The general did this for satisfying of young Tolquhon, and, as was said, he had never mind to take the gentleman's hand, who was his own tenant, but only made a show, whereof doubtless the gentleman had certainty, otherwise he would not have gone without more trouble.

Now the English ships begins to take our merchants' ships, and has them to Berwick and Holy Island, where their goods were loosed and inventoried, that none should be lost, and the men let go. But the king was deceived herein. Likewise, he got liberty to take our ships, but none to meddle with our goods.

Upon the 11th of May, there was wonderful high tempestuous winds, (marvellous in May!) whereby sundry persons died, and a lax fisher drowned in the water of Don, and a ship going with victuals to Dumbritton likewise perished.

Upon the 13th of May, a muster was made of both Aber-



deens in the links, by order of governour Marischall. They were divided, and of few number, not passing two hundred and sixty persons, and twenty out of Old Aberdeen. They had three captains, two called Forbes, and the third called Crookshank, given to them by the general, who wanted to be served with their own commanders. They were but few that went out, and that sore against their wills. The roll is called, many are absent; and so ilk man goes home, without shooting a shot, as they were wont to do, being heartless, and divided amongst themselves.

Upon the 18th of May, the lord Sinclair, with about sixteen horse, comes to Aberdeen. He lodges in skipper Anderson's, and commanded the provost to cause watch his lodging all night, whilk was done. Marvellous, how Aberdeen was compelled by any subject, without warrant of the king! Upon the morn, he rides for Caithness: he was one of the tutors to the pupil earl of Caithness.

Upon the 21st of May, there was a meeting of the name of Gordon at Strathboggie, and diverse others, amongst whom was the laird of Drum, counselling about the coming of general Munro with an army. However they dissolve, and the laird of Drum returning, happened to come by where the laird of Monymusk was in a moss, causing cast peats. He sends out one named William Forbes, brother to the laird of Pitnacaddell; upon his best horse, to ask who Drum was, being about twenty-four horse; but through this gentleman's own miscarriage, he is dismounted, and his master's horse taken frae him, and he sent on foot to tell the laird the tidings, whereat he was mightily offended.

Now the commissioners were written for by the estates to the parliament to be holden at Edinburgh the 2d of June next, and Mr. Alexander Jaffray went commissioner for Aberdeen.

Now remember, the English laboured still for a parliament, whilk the king was not willing to grant; but being granted, they slighted the king's desire to punish the Scottish rebellions, and labour to settle him and them in peace to their contentment, whilk in end craftily they did.

The castle of Edinburgh is now daily shooting at the town; few durst keep the causeway, many fled the town for plain fear, with their wives, bairns, goods, and gear, and some persons were shot and slain dead.

About this time the earl of Airly went to the king and court, leaving his eldest son, the lord Ogilvy, behind him; but in his absence his stately castle was cruelly casten down, and his ground pitifully plundered, such as Airly and Furtour; whilk he, by the marquis of Montrose's assistance, nobly revenged upon his enemies, in anno 1644 and 1645.

Now there were diverse barons, gentlemen, and country people, within Athol, Lochaber, and Badenoch, and highland

parts thereabout, who would not come in and subscribe the covenant, but stood out against it, and withal brake out, molesting and perturbing all such whereof they might be masters. The tables advertised hereof, gives order to the earl of Argyll to settle this business, who convened about five thousand men, and marched into Athol. The earl hearing of Argyll's coming, sends commissioners to him, promising that he, nor none under his power, should trouble or molest the country; and further, that he should concur and assist the good cause to his uttermost; and for further assurance sent eight hostages, principal men and of note within the country, of Stuarts and Robertsons. Argyll heard the commission, and pleasantly received the hostages, and said he should have a care to keep them, but would nowise grant assurance of peace to the earl of Athol, till he should first come to him himself.

He being advertised hereof, resolves upon some conditions to come to Argyll, who, how soon he heard of his approach, craftily sent out some men, who lay in ambush by the way, and took him and brought him to Argyll, who was coming of his own accord; but this was done to make Argyll's service the more thought of. The earl in all haste sends the earl of Athol and his eight hostages to the tables, to abide their censure. Others said he sent the hostages to Edinburgh without Athol's knowledge, syne trysts and causes the earl swear and subscribe at his pleasure, whilk was thought a fair way. Having pacified the country of Athol, he marches into Lochaber.

About this time, he takes David Spalding, baron of Ashentillie in Strathardell, for his loyalty to the king, and warded him in the castle of Dunstaffnage, while he paid to him four thousand merks, and subscribed the covenant; thereafter he is put to liberty, and deceases without heirs of his body; to whom succeeded William Spalding, whom for standing to the covenant, Montrose, in his wars, burnt his castle of Ashentillie, and plundered and harried his ground pitifully.

His majesty, by his letters patent, had made the earl of Northumberland captain general of his forces both by sea and land; but he refused to accept, and renounced his admiralty in the king's own presence, whereat he was displeased, and shortly gave the samen charge to the deputy of Ireland, his loyal subject, who accepted the samen humbly.

About this time, the estates sent an herauld, with the king's coat of arms, to the castle of Dumbritton, commanding and charging the captain thereof, called Sir John Henderson, to render and give up the castle to the estates, whilk he manifestly refused, challenging the herauld that he did by his office, wearing the king's arms, and charging to render his master's castle, without his own command, to his subjects; and that he should compt for this his high offence; and he desired the herauld to

shew the estates that he would not obey their charge, which he did, but it was not long ungiven up.

Now the town of Edinburgh is very diligent in raising minding mounts and other engines, to defend the town frae the cannon shot of the castle and walls thereof, and likewise in making mines to undermine the walls of the castle; but this castle stood not long out, but was rendered.

Upon the 23d of May, governour Marischall directs the town of Aberdeen to have a nightly watch of men and arms, and their ports closed; which was obeyed. Upon the 25th of May, the drums tuckd through both Aberdeens, in the governour's name, charging all manner of men, at their highest peril, to muster upon the morn in the links, in their best arms. They convened very few; one hundred and sixty, or thereby, out of the town, and about sixty out of the Oldtown, evil armed and worse hearted. After their muster they returned home to their houses.

The samen day, the drum tuckd likewise, charging the burrow of Aberdeen to make provision upon their own charges for general Munro and his army, wherewith they were not well pleased, albeit they durst not disobey.

Tuesday, the 26th of May, there was heard in both Aberdeens shooting of ordnance about Dunotter, which fell out betwixt an English and Scottish ship, who was pursued, and fled in among the craigs of Dunotter; but she was boarded by a frigate, and hauled out perforce to the sea.

The barons and gentlemen, of the name of Gordon for the most part (except the lairds of Haddo and Straloch, who would not keep their meetings), hearing of major Munro's coming to Dunotter with soldiers, upon the 28th of May, sent Mr. James Gordon, minister at Kearn, with letters to the earl Marischall, and general Munro, craving assurance of peace, and to be no-wise troubled, since they and their friends and followers were peaceably set, and not disposed to offend any. They received and read thir letters, but would write none back again, but sends this answer, that they could have no assurance of peace except they would all come in and swear and subscribe the covenant, and obey whatsoever should be enjoined them for furtherance of the good cause. Mr. James Gordon returned and told their answer, whilk the Gordons took in evil part, as they had reason so to do.

Upon the 28th of May, the inhabitants of the burrow of Aberdeen were charged, by tuck of drum, to go out in their best armour and meet governour Marischall and major-general Munro. Whereupon one hundred and twenty musketeers and pikemen went out and met them at the bridge of Dee. They were estimate to be about eight hundred footmen and forty horse, who had also six pieces of iron ordnance. They were in good order,

having blue bonnets on their heads, with feathers waving in the wind. They entered Aberdeen, and were quartered. Marischall lodged in his own house, together with Monro. They watched nightly with threescore soldiers always. Monro delivered to the provost and baillies certain articles in write, whilk he sent in before the incoming of the army to the town, and whereof the tenor follows :—

*“ Articles of Bon-Accord, to be condescended unto by the Magistrates of Aberdeen, for themselves, and as taking burden upon them for all the inhabitants ; to be presently sealed, subscribed, and delivered to major-general Monro, as having warrant from the earl Marischall, in name of the estates of this kingdom, and general Lesly.*

1st, Desires the magistrates to give in a roll or list of those inhabitants absent or present who have not subscribed the covenant and general band, that they may be discerned as bad and evil patriots.

2d, Desires the provost, magistrates, and all the inhabitants, to give their great oath of fidelity not to correspond or keep interchange of intelligence with any that has not subscribed the covenant or general band, under pain of losing of their lives, and confiscation of their goods.

3d, Desires them to condescend willingly to contribute to the entertainment of the regiment, according as they shall be stented, in paying of their tenth part ; and their soldiers being quartered in this town, that they be obliged for themselves and inhabitants not to injure any of them, under the pain of death.

4th, Desires they be obliged for themselves and inhabitants not to hear any minister within their town who hath not subscribed the covenant, under pain of banishment, both preachers and hearers.

5th, Desires the regiment (being quartered and billeted within the town) may be entertained during their residence there, in meat, drink, and lodging, according to the general order subscribed by the committee of estates, for the two part of means allowed to inferior officers and soldiers, according to the list of pay, given in to the township by the major-general under his hand, in name of the committee of estates, the general, and of the earl Marischall.

6th, Desires the magistrates to deliver to the major-general before his entry, the keys of all their ports, and entry of their magazines and store-houses, tolbooth, or meeting-houses of the town, together with the keys of goal and prison, to be kepted at his pleasure during his abode there, for the good of the kingdom and safety of the town and regiment, against intestine and foreign enemies.

7th, Desires that all corn in store within the town be put under inventory, for entertainment of the regiment, in part payment of their tenth parts ; and that the magistrates and inhabitants to be obliged to pay the rest in money once in the fortnight, according to the order for paying the third part of the soldiats their pay in money, till they be super-expended of the tenth part.

8th, Desires they be obliged to deliver all the common spare arms, ammunition, spades, shovels, or mattocks that they have or can find, on their great oath, to be used at his pleasure in manner foresaid for the good of the king-

dom, against intestine and foreign enemies, and for both their safeties, and that they be obliged by their great oath to join with him and his regiment or associates in fighting or working against the enemy, in whatsoever the earl Marischall and he commands for the good of the kingdom and their own safeties.

9th, Desires they be obliged to set all their baxters and brewers to work against the 2d of June next, to have provided and in readiness twelve thousand pound weight of good biscuit bread, together with one thousand gallons of ale and beer, to be put in small barrels for the intended expedition, for which they shall be paid, or at least allowed to them in their parts.

10th, Desires that, in testimony of their bon-accord with the soldatista that had come so far a march for their safeties from the invasion of foreign enemies, and the slavery they and their posterity might be brought under, they may be pleased, out of their accustomed generosity and present thankfulness to the soldatista for keeping good order, and eschewing of plundering, to provide for them twelve hundred pairs of shoes, together with three thousand ells of harden, tycken, or sail canvass, for making of tents to save the soldatista from great inundation of rains, accustomed to fall out under this northern climate.

11th, Desires to provide, against the 2d of June, for the intended expedition, for settling good order in the country, and for suppressing our intestine enemies and evil patriots, that fifty horses may be in readiness for transporting our cannons, ammunition, spare arms, and provision, whatsoever the earl Marischall thinks the army to stand in need of; which being accorded, sealed, and subscribed by the magistrates, for themselves, and taking burden, as said is, for all the inhabitants of the town, we will enter the town friendly, and be answerable for ourselves and soldatista for any disorder committed by any of our number, or under our command; and in case of not fulfilling and obeying our just commands (so far as concerns the military part especially) we do hereby signify to you, in name of the estates and general of the army, that we will take such speedy course and order with you and all the inhabitants refractory, as may strike terror in the heart of all others our opposites, following your example and disobedience, as evil and wicked patriots; for eschewing whereof we heartily desire your subscriptions and seal to thir reasonable demands, or a peremptory or present answer of bon-accord or mal-accord."

The provost, baillies, and council of Aberdeen, having received thir ridiculous, tyrannous, and scornful articles, before Monro's entry to the town, went directly to council, to consider what was best to be done. Patrick Lesly being provost, with a number of the heads of the town, strong Covenanters, condescended to grant Monro's desire, and instantly sealed and subscribed thir disgraceful articles, and sent them to Monro; others of the loyal subjects were sorry that Aberdeen should be so molested by Covenanters, against the king and his laws, and no burrow within the kingdom so oppressed as Aberdeen, for their love to their sovereign lord; and, as was said, done by the Covenanters, who brought Monro to the town, fearing the name of Gordon and other royalists.

How soon Monro received back thir articles, sealed and sub-

scribed, Marischall and he comes into the town, and lodged and quartered; receives the town's keys, and gets obedience to his desire, whereat many honest men of the royalists grudged heavily; whilk coming to Monro's ears, he publickly spake in the tolbooth, in presence of the earl Marischall and others present, that it was sore against his will to come here, saying, the tables could get no rest night nor day for letters coming frae Aberdeen, crying and craving him to be sent with a regiment for their guard and protection; likeas the Forbesses and Frasers sought the samen for their safety, against the name of Gordon and other royalists; but Aberdeen promised free quarters and good entertainment, and all things necessary during the space of a month, together with their own personal service of the town on all occasions; whilk tale proved most true; for the town was divided, some for the king and some for the covenant. But the Covenanters never thought to have been burdened with maintenance of this regiment, but to have escaped, and the royalists to have paid for all; wherein they were deceived, as just from God, and repented themselves for bringing men hither, when they could not help it. However, the royalists hated the Covenanters so much the more for this business. The king afar off, hearing but not helping thir calamities, as Aberdeen hoped for, because that he now sees clearly that the lower house of England are upon the counsel of thir disorders, as hereafter does plainly appear. In the mean time, honest men of the town, and loyal subjects to the king, seeing matters go thus, fled the town, and closed up their gates and doors before Monro's incoming to the town, such as James Crookshank, William Scot, and some others. Monro hearing of this, meddles with the keys of the said William Scot's house, put his wife and bairns to the door, plundered the goods, and destroyed trees and dales, whereof there were store. But himself and George Stuart fled the country and went to Norway.

They likewise violently brake down the four glass windows of the said James Crookshank's house, whilk he would never repair until he saw better days. They likewise masterfully took up his rents and living of Newhills and Bogfairlie, pertaining to him in heritage, as likewise the multures of the town's milns of Aberdeen, whereof he was but tacksman, to his great skaith, whilk he suffered patiently. He fled here and there through the country, and durst not be seen within nor without the town, being sore envied for his loyalty to the king; and he stood out so constantly, that he would never yield nor subscribe the covenant till February, 1642, that he could do no more, and indeed few burghesses of his rank or above it did the like.

Monro caused big up betwixt the crosses a *court de guard*, for saving his soldiers frae weat or cold on the night, and wherein they should be, except such as were on watch. William Scot's timber now paid for all in his absence, being a true royalist, who sustained much more skaith besides. This *court de guard*

was bigg'd betwixt the crosses, as said is, but on Sunday the 23d of January, 1642, there rose a mighty wind that blew down the samen.

Upon Sunday the last of May, Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie (by direction of the general assembly and presbytery of Aberdeen), taught here in Old Aberdeen. After sermon, he read out another covenant, with the general assembly's declaration following thereupon, affirming the covenant called the king's to be agreeable to theirs, and that episcopacy was not expedient in our kirk of Scotland. The Perth articles, high commission, book of canons, were unlawful; after the reading whereof, the samen was subscribed over again by such men as were within the kirk, yea by the regents, and by bairns about fifteen or sixteen years of age, albeit the regents had subscribed before in February; and myself subscribed this covenant, presented to me by the magistrates, after I had subscribed the king's covenant, presented by the marquis of Huntly; and another I subscribed in the samen place, presented by the lairds of Benholm and Auldbar.

The preacher exhorted the people, by many persuasions, mixed with terror and threatening, to subscribe this holy covenant with heart and uplifted hand, assuring the contemnors or disobeyers to be sorely punished. The people per force gave obedience, and such as were not in the kirk in the forenoon, he took their subscriptions in the afternoon after sermon; and such as had not subscribed, he carried their names with him in write. His text before noon was upon the first verse of the 17th chapter of Genesis. He was a violent man for the good cause. Thus are thir covenants subscribed more through fear than the hearts of many, and all the ways that could be devised to make the samen steadfast and sure, made it never stronger, but was crost, as ye shall hereafter see.

The samen Sunday, the earl Marischall (not now gouverneur, because Monro had got the town's keys) with general Monro, went to the High Church to hear devotion, and their soldiers to the Grayfriars church. The minister of their own army preached to them; but Mr. James Sibbald, one of the town's ministers, a singular man, was then debarred from any further preaching, as an Anti-covenanter, to the great grief of the town's people.

About this time, the earl of Montrose, by direction of the estates, upon a sign of parley, went to the castle of Edinburgh, and desired general Ruthven, captain of the said castle, to render the samen to the estates, with the royal ornaments, such as the crown, scepter, and sword, lying within the samen, because the parliament was near the down-sitting; but the noble captain boldly and plainly refused. Montrose turns back, and told the estates his answer, whereupon they caused write some few lines, charging him to give over the castle, and render the ornaments of the crown, within forty-eight hours, under the pain of forfeiture of life and goods; whilk charge, so written, was woompled

about an arrow head, syne shot up over the castle walls, where Ruthven might find the samen, whilk he did; but stoutly he kept his charge, till at last he was forced to yield.

Upon the 2d day of June, Mr. John Gregory, minister at Drumoak, was brought in to Monro by a party of soldiers. He was taken out of his naked bed upon the night, and his house pitifully plundered. He was closely kept in skipper Anderson's house, having five musketeers watching him night and day, and sustained upon his own expences. None, no not his own wife, could have private conference with him, so straitly was he there watched. At last, he is fined to pay major-general Monro one thousand marks for his outstanding against the covenant, and syne got liberty to go. But in the general assembly holden in July, he was nevertheless simpliciter deprived, because he would not subscribe the covenant; and when all was done, he is forced to come in and yield to subscribe the covenant.

The said 2d of June, the drum goes through Aberdeen, charging the haill inhabitants incontinent to bring to the tolbooth the haill spades, shovels, mells, mattocks, barrows, picks, gavelocks, and such instruments within the town, meet for undermining, whilk was shortly done. Thereafter, Monro took up a new muster of his own soldiers, and of the young men also, in the links. He directs before him four pot pieces, then goes to the array, and takes about one hundred and fifty of the bravest men of Aberdeen, sore against their wills, and mixes in among his own soldiers. He caused carry also the foresaid instruments for undermining; and upon the said 2d day of June, began about ten hours at even to march towards the place of Drum, and encamped hard beside. The laird was not at home, but his lady with some pretty men was within the house, whilk was furnished with ammunition and all provision necessary for defence of that strong house. How soon Marischall and Monro came within distance and shot of musket of the house, they shot off of the house two of Monro's men dead, whilk they beheld; then they directed frae the camp to the house a summons, charging them to render and give over the house, whereupon the lady craved some short space to be advised, whilk was granted; after that she craved some time to advertise her husband, whilk was also granted. In the mean time of this parley, Marischall rides to Dunotter frae the camp; the lady upon her own good considerations renders up the house to Monro, and delivers him the keys, upon condition that her soldiers should go out with their arms, bag and baggage, safe and free, and that herself, with her children and some serving women, should have liberty to remain within a chamber of the place, whilk conditions were granted; and Monro mans the house, leaves a commander, with forty soldiers, to keep the samen, and to live upon the provision already provided, and when that was done to live upon the laird's rents, so long as



they stayed there, and the lady to send the laird to Monro. Many marvelled that this strong well provided house should have been so soon rendered without more danger.

Monro, upon the 5th of June, leaves Drum, and returns back triumphantly to Aberdeen, where the earl Marischall met him, and that samen night about six o'clock they heard sermon, and gave thanks to God for the intaking of this strong house with so little skaith. Their soldiers lay in the place to the 5th of September, upon the laird's great charges and expences.

Upon the foresaid 5th of June, there came to Old Aberdeen about six hundred of Marischall's men, out of the Mearns, but they got little entertainment there. Upon the morn, they were quartered in New Aberdeen, with Monro's soldiers, and remained wrecking the town till the 18th of June.

Sunday, June 7th, about eleven of the clock at night, there came out of New Aberdeen about two hundred soldiers, with their commanders. At the bridge of Don, they divided into three parts; whereof one went towards Foveran and Knockhall; another, by White Cairns towards Udney and Fiddess; the third, towards Fetternear. They broke up the gates of Foveran, Udney, and Fiddess; they took meat and drink, but did little more skaith; the lairds of Foveran and Udney being both absent, and in England, as royalists and Anti-covenanters. The lady Udney dwelling in Knockhall, renders the keys; they gave them back upon the morn without doing great wrong, and returned back to their quarters in Aberdeen.

Those who went to Fetternear found the gates kept close, the laird himself being within. They began to pursue the entry gate, whilk was well defended, and one of their soldiers shot thereat, whereof he died. Shortly thereafter the rest leaves the pursuit, and that hurt soldier behind them, and returns back to Aberdeen without more ado. The laird, fearing some trouble to follow, displeished the place, left nothing tursable within, closed up the gates, and took his wife, children, and servants, with him to some other part; but shortly there came frae Aberdeen another party of soldiers to the samen place. They brake up the gates and doors, entered the house and chambers, brake down windows, beds, boards, and left no kind of plenishing unhewn down, whilk did them little good, albeit skaithful to the owner. Such as they could carry with them they took, syne returned back to Aberdeen; but the laird fled the country, and to Berwick goes he.

Upon the 9th of June, the laird of Drum, with some few horse, came in to Aberdeen, according to his lady's promise at the rendering of the house; he met with Marischall and Monro, drank kindly and friendly together, and kept him still beside them; and in the meantime Montrose sent out parties of soldiers, and brought in to Aberdeen the lairds of Fornett, Federit, Haddo, Hiltoun, Culter, Aughter-Ellon, Campbell, Nethermuir, Mr.

John Gordon minister at Birse, (who was taken out of his naked bed) and diverse other known Anti-covenanters, whom he kept beside him also untill he went to Edinburgh, and had them all with him.

Thomas Cheyne of Raniestone, as a papist, was brought in to Aberdeen, where he was forced to swear and subscribe the covenant, syne wan home.

Thomas Crombie being absent in England, his place of Kemnay is taken in, his girdel broken up, and store of victual taken out, and parted among the soldiers. Thus all sorts of people who would not swear and subscribe the covenant, and contribute to the good cause, were grievously overcome and oppressed, without law or authority of his majesty.

Upon the 9th of June, the craftsmen of Old Aberdeen were compelled amongst them to furnish out five foot soldiers, to help to make up Monro's regiment, who had more need of support to keep in their lives.

Upon the said 9th of June, the lord Gordon, the laird of Cluny, with some few servants, came frae England quietly by sea. They land a boat at the Cove, and brought aboard Alexander Gordon of Prismoir, and Mr. Thomas Gordon at Kestock's-mill, who told how the country was ruled; they came ashore unespied, with whom landed James Farquhar, burgess in Aberdeen. The bark goes to sea, and lands at Nether Buckie in the Enzie, and James Farquhar comes home to his own house; but he is shortly taken and warded by Marischall and Monro, and demanded who came in the bark; he declared the truth, and so was let go, after some other queries.

The lord Gordon stayed at home till about the 23d of July, syne hoisted sail at Nether Buckie, and comes along this coast towards England; his departure is spied, and Monro is advertised, who sends out a bark with well provided soldiers to attend him; they come in sight, and were very near her; but being at the windward she escaped and wan safely away, they being all the time ignorant of this plot.

Upon the 10th of June, the soldiers were drilled in the links; and thereafter a council of war was holden in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, by Marischall and Monro, and the rest. There were brought before them the lairds of Culter, Auchter-Ellon, Campbell, Nethermuir, Fornett, Thomas Nicolson, George Johnston, George Morison, George Gordon, Robert Forbes, Mr. Alexander Reid, David Rickart, and William Petrie, townsmen and burgesses of Aberdeen; but the lairds of Drum, Haddo, Federit, and Mr. John Ross, minister, were not brought before this committee, but had south. The rest were accused for their outstanding, and being contrary minded to the good cause, they made their own answers, but were not well heard; in the end, they were all ordained to lodge in Mr. Henry Buchan's house, fit and prepare themselves to go to Edinburgh upon the morrow, and in

the meantime set a strait guard about their lodging, that none should go in nor out without licence, whilk thir gentlemen were compelled to obey.

Upon the morrow, they took their leave from Aberdeen, leaving their friends with sorry hearts. They were guarded and convoyed by soldiers as throat-cutters and murderers, whereat they were displeased, but could not mend it. The first night they came to Cowie, and sua forth to Edinburgh, convoyed by ilk sheriffdom to another.

The old laird of Gight, a sickly tender man, being by chance at this time in Montrose, is taken by one captain Beatoun, and had to Edinburgh with the rest; his house of Ardesie pitifully plundered, because he was a papist, and outstander against the good cause. How soon they came to Edinburgh they were all warded in the tolbooth, and shortly our townsmen are first brought in before the tables. They are accused as contrary to the good cause; they made their own answers, which were not well heard, whereupon they are committed again to ward; but in respect of the laird of Gight and Thomas Morison's sickness, they got liberty, and were confined in the town, where old Gight departed this life. After examination of our burgesses, the lairds of Culter, Auchter-Elton, Fornett, Campbell, and Nethermuir, were brought in and accused, and returned back to ward, where one and all were forced to stay during the space of six months, to their great displeasure and hurt of their health, with great charges and expences; at last it pleased the estates to fine them as follows; and first, for our townsmen, Thomas Nicolson was fined in two thousand merks; George Johnston, one thousand pounds; David Rickart, one thousand merks; Robert Forbes, one thousand pounds; William Petrie, one thousand merks. George Morison and George Jameson by moyan wan free, and paid no fine. George Gordon, one thousand merks. Mr. Alexander Reid, by means of the earl of Mar, was transported to Stirling, there to remain in ward till he paid two thousand merks, syne got liberty. The laird of Culter was fined in three thousand merks; the laird of Auchter-Elton, one thousand merks; Nethermuir, three thousand merks; Fornett, — merks; Campbell, —. Thus barons and burgesses are fast warded, syne fined and compelled to pay the samen before they went out of the tolbooth, then set to liberty, and ilk man came home to his own house. Thus the king's loyal subjects are forced to suffer.

Ye heard how our parliament was adjourned frae the 14th of November 1639 to the 11th of June 1640; whilk day being come, the parliament sat down without either king or commissioner, whereof the like was never seen in the Christian world, where any king ruled, as our acts of parliament bears in the name of the king or his commissioner, &c. This parliament sits down, and the printed acts have no relation to the king or commissioner, but only entitled, *Acts past and done in this present parliament, which sat down the 11th of June, 1640.*

The first act whereof chose Robert lord Burghlie to be president, in respect of the absence of the king's commissioner.

The second act constitutes the three estates of parliament, viz. nobles, barons, and burgesses, and abolished bishops.

The next act ratifies the acts of the assembly. The next had relation to John earl of Traquair, lord commissioner, suppose no mention of that parliament is amongst the printed acts. However, there is about thirty-nine acts made up by this president, and three estates foresaid, without king, commissioner, crown, sword, or scepter—uncouth to see! The samen is prerogated to the 19th of November next, syne dissolves; whilk day being come, the said Robert lord Burghlie is again chosen president by the estates, and adjourned to the 14th of January, 1641; frae that continued to the 13th of April, 1641; frae that adjourned to the 25th of May; frae that to the 15th of July, 1641. Thus is this parliament continued from day to day, the lord Burghlie still chosen president, and to the whilk 15th of July the king came himself, as ye have hereafter.

After the last continuation of parliament, Felt Marischal Leely musters his army in the links of Leith, who were estimate to sixteen thousand men, with expert captains and commanders. The young laird of Gight is forced by Marischal and Monro to come in, and upon Friday the 11th of June he came to Aberdeen before the council of war; he gets forty-eight hours' protection. A challenge of combat past betwixt him and the laird of Philorth; Marischal gets word, sends a party of soldiers for him, to eschew this fight, and took him out of his naked bed, lying in Thomas Leely's house in Old Aberdeen. Gight (under protection) marvelled at this business, not knowing Marischal's purpose, but he gets liberty frae the captain that took him, to ride beside him (who was also horsed) over to the town and speak with Marischal; the captain seeing his horse but a little nag, was content, and so they ride on till they come to the Justice Port, where Gight shifts the captain and all his keepers, and by plain speed he wins away, to all their disgraces, and to Germany goes he, where he stays.

Major Monro, upon the 18th of June, received from the town of Aberdeen five thousand pounds for their tenths and twentieths, to sustain his soldiers on, and five thousand pounds by virtue of the general band, with twelve hundred pairs of shoes, with three thousand ells of harden to be his soldiers' shirts. Marischal at this samen time took up from them forty thousand pounds of fines also: thus is this noble burrow, without king or law, wrecked in their persons, goods, and gear, for their loyalty to the king; and all the rest of the burrows living in peace.

Marischal and Monro having gotten money the samen day, Marischal removes his soldiers out of Aberdeen, and disbands them all. Monro leaves seven hundred soldiers quartered in Aberdeen, and goes south himself, having in his company the

lairds of Drum, Haddo, Federat, Hiltown, and Mr. John Ross, minister. He presents them to the tables at Edinburgh; they are all warded in the tolbooth, and for their loyalty to the king are fined, viz. The laird of Drum, one thousand merks; Federat, four thousand merks; Haddo, two thousand merks; Hiltown, by moyan, wan free; and Mr. John Ross, three hundred merks; but whether taken up or componed I cannot tell.

The 14th of June, Mr. William Johnston, doctor of physick, departed this life in New Aberdeen. Mr. William Gordon, another doctor of physick, departed this life a little before in Old Aberdeen, as ye have heard. Doctor Barron, professor of divinity, and doctor Ross, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, four matchless men, yea and almost matchless in any burrow of Scotland, departed this life, to the grief of Aberdeen, and the country also; and all this happened since the beginning of this covenant.

Upon Tuesday the 16th of June, major Monro drew out both Aberdeens to muster in the links; few came out of the town, because many were fled, whereat he was angry, and shortly commanded to go search the burrow, and bring with them old and young; but few were found, and such as came to the links were deeply sworn upon what arms they had. He looked also to our Oldtown men, who were in the links, about one hundred men, for the most part without musket, sword, or pike: he proudly demands, if they had no more arms; they answered not, because the laird of Craigievar had plundered their haill arms frae them before. Then says Monro, "a mad bull may go through you all," and so left them; and ilk man returned home without more ado.

The committee of estates at Edinburgh had ordained two committees to be elected and chosen, the one thereof constantly to remain at Edinburgh, the other constantly to remain with Felt Marischal Lesly, at his excellency's camp; and ilk committee to consist of six nobles, six barons, and six burgesses; and thir two committees to order the country and camp; and in the meantime great preparations were made for raising of an army.

Upon Thursday the 18th of June, Monro presses and takes perforce out of their naked beds, some Aberdeen's men and crafts boys, to make the number of sixteen soldiers, whilk the town was stented to, for Old Aberdeen was stented to five, whilk they sent before; and thir soldiers with the country soldiers, to make up three hundred, to be eiked to Monro's regiment, consisting then of seven hundred, and to make up a full regiment of one thousand. He causes put up betwixt the crosses a timber mare, whereon runagate knaves and runaway soldiers should ride. Uncouth to see such discipline in Aberdeen, and painful for the trespasser to suffer!

Upon Friday the 19th of June, Monro drills in the links; and thereafter daily, and there was coming and going to him

continually country barons and gentlemen; and upon the same day there was a committee holden at Aberdeen by the tutor of Pitligo, the laird of Monymusk, George Baird of Auchmedden, and diverse others, Mr. James Martin, minister at Peterhead, moderator of the assembly of this diocese to the next provincial assembly, Mr. Thomas Martin, minister at Deer, Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, and Mr. George Sharp, minister at Fyvie. There were letters direct out frae this committee against certain outstanding ministers, such as Mr. John Ross, minister at Birse, Mr. John Gregory, minister at Drumoak, Mr. Alexander Strachan, minister at Chapel of Garioch, doctor Forbes, laird of Corse, doctor Sibbald, minister at Aberdeen, doctor Scroggie, minister at Old Aberdeen, Mr. Richard Maitland, minister at Abercherder, Mr. John Forbes, at Auchterless, with diverse others, to compear before the committee to be holden at Aberdeen the 7th of July next to come, to answer for their disobedience and outstanding.

The earl of Airly went from home to England, fearing the troubles of the land, and that he should be pressed to subscribe the covenant whether he would or not, whilk by fleeing the land he resolved to eschew as well as he could, and left his eldest son, the lord Ogilvie, a brave young nobleman, behind him at home. The estates or tables, hearing of his departure, directed the earls of Montrose and Kinghorn to go to the place of Airly, and to take in the samen, and for that effect to carry cartows with them, who went and summoned the lord Ogilvie to render the house, (being an impregnable strength by nature, well manned with all sorts of munition and provision necessary) who answered, his father was absent, and he left no such commission with him as to render his house to any subjects, and that he would defend the samen to his power till his father returned from England. There were some shots shot at the house, and some from the house, but the assailants finding the place unwinnable, by nature of great strength, without great skaith, left the place without mickle loss on either side, then departed therefrae in June.

Now the committee of estates finding no contentment in this expedition, and hearing how their friends of the name of Forbes and others in the country were daily injured and opprest by highland limmars, broken out of Lochaber, Clangregor out of Brae of Athol, Brae of Mar, and diverse other places, therefore they give orders to the earl of Argyll to raise men out of his own country, and first to go to Airly and Furtour, two of the earl of Airly's principal houses, and to take in and destroy the samen, and next to go upon thir limmars and punish them; likeas conform to his order he raises an army of about five thousand men, and marches towards Airly; but the lord Ogilvie hearing of his coming with such irresistible force, resolves to flee and leave the house manless; and so for their own safety, they wisely fled; but Argyll most cruelly and inhumanely enters the house of

Airly, and beats the same to the ground, and right sue he does to Furtour; syne spoiled all within both houses, and such as could not be carried they masterfully brake down and destroyed. Thereafter they fell to his ground, plundered, robbed, and took away from himself, his men, tenants, and servants, their hail goods and gear, corns and cattle whatsoever that they could get, and left nothing but bare bounds of sic as they could carry away with them, and what could not be destroyed they despitefully burnt up by fire. This service done by the earl of Argyll against that nobleman the earl of Airly, the king's loyal subject, without any warrant or authority. He then addresses himself to Athol, (where the lord Loudon, being set at liberty out of the tower of London came to see Argyll), the earl of Athol hearing of Argyll's coming, offered to do what he would command him, and sent forth forty-eight men, chief in that country, of the names of Stuart and Robertson, till he should come and perform his promise. Argyll accepted the gentlemen, and without Athol's knowledge sent them to the tables, syne trysts and causes Athol swear and subscribe as he pleased. This was not fair play. From Athol he goes to Lochaber, and as he marches, he gets due obedience from barons, gentlemen, and others through the country; he plundered and spoiled all Lochaber, and burnt M'Donald's house of Keppach, holden of the house of Huntly. He left a captain with two hundred men to keep this country, but they were all killed by the people of that country. Thus Argyll goes through all, men offering subjection and obedience to him, whereof he sends some to Edinburgh to the tables, others he takes to swear and subscribe the covenant, band of relief, and contributing to the good cause, and suffered them to stay at home. This done he disbands his army, and comes down Dee side, about twelve hundred men, but what order he took of the broken men, oppressors of the country, was not mickle heard; so forward was he for the covenant.

About this time, the old constable of Dundee being aged and sickly, was carried by coach, unable to ride, to Edinburgh, because he was an outstander against the covenant. Horrible oppression!

The king's ships are daily taking our Scottish ships, to the number of eighty small and great; they are had to Berwick, Newcastle, Holy Island, and such like ports, their goods loosed and inventaried and closely kept. The English beheld this, to humour the king in revenge of the Scots, but all was restored hail and sound to the owners without loss of a groat.

Upon Sunday the 21st of June, six slight soldiers, alledging a warrant frae captain Wallace their captain, to take salmon frae the fishers of Don, whilk were tane on Sunday, came with six creels on their backs, and began to fill them up with salmon taken the night before. Prasmoir, an heritor of said water, advertised hereof, goes with his brother, John Gordon, takes back

the fishes plundered frae him and his neighbours, and caused them carry them back in their own creels, and took from these six beastly fellows the fish and creels.

Upon Saturday the 27th of June, six drums went through Aberdeen, commanding and charging the hail inhabitants to bring to the earl Marischall's close, their hail armour, such as sword, pistol, and all other kind of arms, and commanded the baillies to go quarterly through the town that none should be obscured. The town's people gave obedience. Monro caused take up inventory of ilk man's arms, syne commanded them to lay down the same within the earl Marischall's close, or rather house, and ilk man to go home, for he would keep these arms for his own use. The town's people were passing sorry for be-reaving them of their arms by such an unecouth sight, few burrows in Scotland having better, but no remead; they went home with patience perforce, and forced to suffer this abuse for their loyalty to the king.

Now the committee of estates had given order to furnish out through all Scotland a number of regiments of rick-masters, consisting of one hundred horse to ilk regiment, and he who could spend fifty chalders of victuals or free rent of money, to furnish out one rick-master, with sword, pistol, carabine, or lance, and an horse worth eighty pound; and sicklike that there should be furnished out — footmen, with all kind of provision necessary, such as cloaths, sword, musket, hagbutt, spear, pike, all under the pain of plundering. Ilk sherifdom being particularly stented and valued through the kingdom, both Aberdeens were also valued and ordained to furnish out, (by and attour the footmen that was given before,) the furniture of six rick-masters, whereof the poor Oldtown was put to two, whilk they were unable to do, not having so much free rent; but they got about forty chalders of victual and silver rent out of the bishop's kaval, consisting of three cobles on the water of Don, and other rents out of the samen water, to help to make up this furnishing. Here it is to be marked that no Anti-covenanter nor papist was thus vexed nor stented in their land, goods, nor gear, but only the Covenanters, whilk bred suspicion that a greater evil was to befall them.

Upon Saturday the 27th of June, two hundred men with their commanders past out of Aberdeen. They plundered the lairds of Balbithan, Hedderwick, and Lethentie; they brake up the laird of Newton Gordon's yetts and doors of Newton; they spoiled what they could get unput aside; but finding little, they barbarously brake down beds, boards, ambries, and plenishing within the house, syne plundered out of and about these bounds, twelve horses frae the poor tenants. They plundered also the laird of Drum's grounds, himself lying warded in Edinburgh, and took frae his tenants about eighteen horse. They also took an honest man within the same ground, called James Irvine, alias Scalpie; and sicklike Mr. Andrew Logie, minister at Rain;



Mr. John Cheyne, minister at Kintore; Mr. William Leith, minister at Kinkell; Mr. William Strachan, minister at Daviot; and Mr. Samuel Walker, minister at Montkeggy. Thir five ministers were taken as outstanders; they got no liberty to ride upon horses, but were compelled to go on foot with thir soldiers, who together with their prey of horse and goods, returned back to Aberdeen upon Wednesday the first of July: thus was this poor country brought in great misery by thir and the like oppressions, without warrant of law or justice, and expressly contrary to his majesty's former proclamations.

Upon Tuesday the last of June, one of captain Dalzell's soldiers swimming for his pastime, was pitifully drowned at the shore of Aberdeen; and an old man of the town, called James Birnie, webster, above threescore and twelve years of age, hearing of his death, answered, "He wished all the rest to go that gate," was shortly warded for these words; syne rode the mare, to his great hurt and pain. Thus none durst do nor speak any thing against them.

Upon Thursday the 2d of July, the earl Marischall returned back to Aberdeen, from the parliament holden in Edinburgh. He suffered the laird of Haddo to go to Kelly from Dunotter. It is true, he had quitted the company of the Gordons, and cled himself with the earl Marischall, his near cousin, and attended and followed him south and north at his pleasure, otherwise he behoved to suffer plundering and oppression as the rest of his friends did. In the mean time, it was reported he fined him in a thousand merks, and a brave horse worth six hundred merks, and caused him against his will to pay the samen. The laird of Newton Gordon, seeing the world go so, yielded and came in the earl Marischall's will, promising to attend his service, in all fortunes and against all persons, at his command; and because he had no other security, he laid beside the earl his charter chest for his faithful obedience. Nevertheless he kept neither oath nor promise, as he had promised.

The samen second of July, rick-master Forbes charged Old Aberdeen to make preparation for lodging and entertaining one hundred horsemen in meat and drink and in stables, for payment, except thir beds; but the Lord looked down upon the miserable oppressions of this town, unable to sustain themselves frae cold and hunger, and delivered them from this oppression by the goodness of Marischall and Monro, who hearkened to a supplication given in by an old townman, and incontinent caused them all to be had over to New Aberdeen, there to be quartered that samen night.

Friday the 3d of July, there were numbered and heard upon the cawsey of Aberdeen about twenty-eight shots of cannon, in a sea fight about the Cove, betwixt a stranger great war ship and two little Scottish barks, which were chased in among the craigs of the Cove, where the great ship durst not follow them, and

therefore shot to have sunk them. The barks landed a man, who hastily came to Aberdeen, declaring their danger to Monro, craving his aid and assistance, who incontinent directed captain Dalzell with fifty-eight soldiers musketeers. They went over the water by Torrie, and Marischall goes himself to see this sport. The shipman told that he feared the enemy to board their ships by boats, and spoil all their goods; to prevent this danger, he convoys them secretly under the scoug of a rock, to attend if any of their boats would loose, but none came, so she left thir two Scottish ships in the craigs, and goes to sea. Dalzell returns back to Aberdeen, and the two barks wins away; but the Covenanters were somewhat dashed at the noise of their cannons, till the matter was declared.

Marischall, upon the 4th of July rode down to Kelly, where he stayed with his cousin the laird, till Monro took gate to Strathboggie.

Sunday the 5th of July, a fast was solemnly kept till five hours at even in New (but not in Old) Aberdeen, praying for peace; and that samen night about ten hours at even, major Monro begins to march from Aberdeen towards Strathboggie. He had about eight hundred men, whereof there were some town's men, and six putters or short pieces of ordnance, and thus he marches that night to Kintore, where the earl Marischall met him with some company. In Monro's absence, colonel Alexander, master of Forbes, had orders with some few soldiers to keep Aberdeen. Monday, frae Kintore they march to Hart-hill, whose ground they spoilzied pitifully, himself lying ward-ed in Edinburgh. Tuesday, they march to Gairntullie, and did the like spoilzie there. Wednesday, they march thence, and on Thursday the 9th of July, they came to Strathboggie, and by the way as they came, they took horse, nolt, sheep, and kine, driv- them all the way before them, slew and eat at their pleasure. They brake up girnels wherever they came, to furnish them- selves bread; thus coming after this manner to Strathboggie, the first thing they entered to do was hewing down the pleasant planting about Strathboggie, to be huts for the soldiers to sleep in on the night, whereby the haill camp was well provided in huts. The marquis of Huntly being absent himself in England, Marischall sends to his good-dame's sister, the marchioness of Huntly, to render the keys of Strathboggie, herself dwelling in the Bog, whilk she willingly obeyed; then they fell to meddle with the meal girnels, whereof there was store within that place, took in the office-houses, began shortly to bake, brew, and make ready good chear, and when they wanted, took in beef, mutton, hen, capon, and such like, out of Glenfiddich and Auchendown, where the country people had transported their bestial and store, of purpose out of the way from the bounds of Strathboggie. So they wanted not good entertainment for a little pains.

In the mean time, a notable limmar, seeing the world go so,

brake loose, called also John Dugar, an highland rogue, and fell to in his sort of plundering likewise; he stole, reft, and spoilsied out of the sheriffdom of Murray, a great number of country people's horse, nolt, kine, and sheep, and brought them without rescue to the fields of Auchendown, where he was feeding them peaceably. Monro hearing of this, sends out rick-master Forbes, with good horsemen and twenty-four musketeers, to bring back thir goods out of Auchendown frae this robber thereof; but John Dugar stoutly bade them, and defended his prey manfully. Monro then commanded them to charge them on horseback, whilk also they bade, till they shot all their guns, syne fled all away, and Forbes followed no more, but returned back, whereat Monro was angry, seeing he did not follow and take those limmars. He answered, it was not riding-ground. The laird of Auchendown being within the place with about four hundred of his friends and others, who fled to the same as a strong hold for refuge, seeing this pell-mell betwixt John Dugar and thir soldiars, issued out of the place about sixteen horse, and set upon rick-master Forbes; betwixt whom was some bickering without great skaith. Monro with more number of men comes forward to this guise, and Auchendown was forced to flee back to the place with no skaith. Monro pursued not the house, finding it difficult to conquest, but shortly fell to plundering, and out of thir bounds took Dugar's goods and others, above two thousand five hundred horse, nolt, and kine, with a great number of sheep, and brought them with him to Strathboggie, and were sold by the soldiars to the owners back again for a merk the sheep, and a dollar the nolt, but still kept the horse unsold. Shortly thereafter the place of Auchendown was willingly rendered, the men within left the same desolate, and the keys were delivered to Monro. Forbes took for his part of this spoilsie, about sixty head of nolt, and sent them to be fed upon the bounds of Dyce, his good-brother's lands. Monro hearing of this, compelled him to bring back the same nolt frae Dyce to Strathboggie, and to sell them to the owners with the rest, and thereafter worthily cashiered him for his feeble service, in not following Dugar more closely than he did.

In the mean time, Marischall's men, who were plundered by the Gordons, and their company at Strachan, Kintore, and Hallforest, as ye have before, soundly repaid themselves at their own hand with interest, without making of price. So one good turn meets another.

But before Forbes was cashiered, he proved truly stout in one piece, whilk was at Monro's command. He went to Mortlish, took his near cousin Mr. William Forbes, minister there, and brought him per force to Strathboggie, where Monro kept him till he paid a fine of six hundred merks, syne got leave home. Thus Forbes with a party of soldiars did to his near cousin, who was doing no harm, but sitting peaceably in his own house, fear-

ing no trouble. The marquis with his three sons being absent, and out of the country, and having no head nor captain left among his friends, they at last resolve to yield and let this storm pass; so both barons, gentlemen, and others able for service, came in and undertake service to go with Marischall to the Bowl-road; such as were unable were plundered by the purse; and forced to furnish able men; but neither work-horse nor saddle horse was left about Strathboggie, but either the owner was forced to buy his own horses, or let them go for serving of the army; their muskets, swords, pistols, hagbutts, and other arms, pitifully plundered frae them, wherever Monro or his soldiers could get trial of them. The lady marquis sent to Monro fifty golden angels to buy him a horse with, because she had not a worth saddle horse to send to him, as he desired her to do.

Upon Monday the 13th of July, there was great bickering betwixt the castle of Edinburgh and the town. Ten town's soldiers were slain at the entry of the outer gate, and other ten slain within the entry gate, and their dead bodies thrown over the castle wall, to the great terror of the town's people, besides many others sore hurt, occasioned, as was reported, for hanging a man called Baxter, for convoying a packet of letters (sent frae the king) to the captain of the castle; but his death was fully revenged by the castelians.

Ye heard before how certain ministers were summoned to compear before a committee holden at Aberdeen the 7th of July: so this committee was holden, where Mr. John Forbes, parson of Auchterless, was deposed;—Mr. John Ross, minister at Birse; Mr. Richard Maitland, minister at Chapel of Garioch; doctor Sibbald, one of the ministers of Aberdeen; Mr. Andrew Logie, minister at Rain, with some others, were suspended frae preaching till the third day of the next general assembly. Doctor Forbes of Corse and doctor Scroggie were both attending, yet none of them called for at this time, except doctor Scroggie, who with the rest was also suspended.

Wednesday the 8th of July, a committee was held in the King's College of Old Aberdeen by lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the laird of Frendraught, Mr. James Forbes of Haughton, and some others, for ordering the members thereof, but there was nothing done, all being continued to the next general assembly.

About this time, Alexander Lindsay, some time of Vane, and Robert Keith, sheriff-depute of the Mearns, great guiders of the earl Marischall, alledging them to have power from the tables, and constitute commissars for uplifting of the rents of the bishoprick of Aberdeen frae the tenants and vassals thereof, upon Thursday the 9th of July, caused charge the feuers of Old Aberdeen to make payment of their feu-duties for the three last terms, upon their discharge, under the pain of plundering. This un-

couth change was heartily obeyed, and in their names paid to George Middleton.

Right sua order was given out for meddling with the king's own proper rents; they uplifted the earl of Traquair's rents, except five thousand merks allotted to his lady to live upon, not within her own house, but within the king's palace of Dalkeith.

The earl of Findlater had likewise order to uplift the laird of Banff's hail rents, who oversaw not that business; having no good will at Banff.

Mr. Robert Farquhar was made commissary, and Walter Cochran his depute, for uplifting of the tenths and twentieths through the hail sherifffdom of the Mearns, Aberdeen, and Banff, for the which they had betwixt them of monthly fee three hundred merks. Attour, both Aberdeens were charged, under the pain of plundering, to subscribe a bond, whereby ilk man should submit himself, his life, lands, goods, and gear, to the earl Marischall, according to a power granted by the tables to him.

Friday the 10th of July, a Spanish frigate happened to come to our bulwark. Colonel master of Forbes, now in Monro's place, governor of Aberdeen, directs down a commander with some soldiers to try what she was. The captain desires (upon assurance of safe return) to come on shore, whilk he with seven of his men did, but shortly (under trust) they are apprehended and brought per force up to the town, and there demanded what was their errand. They answered, they had a pass frae their master the king of Spain; they believed they might come in safety here, because of peace standing betwixt their master and our king, and if they got any wrong, Aberdeen should pay for it. But the master of Forbes most unjustly and unmercifully caused put thir silly poor strangers within the tolbooth, where they lived in great misery. The frigate seeing no return of their men, quickly takes the sea, leaving them in ward, whereat the colonel was sorry that she should have escaped without searching, which was very hard to do, being a frigate of war. Thir poor strangers were almost hungered to death, they cry out lamentably at the tolbooth windows against this undeserved cruelty, saying, what evil had they done? put them to a trial, and either set them at liberty or take their lives, rather than torment them with hunger; but no hearing at all. The merchants perceiving this horrible cruelty, contributed among themselves to help to sustain them in some better sort. Now happened some soldiers to come to the town, and devised to ly in the tolbooth, whereupon the Spaniards are removed and warded in the correction-house; where they remained miserably, while the 27th of August, whilk day five escaped and fled away to Leith; the other three went with Monro and his regiment to the south. This brave piece of service was acted thus by the colonel, drawing on expences upon the town's merchants, to sustain innocent captives, who had, burden enough with the soldiers that were in the town.

Saturday the 11th of July, captain Middleton came with about eighty soldiers out of the Mearns to New Aberdeen, where they were quartered; his order was to take and apprehend such persons as would not subscribe to the earl Marischall. Alexander Lindsay and Robert Keith, commissaries foresaid, convened about fifty-six burgesses of Aberdeen, who had stood out, and had not subscribed this band: but this people with the rest yielded and gave obedience; others, such as Gilbert Harvie, Walter Morison, and James Innes, refused, who incontinent are taken by captain Middleton, warded in skipper Anderson's house, and watched by a party of soldiers, thinking to transport them south to the tables. They seeing this, yield and subscribe, and so did the haill town that were residing at home unfled and gone away. Middleton thereafter goes back with his company to the Mearns.

Sunday the 12th of July, no preaching nor prayers here in Old Aberdeen (though the people were convened) through Dr. Scroggie's suspension from preaching, nor ever preached at this kirk after this Sunday, because he was simpliciter discharged and deprived.

This samen Sunday, the lady Pitmedden, the goodwife of Iden, Mr. William Lumsden and his wife, Alexander Colliessen, with some others, were excommunicate in both kirks of New Aberdeen, being all papists.

Monday the 13th of July, the earl Marischall came back frae the camp at Strathboggie to Aberdeen, where upon the morn Mr. James Baird, advocate, met him. He was directed by the tables to attend the earl, and to advise him in matters questionable, the earl being but young. Now the haill wives of such burgesses as were lying warded in Edinburgh, fearing more trouble, began to shift their goods, and lay aside their plenishing, fearing all to be taken from them. But Mr. James Baird pacified their humour, caused bring back their goods, and promised they should incur no danger, as indeed they did not.

Upon Tuesday the 14th of July, charge and strait direction was given by tuck of drum through both Aberdeens, that no man should take on with whatsoever colonel or captain, while first Marischall's regiment should be complete, whereby both Aberdeens were heavily vexed.

Wednesday the 15th of July, doctor Scroggie's house was taken in by a party of soldiers out of Marischall's regiment; they are served one night; on the morrow, they got five dollars, syne removed, but himself went over upon the morrow, paid six hundred merks to the earl Marischall for a protection to the next general assembly, and so he lives in peace for a while.

Monro was resolved to go and see the bishop and house of Spynie; he takes three hundred musketeers with him, with putters, and some pieces of ordnance, with all other things necessary, and leaves the rest of his regiment behind him, lying at

Strathboggie, abiding his return. By the way he was met by sundry barons and gentlemen of the country, who convoyed him to the place of Spynie. The bishop of Murray, (beyond the expectation of many) came forth of the place, and spake with Monro, and presently without more ado, upon Thursday the 16th of July, renders the house well furnished with meat and munition: he delivers the keys to Monro, who, with some soldiers, enters the house, and received good entertainment; thereafter Monro meddles with the hail arms within the place, plundered the bishop's riding horse, saddle, and bridle, but did no more injury, nor plundered any other thing within or without the house. He removed all except the bishop and his wife and bairns, and some servants, to remain under the guard of a captain, lieutenant, and twenty-four musketeers, whom he ordered to keep that house, while further orders came frae the tables, and to live upon the rents of the bishoprick, and no wise to trouble the bishop's household, provision, nor to be burdensome to him. The bishop used the commanders most kindly, eating at his own table, and the soldiers were sustained according to direction foresaid.

Monro having gotten this strong strength thus beyond his expectation, with so little pains, whilk was neither for scant nor want given over, he returns back again to Strathboggie triumphantly, beginning where he left, to plunder horse and armour, and to fine every gentleman, yeoman, herd and herdsman that had any money, without respect, whilk obediently without any show of resistance was done, and paid besides their tenths and twentieths which they were liable in payment to the commissaries; as occasion offered. Thus he spoilzied and plundered all, and kept the monies fast, not paying his soldiers, as became him; they living only upon meat and drink without wages, whilk bred a murmuring amongst them; but Monro quickly pacified them by killing the principal murmurers, and one seditious person with his own hand, whereat the rest became afraid.

It is said about this time, by instigation of the earl of Findlater, Harry Gordon of Glassaugh, (being the earl's cousin-german) his ground was spoilzied and plundered, his place of Glassaugh abused, his goods taken out of Aultmore, himself with his two sons narrowly escaped; done by Monro's soldiers by instigation foresaid. Thus at Strathboggie lies Monro while the 10th of August.

Sunday the 19th of July, Mr. David Leech, minister at Logie, a principal outstander and gainstander of the covenant, and who had left his church and gone into England, returns home, becomes penitent, and the foresaid Sunday he preached in Old Aberdeen a penitential sermon, directed by our church, whilk that day was not found satisfactory; therefore he was once again ordained to preach upon the 14th of September another penitential sermon in the kirk of New Aberdeen, whilk he did, and was

found satisfactory, whereupon he was kindly received to his church and charge, whilk he was loath to want, and therefore yielded first.

The foresaid Sunday, there came to the road of Aberdeen a Scottish ship, well loaded with powder, ball, musket, cartow, and other armour, brought frae Holland, intending for Leith, but she espying a great ship lying at anchor, and taking her to be one of the king's ships waiting upon her, she took no anchor, but swiftly sailed about the nook to Montrose, disloadened her burden, whilk the estates, as was reported, would not suffer to be brought about by sea, but by land only, for fear of danger, because Edinburgh stood in great need of such provision.

A little before this time, viz. upon Tuesday the 14th of July, Alexander Gordon of Prismoir was taken by a party of Marischall's soldiers out of his own house in Old Aberdeen, and had to the town in quiet manner, where Marischall fined him in two thousand merks; but upon condition that he should go with him to the Bowl-road he should be free, and so he came back to his own house, whereat the Oldtown was well content. He rode south with Marischall once upon his own expences, but never more, so wan free of fine and going to the Bowl-road.

Monday the 20th of July, Marischall came to the Oldtown, and commanded the baillies to take out of their town twenty soldiers, and deliver them to one of his officers, called Sir John Douglas, to help to make up his regiment, with eight score pounds in money for their forty days of loan; whilk for plain fear they were forced to do, being poor silly bodies. Then the Oldtown is commanded to furnish them arms; they said their arms were plundered frae them by the master of Forbes and Craigievar, so they had none to furnish; then it was speared with what arms they served the lord Aboyn, they said with the king's arms furnished by the laird of Cluny, who had received them back again; whereupon letters were direct, commanding Cluny to return them back to the Oldtown soldiers, but Cluny was not at home. Auchterfowl made answer, these arms were long ago had to Auchindown, but for eschewing of further trial he sent in six muskets; there were seven taken out of the college, belonging to the marquis of Huntly, and other seven furnished by commissary Farquhar, at Marischall's command. Thus were the Oldtown soldiers armed, and the town wan free. Thus they oppress Old Aberdeen, by and attour the furnishing of other five soldiers, and a rick-master, as ye heard before.

Wednesday the 22d of July, the burghesses of New Aberdeen, who had subscribed Marischall's submissive band, were cruelly fined by himself in their goods, and ilk man compelled to make payment that samen day in real money of their fines to Marischall himself, being present. Thus is that noble burgh daily more and more vexed by slight and by might; but surely God



delivered Old Aberdeen free this scourge, and none fined in a groat upon this submissive band.

Ye heard before, how the Goodman of Harthill was warded in New Aberdeen. Now looking out at the tolbooth windows, he railed out against some honest men, walking silent the tolbooth, whereupon they fettered him fast, that he should not come near the window; and fastened his foot in a chain, giving him liberty to walk up and down, but not near the tolbooth windows; besides he was tormented with hunger, for he got not his fill of food, which bred in him a sort of madness, without regard to his place or person. Now somewhat sickly, he is straitly kept for a little offence.

Mr. Matthew Lumsden, commissioner for Aberdeen to the convention of burrows holden at Irvine, returned home, bringing with him a packet to the earl Marischall, directed from the tables, desiring him not to use the town of Aberdeen who had subscribed the band rigorously, such as were friends to the good cause, but to use such as were known enemies to the good cause, at his liking. After the receipt of thir letters, Marischall desired the town to make out a list of six persons, the best men in the town for knowledge, and out of this six he should choose two, who should behold and see his proceedings, and by whose advice he should fine or absolve. Out of thir six he drew out Mr. Robert Farquhar and John Leslie, to sit and give their advice in thir affairs, whereby the inhabitants fand more favour.

Thursday the 23d. of July, the laird of Elsick and Andrew Hampton, servitor to Marischall, with lieutenant Crowner Middleton, were by Marischall directed to go to the lands and baronies of Drum and Pitfoddels, and there fence and hold courts upon their tenants, and decern them to pay their bygone duties to Marischall, and take new tacks of him as *dominus fundi*, and withal to prepare men for the Bowl-road. Thir poor tenants wanting their masters, Drum being lying in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and Pitfoddels fled out of the country, as an Anticovenantanter, know not what to do, nor whom to obey, yet forced to obey Marischall.

Saturday the 25th of July, captain Kaird with about eighty soldiers, footmen of colonel Alexander master of Forbes' regiment, were quartered here in Old Aberdeen, to live upon the tenths and twentieths within the colonel's division appointed to him by the tables, and not to have free quarters within the town. Ilk soldier had weekly given in allowance to him three pecks of meal, at four shillings per peck, to sustain him. The captain and other officers had their sustentation also, without any burden to the town. This was the first company that was quartered in Old Aberdeen, and had no great harm by them, except in bed rooms, which was well furnished to the captain and other officers, but the soldiers lay in their plaids. This captain's true name

was Forbes, but nicknamed Kaird, because when he was a boy he served a kaird. He was a pretty soldier; he caused big up a trein mare at the cross for punishing trespassing soldiers, according to the discipline of war.

General Felt Marischal Lesly, by advice of our Scottish estates, resolves to raise an army, and go speak with the king himself in England, since they could get no pleasant answer to their daily petitions.

Monday the 27th of July, the earl Marischall with about three hundred horse came to Aberdeen. Colonel Alexander master of Forbes, came likewise in with his regiment; such of Monro's soldiers as were in the town were sent to Strathboggie to himself, that colonel Forbes' soldiers might get the better quartering, because the town was unable to quarter them all.

Tuesday the 28th of July, the general assembly sat down in the Grayfriar kirk of Aberdeen, well plenished with desks and seats by the town, upon their great expences, before their incoming. The earls Marischall and Findlater, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, with sundry barons and gentry, as ruling elders, were there; the kirk is well guarded with partisans, and the doors well kept and attended.

Mr. Andrew Ramsay, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was chosen moderator. There were sundry matters agitated, and then were called Dr. Forbes of Corse, Dr. Scroggie, minister at Old Aberdeen, Dr. Sibbald, minister at New Aberdeen, Mr. Robert Ogilvie, sub-principal of the King's College of Old Aberdeen, Mr. Alexander Middleton, Mr. Alexander Garden, and Mr. Alexander Scroggie, the four regents, (the principal, Doctor Lesly being already deposed, was neither called nor summoned,) Mr. John Gregory, minister at Drumoak, Mr. Andrew Logie, minister at Rain, Mr. John Ross, minister at Birse, Mr. John Guthrie, parson of Duffus in Murray, Mr. Richard Maitland, minister at Abercharder, and Mr. Alexander Strachan, minister at Chapel of Garioch, were, with diverse others of the ministry, summoned to compare before this general assembly. They are referred to a committee to be holden in Marischall's house, upon the last of July instant, called the committee of the general assembly; and that day there convened the earls of Marischall and Findlater, the lord Fraser and master of Forbes, and the foresaid Mr. Andrew Ramsay, moderator, (to whom also came upon the morn the earl of Seaforth,) members of this committee; and being set within the earl Marischall's house, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, moderator, caused call the forenamed persons; and first he began at Dr. Forbes of Corse, and after some queries and answers, no more process past against him at this time, but was continued upon good hopes of his incoming; but he could be no wise moved to subscribe the covenant, whereupon he was also deposed from the place of professor.

Next, Dr. Scroggie is accused for not subscribing the covenant;

besides, for concealing adulteries and some fornications within his parish, abstracting of the beadmen's rents in Old Aberdeen, with some other particulars, maliciously given up against him; and whereupon Mr. Thomas Sandilands, commissar, (his great enemy) Mr. Thomas Lesly and Thomas Mercer, were brought in as witnesses. Dr. Scroggie's answer to ilk article was written, but upon the 1st day of August by this committee was he deposed, and simpliciter deprived, and preached no more at Old Aberdeen.

Dr. Sibbald was next accused for not subscribing the covenant, and for preaching of erroneous doctrine and Arminianism. His papers were brought by some musketeers, at command of the committee, out of his own house, partly written by himself, and partly by umquhile William Forbes, bishop of Edinburgh, which were partly found orthodox, partly otherwise.

There was also a minister called Rutherford, who happened to be warded in Aberdeen at king James' command; he hearing Dr. Sibbald at that time preach, stood up and accused him of Arminianism; but he defended himself. At last he was deposed and fled his country with a grievous heart, and passed to England.

Next, Mr. John Gregory, minister at Drumoak (by and attour his being fined in one thousand merks, as ye have before) is deposed; Mr. Andrew Logie also deposed, with doctor Leslie, principal, and Mr. Alexander Scroggie, younger, regent; Mr. John Ross, minister at Birse, comes in and offers to subscribe the covenant, with heart and hand; he is received and enjoined to preach so many penitential sermons, thereafter to be received at his own kirk again. Mr. John Guthrie, Mr. Richard Maitland, Mr. Alexander Strachan, and some others, upon hope of yielding, are continued. This committee of the general assembly then dissolved.

At this assembly, Dr. Barron's wife was ordered to be brought by a party of musketeers out of his own house in Strathisla, with her husband's papers, whilk being seen by the assembly, were not found sound. There was also brought there a missive letter directed by the bishop of Canterbury to the said umquhile Dr. Barron, with two other missives directed to him and umquhile Mr. Alexander Ross, by the bishop of Ross, all tending to the maintenance of Arminianism, promising therefore reward, and withal willing them to cause Raban imprint in the Book of Common Prayer some passages of Arminianism, whilk letters and papers they carried with them, and suffered the gentlewoman to go.

Monday the 3d of August, Mr. Andrew Cant, by a voice of the general assembly, is ordained to be translated from Newbottle to Aberdeen, to serve at the kirk thereof; but he went first preaching to general Leslie's camp at Newcastle.

Wednesday the 5th of August, the earl of Seaforth, the master of Forbes, Mr. John Adamson, principal of the college of Edin-

burgh, William Reid, burgess there, Dr. Guild, doctor of the King's College of Old Aberdeen, with some other barons and gentlemen, held a committee at the said King's College, where Mr. James Sandilands (before discharged from being canonist) is now made civilist. Loath to want all, therefore, they came all riding up the gate to St. Machar's kirk, ordained our blessed Lord Jesus Christ his arms to be cut out of the fore front of the pulpit thereof, and to take down the portraiture of the blessed Virgin Mary and our Saviour in her arms, that had stood since the up-putting thereof, in curious work, under the ceiling at the west end of the pend whereon the great steeple stands, unmoved till now; and gave order to colonel master of Forbes to see this done, whilk with all diligence he obeyed; and besides, where there were any crucifixes set in glass windows, those he caused pull out in honest men's houses. He caused a mason strike out Christ's arms in hewn work, on each end of bishop Gavin Dunbar's tomb, and sicklike chisel out the name of Jesus, drawn cypher ways, out of the timber wall on the fore side of Machar's isle, anent the consistory door; the crucifix on the Oldtown cross was thrown down; the crucifix on the Newtown closed up, being loath to break the stone; the crucifix on the west end of St. Nicholas church in New Aberdeen thrown down, whilk was never touched before. But this diligent master of Forbes kept not place long time thereafter, but was shortly cashiered; and, after diverse fortunes, at last he with his lady went to Holland.

Now there was diverse and sundry acts made at the general assembly, which is referred to their own book. James Murray, servitor to Mr. Archibald Johnston, was substitute clerk to this general assembly. Among the rest of their acts it was ordained, that prayers should be made at all parish churches within Scotland for the good and happy success of the army, then raising to go into England to speak with the king.

They indicted a new general assembly to be holden at St. Andrew's, the third Tuesday of July next, 1641; thereafter dissolved, and ilk ane went a sundry gate, who had many blessings following them for eating and destroying of the poor labourers' corns about the town, with their ill-attended horses, whereof they had little regard.

Sunday the 9th of August, doctor Guild preached before and after noon in Old Aberdeen. Mr. Robert Ogilvie, sub-principal, publickly sitting in Alexander Gordon of Prasmuir's desk, as he was ordained by the presbytery, subscribed the covenant after forenoon's sermon. Prayer was made by doctor Guild for the king, and also for good success to the army going to the king; albeit at his first subscribing of the covenant it was with limitation, and though he wrote a pamphlet against rising in arms.

Monday the 10th of August, seven score burgesses, craftsmen and apprentices, were pressed and taken per force, to help to fill up Marischall's regiment, to go to general Lesly. The honest

men of the town, wondering at this manifold oppression, fled; took fisher boats and went to the sea, lurking about the craigs of Downy till the storm past.

The samen day, Monro lifts his camp frae Strathboggie, sends back the hail keys to the lady marchioness, without doing any offence or deed of wrong to that stately palace; but they among the rest took mickle bleached cloath, in whole webs, bleaching up and down Strathboggie ground, whereof there uses there yearly to be plenty, and would hang them over the walls of the place to dry, to the great hurt of the poor country people. Monro had lyen there with his army frae the 9th of July to this 10th of August, when they lifted their camp. They set all their lodges on fire, they toomed out what was left unspent within the girnells, they carried with them some men, money, horse, and arms, destroyed the bestial, and left nothing behind them that might be carried. They left that country almost manless, moneyless, horseless, and armless, so pitifully was the same borne down and subdued. The people sware and subscribed the covenant most obediently; and now Monro leaves them thus pitifully oppressed, and forward marches he to Forglen, one of the laird of Banff's houses, and to Muireisk, his good-son's house, (themselves being both fled into England) plaguing and plundering the country people belonging to them most cruelly, and without any compassion. Syne comes directly to the burrow of Banff, and encamps upon a piece of plain ground called the Dowhaugh. The soldiers fell quickly too to cutting and hewing down the pleasant planting and fruitful young trees, bravely growing within the laird of Banff's orchards and gardens, (pitiful to see!) and made up huts to themselves to lie all night, and defend them frae storms of rain; they violently brake up the gates of his stately house of Banff, and went through the hail houses, rooms, and chambers, belonging thereto; broke up the victual girnells, (whereof there were store,) for their food, and spoilzied his ground and his hail friends of their hail goods, and gear, and cattle, that by any means they could get; by and attour whereof the earl of Findlater, his unnatural friend, by command of the committee, meddled with, and by force took up his hail rents and living out of the tenants' hands, for maintenance of the good cause.

Tuesday the 11th of August, colonel Alexander master of Forbes directed out a party of musketeers from Aberdeen to the barony of Balgowny, and parishes of New Machar and Old Machar, and other land within his division, appointed to him by the tables; commanding the heritors, under pain of plundering, to pay to him the tenth penny of their free rent, whilk for fear they obeyed and paid. He commanded also to press and take up the fourth man, per force, of both poor and rich, and ilk heritor to furnish his prest men with forty days' loan, and arms conform, to the effect this colonel's regiment might be effectually made up; and those who disobeyed, the soldiers sat down in their houses, and lived on their goods.

Word came to Aberdeen the foresaid Tuesday, that the earl of Nithsdale, standing to the king's opinion, with crownér Stuart and some brave soldiers, manfully defended two strong holds, Lochmaben and Carlarverock, against the fearful assaults of one captain Cochran, accompanied with about seven hundred soldiers, and slew sundry of the assailants.

Friday the 14th of August, the earl Marischall came into Aberdeen, collecting of his own men, who came out of Buchan, Mar, and Meams, willingly, pressing of others, and with the rest one hundred and forty out of New Aberdeen, and such others as he could get within his division. The laird of Haddo came in to him; the laird of Newton bade back, albeit his charter chest was in Marischall's custody for his loyalty; Alexander Gordon of Prasmoir made himself ready, well horsed, to go, rather than pay his fine; and with the rest goes forward; so upon Monday the 17th of August, he takes journey out of Aberdeen towards the Bowl-road, leaving behind him colonel Alexander master of Forbes to be governor in Aberdeen. He rides to Inglismadie, takes up a master of his men, and had but about eight hundred, whereas his regiment consisted of two thousand men; he was wroth at such as had broken promise, and hastily rides to Edinburgh to complain of thir delinquents; charging his brother-german, captain Robert Keith, to make up with the one hundred and forty men taken out of New Aberdeen before, and one hundred and fifty soldiers, with forty days' loan; commanding the burrow also not to receive or entertain any of the runaway soldiers, under the pain of plundering, whilk was duly obeyed; and he ordained this captain to follow him with his regiment, and such others as he could get, who were well furnished with the town of Aberdeen's brave arms; and forward goes he to the earl, where his men mustered about Musselburgh were eight hundred footmen, and directed them with his brother to go to general Lesly, and himself returned back to Aberdeen, making great search for more soldiers. Alexander Gordon returned back with him frae Edinburgh to Dunotter, where he left him, syne had liberty to come to his own house in Old Aberdeen; he returned not back to Marischall's service, but bade still at home, without fining or other perturbation.

Colonel master of Forbes, now governour of Aberdeen in Marischall's absence, took up his dwelling in William Scot's house, anent the mercat cross, (himself being out of the kingdom,) and put his wife and bairns to the door, how soon he entered the house, whilk was upon the 18th of August. He began where Marischall left off, to oppress and plunder the hail country within his division, and daily sent out parties of musketeers to honest men's houses in Machar's parish, for the fourth man, arms, and forty days' loan, to make up his regiment, otherwise to dwell upon them, and bring in the masters themselves; whilk per force they behoved to obey, and pay over again. Marischall

and he sorted not well upon their divisions; whereupon he convened the lord Fraser and about one hundred gentlemen of his own kin, who upon their own charges conveyed this colonel to the tables, to complain upon Marischall, who had neither left man nor money in his division, whom Marischall soon followed.

Saturday the 15th of August, a proclamation was made at the cross of Aberdeen, charging all manner of men within burrow or land within the sheriffdom, to pay the tenth penny of their rents, victual rent, silver rent, or annual rent. 2dly, To deliver their silver work, upon security for repayment of the price, according to the weight thereof. 3dly, To lend out their monies upon sufficient security of the payment, with the annual rent. 4thly, To take order with the runaway soldiers.

This proclamation, doubtless, was made at the crosses of the haill burrows of Scotland, whereunto was given obedience, except the silver work that was not craved in this town, and they had little money left them to lend out on security.

Tuesday the 18th of August, doctor William Guild, and one Mr. Robert Baillie, were put on leet, which should be chosen principal of the King's College of Old Aberdeen, now vacant by deposition of Dr. William Lesly, principal. The list seemed strange, and against the foundation, where any person not learned within the College, should be preferred before persons educated and brought up therein, and of no less gifts and learning than these strangers, whereof some then within the College were regents. However they go on. Dr. James Sandilands, commissary of Aberdeen, was chancellor of the said university, in absence of the bishop of Aberdeen, and was present in the College hall; the regents, grammarians, and remanent founded members were there; Mr. Thomas Sandilands, younger, commissary, in name of the earl of Lothian; Mr. William Davidson, sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, in name of the earl of Angus; Mr. James Baird, advocate, in name of the earl of Mar; and Mr. Patrick Chalmers, sheriff-clerk, in the name of the earl of Murray, were there; whilk four noblemen, being the four nearest countries about this College, had, by virtue of the foundation, voice and place in the election of ane principal, (*sede vacante* by decease or deprivation). Well, they convened altogether; Patrick Rankine, servitor to the said Mr. James Baird, is the court's clerk; they go on, where this Dr. Guild is chosen principal of this university, *ad vitam aut culpam*, and the other rejected; but what warrant these four had, who compeared for the noblemen, either by procuratory or otherwise, to make this election, I know not; but order apparently was given by the tables to this effect. Now this Dr. Guild who first subscribed the covenant with limitation, prays for the good success of the army, whereas he wrote against raising of arms; thereafter, Dr. Lesly rendered up the haill keys of the College library, and all which he had, to Dr. Guild, where-with he shortly possessed himself. Dr. Lesly was allowed to

keep a chamber to himself within the College, to ly in and study; but bought his meat in through the Oldtown, where he pleased, with great modesty, resolving with patience to abide the good will of God without murmuring or appearance of discontent, where or in whatsoever society he happened to be.

Mr. Patrick Gordon was brought out of the laird of Haddo's place, being servant to him, and chosen regent, in the deposed Mr. Alexander Scroggie's place; and so this meeting dissolved.

The said 18th of August, major Monre, with some few company, rides frae Banff towards Murray, (leaving his regiment behind him) for giving order there, and to Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and Strathnaver, to raise the fourth man, with forty days' loan, to go for the Dunse to general Lesly. Many barons and gentlemen met him, and honoured him by the way; he hastily returned again to the camp, and by the way broke up the iron gate of Inchdrewer, (a place where Banff used most commonly to dwell in, and keep) and forcibly took it off, syne sold it for five merks to a countryman, whilk an hundred pound had not put up. They brake up doors and windows, entered the house, and defaced all, and left nothing within it whilk they might carry with them, without authority or law.

General Lesly is now at Dunse with about twenty thousand brave soldiers, horse and foot; he encamped at Chelsea wood, hard beside Dunse; they had good provision of all things necessary, and had ten cannons of battery, and eighty field-pieces. Edinburgh zealously furnished them nine thousand ells of canvas and harden to be tents and pavillions; they delivered upon their great oath, all the silver work within their whole town, without respect of persons, on security of repayment in current money according to the weight, whilk silver work was hastily coined in good money to pay the soldiers. There were in this army many brave captains and commanders, of purpose sent for by the Covenanters to France, Germany, Flanders, and Holland, and store of arms, powder and ball, daily furnished and brought from Holland; and thus lies he still at Chelsea wood, in good order, drawn on by the English commoners and others, projectors of our troubles and common calamities within that and our own country; still privately urging this general to come forward with all diligence.

The king, informed of thir troubles and proceedings, raises an army also of about sixteen thousand foot and four thousand horse, minding by himself in person to come to the field; and by open proclamation at the haill parish churches of England and mercat crosses, declared this our army to be traitors; commanding also and straitly charging all Englishmen his good subjects, in no wise to receipt, supply, or support these Scots, in meat, drink, or other necessities, under the pain of high treason, intending also to be at Newcastle, where the king's magazines lay, before general Lesly should be there; but all for nought;



the king is disappointed. Well, this army consisting of about twenty thousand brave captains, cavaliers, and soldiers, by and attour ten thousand baggage men, is now at the lifting; but before the camp was raised they set forth a paper, intituled, "*The intentions of the army of Scotland declared to their brethren of England by the Commissioners of the late Parliament, and by the General, Noblemen, and Barons, and other Officers of the Army.*"

Ireland goes to arms, sets forth a remonstrance, avowing the Roman Catholic religion, in despite of us and our proceedings, and therewith fell to against our English and Scottish inhabitants, contrary to their profession, burnt their biggings, corns, and all that they had, murdered and slew man and wife and child without remorse; banished ministers, Scots and English, and with an uplifted hand vowed, protested, and declared their own rebellion and popish religion, against our covenant and proceedings; yea to the admiration of many, saying, as our covenant expelled prelates and papists, so they would expel both protestants and puritans.

Now, thir intentions being printed and set forth, as said is, there followed another imprinted piece upon the back thereof, called, "*Information frae the Scottish nation to all the true English, concerning the present expedition.*"

Upon Tuesday the 18th of August, or thereby, general Lealy raised his army frae Chelsea wood, beside Dunse, and passed over the Tweed that samen day.

Thursday the 20th of August, a committee was holden at Aberdeen, by colonel Alexander master of Forbes; the lord Fraser, the lairds of Monymusk, Towie, and Balnagask, and some others, were present.

Sunday the 23d of August, a fast was kept in Old Aberdeen, according to the direction of the last general assembly, for the good cause of our army, and peace and quietness of the country, which was also kept on Thursday thereafter, with abstinence from all handicraft. This two fast days were universally kept through all the parish churches of Scotland.

About this time, captain John Forbes, alias Kaird, removed his soldiers out of Old Aberdeen to New Aberdeen, where they were quartered. They remained in Old Aberdeen frae the 25th of July to the 21st of August, without great burden to the citizens.

Our Scots merchants' goods and ships were daily taken by the king's ships, coming or going, and had to Berwick, Newcastle, or Holy Island; their goods unloaded, inventory taken of them, and all put up in safety, doubtless for our weal, by advice of our English friends, lest they might have been preyed upon as traitors' goods; but the ships were still kept from the sea, to our great grief, by direction of the king; but were all restored back again afterwards.

About this time, the castle of Edinburgh, scarce of fresh meat, shot muskets at the town, and people shearing their harvest, where some were slain, and shot some cannon at the town, but they feared not, nor would suffer any provision to be had to the castle; at last it was given over.

Upon Friday the 4th of September, after Monro's soldiers had spoiled, plundered, destroyed, and carried away every thing almost belonging to the laird of Banff, his men and tenants, Monro lifted his camp frae Banff, and sent in the bishop of Murray to New Aberdeen before him, with his two sons, under a convoy, where he stayed, abiding his incoming.

Then Monro and his soldiers, now amounting to one thousand men, made up by the help of the earls of Seaforth, Murray, Ross, and Sutherland, marched that night to Turriff; Saturday, they marched therefrae to Inverurie and Kintore; Sunday, they marched therefrae to Aberdeen; and by the way at Bucksburn they had a sermon taught by their own minister. Monro directed his soldiers to be quartered in the town where they were quartered before. The town's people cry out that their rooms were already taken up by the master of Forbes' men; Monro answered, he had sent word to provide for him before his coming, and therefore he would be served. No remead; it behoved to be done; and so they were quartered, to the great grief of the honest town's people, where they stayed while the 5th of September.

Sunday the 6th of September, there was no preaching in Old Aberdeen, but prayers; after prayer, John Kilgour stood up, charging the heritors of St. Machar and Old Aberdeen to go over the morrow to the master of Forbes, and give him up their rentals truly; ilk man for omitting one boll to pay ten bolls, and for one pound ten pounds; besides their oaths being taken. Whereupon the Oldtown heritors drew up in write their rentals about the town, extending to about eleven chalders of victual, whereof one chalder was deduced for payment of their feu-duties, and the tenth part of the rest was a chalder, whilk *ipse corpora*, was presently paid to Mr. Robert Farquhar, commissary, appointed for uplifting the tenths for maintainance of Marischall's and the master of Forbes' regiments, according to their divisions ordered by committee. The rental was given up by virtue of ilk heritor's oath, subscribed by the Oldtown baillies, and had over by Mr. Thomas Gordon their commissioner, to the master of Forbes' lodging, and produced before Patrick Lesly, provost of Aberdeen, Mr. Thomas Sandilands, commissary, and some other honest men, appointed for receiving of the rents of the tenth parts. There fell out some questions betwixt Marischall and the master of Forbes anent the uplifting of thir tenths;—the one alledging that Marischall plucked up all, both men and money, within his division, whereby he was unable to furnish out a regiment according to his order, having warrant from the

committee to take up the tenths of twenty-five parishes, and men also, to make up his regiment, whereof Marischall defrauded him, and whereat the master of Forbes and his friends took exception, and shortly rode south to the tables, with one hundred brave gentlemen of his friends, who accompanied him upon their own charges, to complain upon Marischall, who also followed quick after.

Monday the 7th of September, major Monro, with his captains and haill other officers, were made burghers of Aberdeen; and got the banquet (no doubt with good will for his good service). Ilk man got a burgess-act, whilk they put up in their bonnets.

Ye may read before, how general Lesly raised his army frae Chelsea wood. The king had his train bands and other soldiers, about sixteen thousand men of foot, and four thousand of horse, who did little good. Forward goes Lesly with little trouble, being a matter plotted betwixt him and the English, as may appear, whose progress had the success following, taken frae a printed paper, in thir words :—

*“ Sure news from Newcastle, and frae the Scottish army, the 27th of August, 1640.”*

“ Upon Thursday the 27th of August, at night, our army arrived within a mile of Newcastle, and expecting to have past there-through were disappointed, in respect of the English garrison that was therein, which general Lesly perceiving, upon Friday morning betimes marched forward to Newburn Ford, and resolved to pass there in spite of all opposition, where being advanced, and finding the pass fortified with strong trenches and breast works, and six pieces of cannon, did find it somewhat hard, being guarded with three thousand horse or thereby, and twelve hundred foot; therefore wisely he commanded his cannon to be secretly conveyed alongst a low way, to be placed upon the face of a hill near to that place, where having a perfect view of the English trenches and quarters, he did play so hard upon them, that they were forced to throw away their arms, disband in confusion, and blow up their own powder; which rout the English cavalry perceiving, they resolved to make good the pass, and recover the cannon and arms which the infantry had left; which thing our general perceiving, commanded his own colonel Lealy with the five troops, seconded by colonel Ramsay, together with that of sir Thomas Hope, his own life-guard, amounting to fifteen hundred, to go forth, who did so resolutely assault them, that they were forced to retire, notwithstanding of their number being about two thousand five hundred, and quality of their horse and arms far beyond ours; after which retreat they resolved yet once again to have recovered what their foot had lost, but our troops redoubling their resolutions and courage, did make good not only their first attempt, but also put sir John Suckling back with his troops of horse, being the prime of all England, to the retreat; took some of his horses, whereof one (being most excellent) was presented to our general by sir Thomas Hope, captain of the life-guard; the rest were left to the takers, to encourage every brave gentleman to adventure.

There were lost in this conflict, (which lasted from Friday at twelve o'clock till six at night,) about eighty English, and forty taken, three whereof being commanders, the commissary general, Sir John Digby, and others. Of ours there were only three lost, Sir Patrick M'Gie's son, Thomas Darling, a writer in Edinburgh, and one called Baxter, in Fife, and some others hurt, but not deadly. Thereafter, the general past the ford and encamped at Reyton-field, where, after thanks given to God for their safe passage, delivery, and so good a beginning, they stood to their arms all that night, (my lord Carnegie's regiment being left on the other side to guard the baggage). The general resolved in person to cognosce the entry to Newcastle on the south side; and taking for his convoy three horse troops, with four hundred foot, and commanders, did advance thereto, and upon Saturday thereafter had the town rendered to him, where now they are by the favour of God, having power of all the coal and salt, which from thence doth furnish all England."

"From the Border, the 29th of August, 1640:—

"The garrison of Berwick perceiving that our army were gone towards Newcastle, after they were well advanced, (as they were assured) they resolved to break upon our magazine of victuals, being at Coldstream, and either to have taken or burnt up the samen; but being preserved by the resolution and diligence of my lord Haddington, with the Humes' of the Merse, and a regiment under the command of lieutenant colonel Kinmouth, who were left to attend and guard the samen, they were disappointed of their intention, put back to their garrison, with the loss of some of them, and taking others prisoners, since which time they kept themselves quiet."

"From Dumbarton, the 27th of August, 1640:—

"Upon Monday the 24th of August, the earl of Argyll came to the castle of Dumbarton, and having convened the committee of war in that shire, did shew to them his direction from the estates, and his undertaking accordingly, for taking the castle: whereupon the governor of the castle hearing hereof, and not being able much longer to hold out, sent first for a parly for a certain space, which the earl denying, thereafter upon some articles agreed upon, he had the castle rendered unto him, where he found a great number of excellent brazen pieces, and twelve thousand weight of powder, with much other warlike preparations. The garrison was suffered safely to come out and ship at the Ness in West Lothian for England." At the end of this paper was also written, "Surgente Deo, disperguntur Inimici ejus."

New may be seen with what policy both Newcastle and this strong strength of Dumbarton is taken in without shot of musket or stroke of sword, to the marvel of many who knew not the secrets of their proceeding. There is found in Newcastle the king's magazine appointed for sustaining of the garrison within the town, wherein there was found abundance of bread, wine, beer, and all sorts of victuals and good provision, upon which the army made good chear during their abode. Dumbarton was thought to be given over for famine, for the king was so slight-

ed, that he was not able to furnish that impregnable strength with victuals, whilk if he had done, it would have been invincible, but now being rendered, the same is presently furnished with men, meat, and all necessary provision to stand at the country's (but not at the king's) opinion.

Newcastle thus taken in, the general causes quarter his army partly within the town, partly at Morpeth, and other parts round about, within twelve miles distance of the camp, where, to their incredible joy, they lived both on burrow and land at their pleasure, ay and so long as they remained in that bounds; but this mirth was suddenly mixed with melancholy, for, upon Sunday the 30th of August, the earl of Haddington, with about eighty persons of knights, barons, and gentlemen, within the place of Dunglass in the Merse, pertaining heritably to the lord Hume, was suddenly blown up in the air by a sudden fire, occasioned thus: Haddington with his friends and followers, rejoicing how they defended the army's magazine frae the English garrison of Berwick, came altogether to Dunglass, having no fear of evil, where they were all suddenly blown up with the roof of the house in the air, by powder, whereof there was abundance in this place, and never bone nor lyre seen of them again, nor ever trial got how this stately house was so blown up, to the destruction of this nobleman, both worthy and valourous, and his dear friends. This grievous accident was bewailed of many, but chiefly of his dear lady, the lady Jean Gordon, who lost her husband, as she did her brother, both after one manner, and by sudden fire. It is said, when the king heard of this fire, he answered, he had lost a good subject, but the Lord God of Hosts was fighting for him.

Tuesday the 8th of September, captain Forbes, alias Kaird, came from Bartholomew Fair with about eighty soldiers, collected of poor miserable creatures, herds and hiremen, under colonel master of Forbes' regiment, where they were quartered; himself with his wife takes in Mr. Thomas Lesly's house, where night and day by his drinking, boasting, and brawling, Mr. Thomas with his wife and bairns were sore vexed; the Oldtown people were compelled to give them free quarters, or to suffer plundering, and so they sustained his soldiers while the 14th of September freely without any payment. Thereafter they were transported to New Aberdeen.

The foressaid Tuesday, ilk minister within the sheriffdom of Aberdeen came with the commissioner of his parish to the town, and there, in presence of Patrick Lesly, provost, and Thomas Sandilands, younger commissary, and some others present, they subscribed rolls of the tenths given up by the oath of every subscriber, as they who had commission to receive and see the upgiving of the samen; but commissary Farquhar took up the payment. Ilk minister also gave up a roll of the haill male communicants within his parish, whereby it might be understood how many

fighting men might be levied out of each parish to the good cause.

Wednesday the 9th of September, major Monro commanded strictly the town of Aberdeen to furnish his soldiers with cloathing, shirts, and shoes, whilk was obediently done; next to furnish presently to him ten thousand merks for convoying his soldiers south, and to receive payment back from commissary Farquhar, out of the tenths within the sherifffdom of Aberdeen, whilk he and Walter Cochran became bound to do, whilk thereupon was provided by stenting of the town, and whereof I hope they got payment frae the said commissary, and his said depute Cochran; and thirdly, the town to furnish carriage horses for transporting of his cannon, bag and baggage, to Stonehaven. He himself came over to the Oldtown, took the hail horses there, and other horses going back from the town with their toom criels, from carrying of peats. Monro having gotten his hail demands, leaves behind him in the burrow some of the master of Forbes' bands quartered within the town, sometimes free, sometimes for payment of a little, so that Aberdeen was still holden under the yoke of slavery and servitude; and thus on Saturday the 12th of September he began his march frae Aberdeen upon free quarters, whilk he duly repaid, as ye may see hereafter. He takes the three Spaniards with him, and his own men out of Drum, (whilk Marischall caused man with his men, with whom the lady was not so well contented as before, whereupon she left Drum, and dwelt in Cromar, while she saw about her, they still living upon the laird's rents) had them to Leith, where their other fellows were also taken, but what came of them I cannot tell. Now Monro marches the first night to Stonehaven, where he sends back all the Oldtown and Newtown carriage horses, and furnishes others out of the Mearns, and sua forth to Dundee, where he also commanded them to give him ten thousand merks, whilk for fear of his residence they were forced to pay; and so he past to Edinburgh, where his army was now one thousand men good, of infantry, with some horsemen; he brought also with him the bishop of Murray up the street, and presented him to the estates, who incontinent caused ward him in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he remained with a heavy heart. His wife all this while remained in Spynie, and never went to see her husband in ward, nor out of it.

Tuesday the 15th of September, parties were directed out by the master of Forbes to go within his division, and plunder such as had not payed their tenths, and their fourth man, whereby the country people in this sherifffdom were daily grievously oppressed with thir parties of soldiers, and were forced to obey, otherwise they would sit down in honest men's houses, and live upon their means, whether they would or not.

General Ruthven, captain of the castle of Edinburgh, seeing no appearance of help frae the king, as was often promised, and

finding victuals grow scant, having neither water, wine, beer, nor ale, that could last long, resolved to seek a parly by drum. The earl of Argyll came up to the castle upon the tuck of the drum, and told him that Dumharton was given over by crowner Henderson, captain thereof; he could hardly believe the samen, till he saw the captain, who was his own good-brother. At last, after good advisement, he rendered the castle, upon condition that he and his soldiers should go out honourably, carrying colours, burning matches, tuck of drum, with bag and baggage, and to march frae the castle down through the town in good order and array. With some difficulty thir conditions were granted, after some skaith done to the town upon Argyll's first refusal. However, the castle is now rendered, wherein the royal ornaments of the crown, viz. crown, sword, and scepter were securely kept, besides abundance of ammunition, powder, ball, and other commodities (but very little meat or drink) whilk by command of the estates was all put in inventory: thereafter Ruthven came forth with about seventy soldiers and thirty-two women; they came down the street according to communing; there were about one hundred and sixty persons died in the castle, through a sickness contracted by eating of salt meat, twelve thereof being only slain all this time, and about one hundred and eighty persons, men, women, and bairns of common people slain in the town, and great skaith done to their houses by shot of cannon frae the castle. Some of the covenanting nobles convoyed Ruthven down to Leith, where he and such of his men as would follow him, embarked and sailed directly to Berwick, syne went to his majesty. Thereafter a townsman of Edinburgh, called Stephen Boyd, was made captain of the castle, who entered with soldiers to keep the samen; and about this time the strong castle of Carlaverrock yielded also to the Covenanters. The castle of Edinburgh was rendered the 15th of September.

Upon Wednesday the 16th of September, Andrew Hampton, servitor to the earl Marischall, and at his command, violently spoiled William Scot's house in New Aberdeen, (himself being fled frae the good cause out of Scotland,) of dales, trees, and other fine timber, salt, tobacco, and the like commodities, whersof there was plenty, and transported them by sea to Dun-otter, to the wreck of the honest man.

Upon the 21st of September, Mr. William Mushet, minister at Slains, with diverse other outstanding ministers, came in, recanted, repented, and preached a penitential sermon; and Leech preached the same day, and gave obedience to the ordinances of the kirk. About this time, both Aberdeens were commanded, under pain of plundering, to lead peats to the master of Forbes' lodging in New Aberdeen, without payment; grievous to the people, being in the top of harvest.

Word came also about this time, that his majesty was coming

fast forward with a great army, towards York, but he is most politically stayed, step by step, by our Scottish and English.

But at last, being come with his army to York, caused summon the peers of England, to compear at York; but Essex and Hartford would not compear, but gave in their excuses, whereupon the king gart ward both their commissioners, but they were soon put to liberty. The rest of the peers obeyed the king's summons, and for the most part came to York; but there came one thousand Englishmen near-hand, but would not enter the town of York, upon thir own reasons, and petitioned the king for a free parliament, for redressing the grievances of that kingdom, both in church and state, and for settling his majesty with his subjects in Scotland. At this meeting also, the Lower House and some artisans of London, petitioned the king for the samen, whilk petition, as was said, had seven thousand subscriptions.

The king being thus urged with so many subscriptions, and petitions for a parliament, all at this time of the convention of the peers at York, whilk was upon the 24th of September, at last yields to their importunate petitions, and indicts a parliament to be holden at his palace of Westminster, the 5th of November next to come. How soon the English had got a parliament indicted, they then began to exult and rejoice, and resolved to have the Scots settled to their own contentment, and to work out their own desires in England, according to their own pleasure. And for our Scots party, they then began to draw on a meeting betwixt fifteen English nobles and others, and fifteen Scottish nobles and others, to meet at Northallerton the 1st day of October next, for pacification; and his majesty to send a safe-conduct under his hand to the Scottish commissioners; and in the meantime a cessation from war to the 16th of December next; prisoners on both sides to be restored, and during this cessation from war; the Scottish army to get monthly pay out of Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland, for their sustentation, and to save the country from plundering. This was at this time condescended to at York; by and attour they had for their provision the king's magazine at Newcastle, and the customs of the coal and salt of that town, which is of no small importance, and daily supplied out of the bishoprick of Durham. Thus was our Scottish army that came to seek the king, royally entertained at Newcastle, whereat the Englishmen were content, as being done by their own consent, and privy paction. But the king had his army also lying in England, sustained upon his own pay and expences; so is he handled, and in place of taking order with our army, according to our deserts and his majesty's honour, a parliament is granted, and a parly of pacification betwixt him and his Scottish rebels, whilk parliament brought the king to many troubles, and to the shedding of mickle innocent blood, both in England and Ireland, as hereafter ye shall hear. However there followed no meeting at Northallerton, as was proposed, but the



king leaves his army lying at York, and rides to the parliament. And because his majesty was not well acquaint with our Scottish laws, nor was able to give answer to the demand of the estates of Scotland without good information, therefore and to the effect his majesty might go on legally, he sends post for sir Lewis Stuart, one of the prime advocates at Edinburgh, to repair upon his safe-conduct to his court at York, who before his majesty past therefrae, came and conferred at length anent the laws of Scotland. What satisfaction he gave to the king I cannot tell, but the king rode his way, but sir Lewis got no thanks from the estates for his travel, but was reputed an incendiary, and brought under great trouble.

General Lesly, lying at Newcastle, and hearing how matters went, gave licence to sundry gentlemen and others, to come home to Scotland, upon strict condition of their return upon advertisement, so he lost nothing by their absence, because he was still payed for their meat and wages, as if they were on service.

Upon Wednesday immediately before Michaelmas, and 23d of September, which is the ordinary day for election of the magistrates of Aberdeen, Patrick Leslie, a prime Covenanter, is now made provost, with a clear election for a year, suppose discharged of that place before; William Forbes, Thomas Mortimer, John Lesly, and Alexander Jaffray, baillies.

The laird of Drum, lying warded in Edinburgh, is continued sheriff-principal of Aberdeen for a year, and Mr. William Davidson remained sheriff-depute, as he who was placed therein *ad vitam*.

Ye heard before of some discontentment between the earl Marischall and master of Forbes; they both go before the tables. The earl alledged that none ought to have regiments in the shire of Aberdeen but himself, and that the master of Forbes should follow him in his service. He answered, he was the chief of a clan, who had got a regiment, and that he was not obliged to follow any subject in his service. The tables ordered that he should keep his own regiment, and take up men and money within his division, and that Marischall should have no meddling with him.

Thursday the 1st of October, doctor Scroggie being unable to keep his ministry, freely gives over the samen, before the presbytery of Aberdeen; and Mr. William Strachan, parson of Methlick, was transported thereto, and therewith gets Dr. Scroggie's dwelling-house and yard, which with pains he had pleasantly planted. He had four hundred merks, as was said, from this Mr. William, for his good-will of the bigging and yards, and he entered thereto at Whitsunday then next, 1641; and this honest old reverend man, of good literature, judgment, and understanding, forced to quit his place, his charge, and dwelling-place, besides the plundering of his means, as ye heard before; but do his best, (though out of time) he is forced to yield, come in, and subscribe the covenant. Thereafter, by moyan he gets eight

chaldier of victual out of Ross, and his good-son, Mr. Alexander Innes, minister at Rothemay, as mickle.

Saturday the 3d of October, a committee was holden at Aberdeen, where the cordiners of both Aberdeens, and in the land about the towns, were commanded under pain of plundering to give up upon oath the number of their leather, and to make up against the 11th of October instant, their portion of twenty thousand pairs of shoes, at ten and eleven inches at the least, to be sent to Newcastle to general Lesly's army; and sicklike the merchants were commanded to furnish their part of their cloaths and shirts, being two thousand suit of apparel, and two thousand shirts. The committee took exact trial what gray cloath and harden, bleached and unbleached, the merchants had; what should more? obedience and patience per force. But our country people had dear shoes thereafter, some paying forty pence, some thirty-six pence, that would have been bought for twenty or twenty-four pence. Thir cordiners were sore vexed, for with their own hands they were forced to work, ilk man his proportional part, because their servants and apprentices were taken frae them to Marischall's regiment, as ye have heard before. Thus is Aberdeen holden in continual misery. Old and New Aberdeen furnished out fourscore pair of shoes and four, for their part, and got payment by the estimation of four sworn men for the leather, but no payment for the workmanship. The Old-town people had seventeen shilling for ilk pair, but if they had been selling them, they would have cost thirty. However, shoes, shirts, and cloaths, are made up and shipped at Aberdeen, and from thence transported to Newcastle; and here it is to be observed, that the haill land had their part as well as the towns of Aberdeen.

The silver work of Dundee was about this time taken up upon surety, and coined for the army.

About this time also, Mr. Gilbert Ross, minister at —, was transported therefrae to Dr. Gordon's ministry at Elgin (who had fled the kingdom, being against the covenant), and by order of the general assembly this was done.

Mr. Alexander Reid is now, upon his own large expences, put to liberty out of the castle of Stirling, and upon Friday the 9th of October he comes home to his own house in Aberdeen, having been in ward partly in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and partly in the castle foresaid, since the 11th of June.

Mr. Robert Farquhar, commissary, raises charges in king Charles' name against the feuers and vassals of the bishoprick of Aberdeen, to make payment to him as commissary within this province, of the haill mails, farms, and duties, addebted by them to the last bishop, under the pain of horning, conform to an ordinance of the late session of parliament. This charge was given here in Aberdeen upon the foresaid 9th of October, and got obedience without delay.

Sunday the 11th of October, it was declared that the communion was to be given in New Aberdeen the next Sunday; ordaining such as had not subscribed the covenant, to come in on Tuesday before, and subscribe, otherwise be debarred frae the table. This was told after sermon, out of the pulpit of New Aberdeen, by and attour to underly the censure of the kirk.

The parishioners of Old Aberdeen cannily joined in Mr. William Strachan foressaid to be in doctor Scroggie's place for certain ends that some had in the business; they sent to the presbytery of Aberdeen two commissioners, declaring their minister was deposed, the parishioners had no sure minister to serve and celebrate the communion, and wished, if it might be done, the foressaid Mr. William Strachan to fill his place, as he who was both learned and of good life, as was most true, whilk was granted. Mr. Robert Ogilvie, sub-principal, gets his kirk; Mr. Alexander Middleton becomes sub-principal; thereafter, Mr. Patrick Gordon was made a regent, who was chaplain to the laird of Haddo.

Ye heard before, how John Leith of Harthill was warded in Aberdeen, and chained by the foot. This gentleman being so roughly and uncharitably used, almost became furious and mad; he got a smith's file conveyed in to him, wherewith he shore the iron from his foot, and being loose, he came to the tolbooth window, and cried out horribly, threatning and boasting Patrick Leely, provost, and Mr. Robert Farquhar, with others his enemies, and with fire intended to burn through the prison; whilk misbehaviour being considered, the town wrote for a warrant from the committee to transport him to Edinburgh, whereby they might be free of his trouble; and so upon Tuesday the 13th of October, Mr. William Davidson, sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, conveyed him to the sheriff of the Mearns, and so frae shire to shire he was convoyed to Edinburgh, and immediately warded within the tolbooth thereof. Pitiful to see a gentleman so miserably handled, without mitigation or agreement, seeing none would become caution in lawborrows for him, being a fierce man! and so he lay there until his excellency the marquis of Montrose commanded to set him and all the prisoners to liberty.

Thursday the 15th of October, a committee was holden at Aberdeen by the lairds of Monymusk, Kemnay, Philorth, Craigievar, the tutor of Pitaligo, the goodman of Balnagask, Auchmedden, and some others.

The said Thursday, a ship belonging to Aberdeen, whereof Patrick Moir was skipper, loaden with iron, hemp, lint, and other commodities of the like nature, with some money also within her, was seen to sink, the day being calm and the sun shining, by springing of a plank. The men were all saved, but the ship and goods sank to the ground, to the furtherance of the loss of Aberdeen.

The presbytery of Aberdeen gave order on this Thursday to remove doctor Guild frae his ministry in New Aberdeen, and to enter himself to the principality of the college of Old Aberdeen, according to his election. He obeyed, and entered home that samen day. The first work that he began to do was, he employed masons to cast down the walls of the Snow Kirk, and transport the stoness to big up the college-yard dykes, and to employ the hewn work to the decayed windows within the college, wherest many Oldtown people murmured, the samen being sometime the parish kirk of Old Aberdeen, within the whilk their friends and forefathers were buried.

Ye heard before of major Monro's going south frae Aberdeen. His men were quartered in Leith, Fisher-row, and Musleburgh, and other parts thereabout, where they remained while Friday the 16th of October, syne marched towards the army. By the way, being within three miles of Berwick, his soldiers began to prey upon the town's sheep, but some of the town's soldiers issued forth to defend them, and fell in bickering with Monro's soldiers, where his own sister's son was slain.

About the 16th of October, word came to Aberdeen that the bishop of Ross was advanced to a fat bishoprick in Ireland; a busy man in thir troubles, and thought to be an evil patriot and special inbringer of thir innovations within the church.

Now the drums were daily beating through New Aberdeen to make up colonel master of Forbes' regiment of one thousand men; but do his best, he could never make up three hundred men, and such as he had were quartered still in New Aberdeen, and lived upon the tenths.

It was said, there fell out some discontentment betwixt general Lesly and the earl of Montrose, where the earl was suspected of letters passing betwixt the king and him, without revealing thereof to the general, according to the laws of arms. Whether true or not, I cannot tell, but it was wisely and shortly suppressed, as ye shall hear.

Monday the 19th of October, skipper Findlay embarked within his ship the lord Ogilvie, the lairds of Pitfoddels, elder and younger, the young laird of Drum, Donald Farquharson of Tulliegarmouth, Mr. James Sibbald, minister at Aberdeen, with some others. They sailed out of the harbour, and to the sea for England go they. The master of Forbes hearing of their intended voyage, was offended, but could not mend himself, but he advertised the estates of their flight, who gave him no thanks for not waiting better upon his service.

The 3d Tuesday, and 20th of October, the provincial assembly sat down in New Aberdeen; Mr. Robert Reid, parson of Banchory, was made moderator till the next assembly, where Mr. William Strashan was ordained to transport himself frae the kirk of Methlick to the kirk of Old Aberdeen, to serve the cure there, in the deposed Dr. Scroggie's place, whilk he obeyed.

Thursday the 22d of October, captain Kaird, a fashous drunken companion (otherwise a brave soldier) killed a poor man's horse in New Aberdeen, for the which he was warded, and thereafter for his miscarriage cashiered.

Ye heard before of the lord Sinclair's going to Caithness. He returns back to Aberdeen upon Thursday the 22d of October with five hundred soldiers, whilk he brought out of that country. He quarters them in New Aberdeen, leaving some money with commissary Farquhar for their maintenance, and hastily rides south, to receive orders from the committee of estates; but before he came back again his allowance was spent, and the soldiers put to their shifts. Aberdeen would grant them no quarters, since the master of Forbes' regiment is quartered there already; whereupon ilk soldier began to deal and do for himself; some came over to the Oldtown, where they get nothing but hunger and cold; others spread through the country here and there about the town, especially to papists' lands, plundering where they might get it, to the great grief of the country, and to Aberdeen also.

Now his majesty leaves his army at York, and about this time takes journey towards his own palace of Westminster, for keeping of the English parliament the 5th of November.

The Scots army lying still at Newcastle, it was said that general Lesly had sent out sir Archibald Douglas, with about forty men, to watch the fields about Newcastle, twelve miles frae the camp, who rode ten miles farther than order, and carelessly lighted at Boroughbridge, stabled their horses, and sat down to drink; but being spied by the king's out-watchers, they came first to the stables and took their horses, and syne to the house and took themselves, except four who escaped; whereat the general was highly offended for their miscarriage; but they were shortly put to liberty.

The lairds of Watertown and Aughter-Ellon, with some burgesses of Aberdeen, who were warded in Edinburgh, came home about the 4th of November, after payment of their fines.

The parliament of England sits down upon the 5th of November at Westminster, whereby his majesty was grievously born down and also crossed, as after does appear.

No session sits down in Edinburgh at this time, yet inferior judicatories sits down in wonted manner.

Friday the 6th of November, an Aberdeen's boat perished pitifully in the sea, with seven men, to the further visiting of sinful Aberdeen.

Sunday the 8th of November, Mr. James Willox preached in Old Aberdeen; after sermon, he read out some acts of the committee, forbidding apprentices to leave their service without order, and setting down prices upon leather; whereupon followed shortly a strict command, charging the hail cordiners in both Aberdeens to make single soaled shoes to the master of Forbes'

soldiers. No remead; it was obeyed, but little payment gotten for the leather, and none at all for the workmanship.

Monday the 16th of November, the lord Gordon, with three or four attendants, came frae Berwick by sea, and landed at the Sandness; came to George Middleton's house in Old Aberdeen, to whom the master of Forbes sent two of his own officers, demanding news of him; he received them kindly, and answered there was no news, but of peace, and withal shewed them three patents, one frae the king, one frae general Lesly, and the third frae the governour of Berwick, to pass and repass at his pleasure. Thir gentlemen took their leave, and returned to their colonel. The lord Gordon, after breakfast, causes hire horses, and goes for Strathboggie, having only with him John Gordon of Ardloggie, Patrick Innes, son to Alexander Innes of Cotta, Alexander Gordon Swankie, and Robert Gordon, his servitor.

About this time, an Aberdeen's ship, whereof Thomas Boyes was master, coming with goods to Aberdeen frae Holland, is forced by contrary winds up the Forth, but at the estates command she is shortly boarded and manned, and her hatches closed, alledging her merchants in the beginning of thir troubles fled the good cause with their best goods, and went over to Holland, where they uttered unreserved speeches against this cause and authors thereof in Campveer, but now seeing appearance of peace, they would return home. The goods partly belonged to such as had fled, and partly to such as fled not, but they are all summoned to compear before the committee of estates at Edinburgh, whereof some were fined; the estates borrowed money upon band frae some of them, whilk was punctually paid, and the ship, about the 4th of December, got liberty home in peace; but at this voyage Paul Inglis and John Peralie, two fine merchants, departed this life.

About this time, John earl of Rothes, Charles earl of Dumfermling, John lord Loudon, sir Patrick Hepburn of Wachtoun, sir William Douglas of Cavers, William Drummond of Richardtoun, John Smith of Edinburgh, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn of Dundee, and Hugh Kennedy of Air, as members of the estates of our Scottish parliament; and for the church, Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. Archibald Johnston were sent up to the English parliament.

Thursday the 17th of November, the master of Forbes being informed that his regiment, (which never did service), was to be disbanded, rode shortly south to the estates, leaving his soldiers lying in Aberdeen, sustained upon the tenths and twentieths collected by commissary Farquhar.

Our Scottish parliament sat down the 19th of November at Edinburgh; but I refer what was done to the acts of parliament themselves.

Saturday the 20th of November, one of the lord Sinclair's soldiers minding to steal home to his wife and children is ap-

prehended and hanged to the death, without doom or law, betwixt the crosses of New Aberdeen.

Sunday the 21st of November, and Thursday thereafter, there was fasting and prayer kept through all Scotland, for the good success of the army and peace of the country; but no fast was kept in Old Aberdeen, by reason of want of our minister.

Ye heard before, how some of our Aberdeen's burghesses came home. George Johnston was fined in one thousand pounds; George Morison, David Rickart, and William Petrie, were ilk ane fined in one thousand merks, and were set at liberty, and came home about this time to Aberdeen.

Lieutenant Fotheringham, with about forty musketeers of the master of Forbes' regiment, went out of Aberdeen, having order to go out and plunder such persons as had not paid their tenths, and given up their men. He happened to be at Fyvie with his company, drinking at an alehouse, where John Gordon, second son to Ardloggie, William Seaton, chamberlain of Fyvie, and some others, happened to be also: and, upon some slight occasion, serjeant Forsyth, in this company, was suddenly shot by the said John Gordon, who ran freely away, without revenge, from the midst of Fotheringham's musketeers; for the whilk this lieutenant was pitifully disgraced thereafter.

Ye heard also before, how major Munro, at his removing with his regiment south, was resting to the town's people's money for his soldiers' sustentation, whilk he now remembers, and causes commissary Farquhar pay every one according to his accompt; but he having store of old victual beside him, which was bought for three pound the boll, sells it out for four pound again; whereby he made up his profit at the honest people's hands by this shift, having allowance to have paid all in ready money.

The committee of estates ordained one hundred and fifty thousand guilders, at twenty-pence each, to be paid by the haill burrows of Scotland, as they should be stented, for payment to the Hollanders for ammunition, powder, and ball, sent by them to Scotland, the time of thir troubles. Among the rest, Aberdeen was stented in sixteen thousand guilders, to be paid by the merchant traders allanarly, upon surety to be paid back again by the estates. Thus ilk merchant's trade is tried, and publicly considered, within the tolbooth of Aberdeen, upon or about the 24th of November.

Thursday, the 25th of November, captain Arnot, with a party of musketeers, was ordered down to Fyvie, to take or kill him who had slain Forsyth, the serjeant, as ye have heard before; but the deed-doer was fled. However, the soldiers who were scattered at this slaughter, were gathered, and brought into the town.

Sunday the 26th of December, Dr. Guild preached both before and after noon here in Old Aberdeen. Mr. William Strachan was received after the forenoon's sermon by the pa-

richmoners, elders, and deacons, there convened in the deposed Dr. Scroggie's place, whose room was still vacant frae the time of his deprivation, and the kirk was ill served by stranger ministers till this time. We had good doctrine from this Mr. William Strachan ever since. Now Dr. Scroggie dwells still in his own house, till Whitsunday next to come; during which time he very seldom came to hear Mr. Strachan, but went either to Aberdeen or Footdee upon Sunday, and liked rather to hear any other preacher than him out of his own pulpit, wherefrae he was thuswise removed,—one who had served so long in the ministry,—a learned, grave, ancient man, of singular good parts, who, by following the king, is thus overthrown; yet he was remembered since.

The same very Sunday, after sermons, the laird of Haddo pursued the laird of Craigievar (both being come frae sermon), anent the bishop's stile, with a rod in his hand, whilk he quickly defended with another; but they are parted without blood. But Craigievar, apprehending himself to be behind, challenged Haddo daily, who answered him again, but it turned to nothing; yet irreconcilable malice remained in the breast of Craigievar.

Ye heard before of the master of Forbes and Marischall being before the tables. After this, the master of Forbes rode to general Lesly, who established his regiment, otherwise he had been disbanded, or at least was to be disbanded by the estates. He returns home to Aberdeen from Newcastle upon the 4th of December, and again begins to uplift the tenths and twentieths within his division.

Sir John Lesly of Wardhouse departed this life in Tilliefour, upon the 29th of November, and was buried within his own chapel at Tilliefour, where never laird of Wardhouse was buried before. His lady was shortly after married to the laird of Cluny.

Sunday, the 6th of December, Mr. William Strachan, after sermon before noon, in Old Aberdeen, read out certain acts and instructions set down by the lords and others of the committee of parliament, at Edinburgh, of the 11th of November, 1640; wherein a strict command is set down to all the committees of war, noblemen, barons, colonels, gentlemen, sheriffs, magistrates of burrows, elders, and constables in each parish, as they would be answerable to the estates of this kingdom, that they try, search, seek, and apprehend, all fugitives, horse or foot, and to present them before the committee of war in ilk division, or sheriffs of the shire or magistrates of the burrow where the said fugitives shall be apprehended; and whilk committees, sheriffs, or magistrates, shall be obliged to decimate the said fugitives, by hanging the tenth man of them; and if there be but one or more of them within ten, to cause hang one of the said number, albeit there be but one, and to send the rest to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, upon the public expences, to be punished with a mark of infamy, and to be sent back to his company: and whose



happens, after publication hereof, to receipt or entertain any of these fugitives, horse or foot, or shall not delate or deliver them in manner aforesaid, shall be reputed enemies to the good cause, and punished by the said committee of estates, or committee of war where they shall dwell, and the half of his moveable goods, *pro facto*, forfeited;—the one half thereof to be employed to the use of the publick, and the other half to be given to him who delates the receptors, and qualifies the same, by and attour receiving a reward from the committee of estates. And because there is a great number of all sorts of people lately come frae the army, and frae their companies, within this kingdom, now on foot (for defence thereof), whereof sundry have obtained a pass, upon condition they return within a short space; therefore, it is statute and ordained, that whosoever shall not return to his colours within four days after the publication hereof, at least after the expiration of their pass, shall be esteemed as fugitives, and shall be liable to the censure and punishment foresaid; and if the committee of war within each division shall be negligent in convening and taking order with the said runaways and the receptors and concealers, or shall be deficient in putting this act to execution, each person of the said committee of war shall be outlawed and fined by the said committee of estates, in the sum of three hundred pounds, Scots money, for each failzie, *toties quoties*; and if the minister and elders shall be deficient in delating, and constables of parishes, or any other parishioner, shall be negligent in searching, apprehending, and presenting of the said fugitives to the said committees of war, or other magistrates foresaid, in putting the said acts in due execution, so far as concerns their parts thereof, each one of them who shall be found negligent, shall be fined by the committee of war within their bounds, or by the committee of estates, in one hundred pounds money foresaid; the one-half thereof shall pertain to the publick, and the other half to the informer, in manner foresaid. And if it shall come to knowledge, who hath or shall outrigg soldiers, horse or foot, that these outriggd by them are disbanded and fled frae their colours, the said out-putters of them shall be obliged to search for and apprehend the said fugitives, through the hail bounds of the presbytery where they dwell, or put them from their bounds: and in case of their failing so to do, they shall be obliged to make up their number by out-putting of men in their places, sufficiently provided in arms, and other necessaries, upon their own expences; and ordains these presents to be published at the mercat crosses of all head burrows, and hail parish kirks within this kingdom, that none may pretend ignorance.

Ye heard before, how Aberdeen had furnished their part of the shoes and cloaths, but their silver work escaped, and was not taken up, as was done in Edinburgh and Dundee. Mr. William Strachan collected out of the Oldtown and Spittal bounds about forty pounds of contribution. Conform to their instructions,

there was neither man nor wife, poor nor rich, but he searched for this contribution ; and who voluntarily would not give, or refused to give, their names were noted.

No doubt but Aberdeen also paid of voluntary contribution the sum of — pound Scots, and neither burrow nor land escaped, whereby also honest men's, yea poor men's, purses were daily picked, by one slight or other, for maintenance of this good cause, albeit the army lived sufficiently upon England. Besides, upon Monday the 14th of December, a committee was holden at Aberdeen, where orders were given out for furnishing victual out of the sherifffdom of Aberdeen, to be sent to Newcastle for sustaining of the army, of competent price, upon bond for payment. It was said, that there was sent out of the sherifffdom of Aberdeen and Banff, twelve thousand bolls of victual.

About this time, it was said, that the deputy of Ireland was warded in the tower of London, and that the archbishop of Canterbury was first committed to the black rod; thereafter to the said tower. Likeas our Scottish commissioners, upon the 16th of December, set out a printed paper, whereof the tenor follows: This said paper was intituled, "*The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against the Bishop of Canterbury;*" which runs thus :—

"Innovations in religion, which are universally acknowledged to be the main cause of commotions in kingdoms and states, and are known to be the true cause of our present troubles, were many and great, besides the Books of Ordination and Homilies. 1st, Some particular alterations in matters of religion pressed upon us without order, against law, and contrary to the form established in our kirk. 2d, A new Book of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, a Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, which did also carry with them many dangerous errors in matters of doctrine; of all which we charge the prelate of Canterbury as the prime cause on earth.

"And first, that this prelate was the author and urger of some particular charges, which made great disturbance among us, we make manifest. 1st, By fourteen letters, subscribed W. Cant, in the space of two years, to one of our pretended bishops, Bannatine, wherein he often enjoined him and other pretended bishops, to appear in the chapel in white, contrary to the custom of our kirk, and to his promise made to the pretended bishop of Edinburgh at the coronation, that none of them after that time should be pressed to wear those garments, thereby moving him against his will to put them on foot that time; wherein he directed him to give order for saying the English service in the chapel twice a-day for his neglect, shewing him that he was disappointed of the bishoprick of Edinburgh, promising him upon his greater care of these innovations, advancement to a better bishoprick, taxing him for his boldness in preaching the sound doctrines of the reformed kirks, against Mr. Mitchell, who had taught the errors of Arminius, in the point of the extent of the mercy of Christ, bidding him send up a list of the names of the council, lords, and senators of the college of justice, who had not communicate in the chapel in a form that was not received by our kirk, commending him when he found him

obsequious to his commands, telling him he had moved the king a second time for the punishment of such as had not received in the chapel, and wherein he upbraided him bitterly, that in his first Synod in Aberdeen he had only disputed against our custom of Scotland of fasting, sometimes on the Lord's day, and presumptuously censuring our kirk, that in this we are opposite to Christianity itself, and that among us there were no canons at all. 2dly, By two papers of memoirs and instructions from the pretended bishop of St. Andrew's to the pretended bishop of Ross, coming to this prelate, for ordering the affairs of the kirk and kingdom of Scotland; as not only to obtain warrant to order the exchequer, the privy council, the great commission of surrenders, the matter of Balmerinoch's process, as might please our prelates, but also warrants for sitting of the high commission court once a-week at Edinburgh, and to gain frae the noblemen, for the benefit of the prelates and their adherents, the abbacies of Kelso, Arbroath, St. Andrew's, and Lindores, and in the smallest matter to receive his commands, such as taking down galleries and stone walls in the kirks of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's, for no other end but to make way for altars and adoration towards the east; which, besides other evils, made no small noise and disturbance among the people, deprived hereby of their ordinary accommodation for public worship.

"The second innovation which troubled our peace, was a Book of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, obtruded on our kirk, found by our General Assembly to be devised for establishing a tyrannical power in the persons of our prelates, over the worship of God, over the consciences, liberties, and goods of the people, and for abolishing the whole discipline and government of our kirk, by general and provincial assemblies, presbyteries, and kirk sessions, which were settled by law, and in continual practice since the reformation. That Canterbury was the master of this work is manifest, by a Book of Canons sent to him, written upon the one side only, with the other side blank, for corrections, additions, and putting all in better order at his pleasure; which accordingly was done, as may appear by interlinings, marginals, sent to our prelates, and filling up of the blank pages, with directions sent to our prelates; and that it was done by no other than Canterbury, is evident by his magisterial way of prescribing, and by a new copy of these canons, all written by the bishop of St. Andrews' own hand precisely to a letter, according to the form sent back for the king's warrant unto it, which accordingly was obtained, but with an addition of some other canons, and a paper of some other corrections, according to which, the Book of Canons thus composed was published in print, the inspection of the books, instructions, and his letters of joy, and of other letters of the prelate of London and the lord Stirling to the same purpose,—all which we are ready to exhibit, and will put the matter out of all debate.

"Besides this general, there be some things more speciall, worthy to be adverted unto, for discovering his spirit.—1st, The fourth canon, chap. 8. for as much as no reformation in doctrine or discipline can be made perfect at once in any church, therefore it shall and may be lawful for the Church of Scotland, at any time, to make remonstrances to his majesty or his successors; and because this canon holdeth the door to many more innovations, he writeth to the prelate of Ross, his private agent in all this work, of his gladness that this canon should stand behind the curtain, and his great desire that it might be fully printed, as one that was to be most useful. 2dly, The title prefixed

unto these canons by our prelates was, *Canons agreed upon to be proposed to the several Synods of the Kirk of Scotland*, and is thus changed by Canterbury, *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, &c. ordained to be observed by the Clergy*. He will not have canons to come free the authority of synods, but the power of prelates or king's prerogative. 3dly, The formidable canon, chap. 1. and 2. threatening no less than excommunication against all such persons as shall open their mouths against any of these books, proceeded not from our prelates, nor is to be found in the copy sent from them, but is a thunderbolt forged in Canterbury's own fire. 4thly, Our prelates in diverse places witness their dislike of papists;—a minister shall be deposed if he be found negligent to convert papists, chap. 16. and 18.; the adoration of the bread is a superstition to be condemned, chap. 6. 6.; they call the absolute necessity of baptism an error of popery, chap. 6. and 2. But in Canterbury's edition, the name of papists and popery is not so much as mentioned. 5thly, Our prelates have not the boldness to trouble us in their canons with altars, fonts, chancels, reading of a long liturgy before sermon, &c.; but Canterbury is punctual and peremptory in all these. 6thly, Although the words of the 10th canon, chap. 3. be fair, yet the wished intentions of Canterbury and Ross may be seen in the point of justification of a sinner before God, by comparing the canon as it came from our prelates, and as it was returned from Canterbury, and printed. Our prelates say thus: "It is manifest that the superstition of former ages hath turned into a great profaneness, and that people are grown cold for the most part in doing any good, thinking there is no place to good works, because they are excluded from justification; therefore all ministers, as their text giveth occasion, urge the necessity of good works as they would be saved, and remember that they are *via regni* (the way to the kingdom of heaven), though not *causa regnandi* (the cause of salvation)." Here Ross giveth his judgment, that he would have this canon simply commanding good works to be preached to the people, and no mention made what place they have or have not in justification. Upon this motion; so agreeable to Canterbury's mind, the canon is set down as it standeth, without the distinction of *via regni* or *causa regnandi*, or any word sounding that way, urging only the necessity of good works. 7thly, By comparing canon 9. chap. 18. as it was sent in writing from our prelates, and as it is printed at Canterbury's command, may be also manifest, that he went about to establish auricular confession and popish absolution. 8thly, Our prelates were not acquainted with canons for inflicting penalties; but in Canterbury's book is this: "Whosoever there is no penalty expressly set down, it is provided, that it shall be arbitrary, as the ordinary shall think fittest." By these and the like, it is apparent what tyrannical power he went about to establish in the hands of our prelates over souls and goods of men, overturning from the foundation the hallow order of our kirk: what seeds of popery he sowed in our kirk, and how large an entry he made for the grossest innovations afterward, which must have been a main cause of all thir commotions.

The third and great innovation was the Book of Common Prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other parts of divine worship and service, without warrant from our kirk, to be universally received as the only form of divine service, under all highest pains, both civil and ecclesiastical, which is found by our nation's assembly (besides the popish frame and forms of divine worship),

to be filled with many errors and ceremonies, and the seeds of manifold gross superstitions and idolatries, and to be repugnant to the doctrine, discipline, and order of our reformation, to the Confession of Faith, constitution of general assemblies, the acts of parliament establishing the true religion. That this also was Canterbury's work, we make manifest by the memoirs and instructions sent unto him by our prelates, wherein they give a special account of the diligence they had used to do all which herein they were enjoined, by the approbation of the Service Books sent to them, and of all the marginal corrections wherein it varieth, shewing their desire to have some things changed in it, which, notwithstanding, was not granted. Thus we find written by the bishop of St. Andrew's own hand, and subscribed by him and nine other of our prelates; by Canterbury's own letters, witnesses of his joy when the book was ready for the press; of his prayers that God would speed the work; of his hope to see that work set up in Scotland; of his diligence to send for the printer, and directing him to prepare a black letter, and to send it to his servants at Edinburgh, for printing the books; of his approbation of the proofs sent from press; of his fear of delaying bringing the work to an end, for the great good of the church; of his encouraging Ross, who was entrusted with the press, to go on in this piece of service, without fear of enemies,—all which may be seen in the autographs, and by letters sent by the prelate of London to Ross, wherein he rejoiceth at the Scottish canons, which, although they should make some noise at the beginning, yet they would be more for the good of the kirk than the canons of Edinburgh for the good of the kingdom. So, concerning the liturgy, he sheweth, that Ross sent to have an explanation from Canterbury of some passages of the Service Book, and that the press behoved to stand till the explanation came to Edinburgh, which he had therefore in haste obtained from his grace, and sent the dispatch away by Canterbury's own conveyance; but the book itself as it stands, interlined, margined, and patched up, is much more than all that is expressed in his letters, and the changes and supplements themselves taken from the Mass Book, and other Romish rituals, by which he maketh it to vary from the book of England, are more pregnant testimonies of his popish spirit and wicked intentions which he would have put in execution upon us, than can be denied. The large declaration professeth, that all the variation of our book from the book of England, that the king understood, was in such things as the Scottish humours would comply with better than with that of the English service. These popish innovations, therefore, have been superstitiously inserted by him, without the king's knowledge, and against his purpose. Our Scottish prelates do petition that some things may be abated of the English ceremonies, such as the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and some other things; but Canterbury will not only have these things kept, but a great many more worse things superadded, which was nothing else but adding fuel to the fire. To express and discover all would require a whole book; we shall only touch at some few in the matter of communion.

“ This book inverteth the order of the communion in the book of England, as may be seen by the numbers setting down this order of communion, 1. 5. 2. 6. 7. 3. 4. 8. 9. 10. 15. Of the diverse secret reasons of this change we mention only one:—In beginning the spiritual praise and thanksgiving which is in the book of England pertinently after the communion with the prayer of consecra-

they, and that under the name of memorial or oblation, for no other end but that the memorial and sacrifice of praise mentioned in it may be understood according to the popish meaning. *Bellarmine de Missa, lib. 2. chap. 21.* not of the spiritual sacrifice, but of the oblation of the body of the Lord.

"It seems to be no great matter, that without warrant of the book of England, the presbyter, going from the north end of the table, shall stand during the time of consecration at such a part of the table as where he may, with more ease and decency, use both hands; yet being tried, it importeth much; and that he must stand with his hinder parts towards the people, representing (saith Darand,) that which the Lord said of Moses, Thou shalt see my hinder parts. He must have the use of both his hands, not for any thing he has to do about the bread and wine, for that must be done at the north end of the table, to be better seen of the people; but (as we are taught by the rationalists) that he may be stretching out his arms to represent the extension of Christ on the cross, and that he may more conveniently lift up the bread and wine above his head, to be seen and adored of the people, who, in the rubrick of the general confession a little before, are directed humbly to kneel on their knees, that the priest's elevation, so magnified in the mass, and the people's adoration may go together; that, in this posture, speaking with a low voice, and muttering (for sometimes he is commanded to speak with a loud voice, and distinctly), he be not heard by the people; which is no less a mocking of God and his people, than if the words were spoken in an unknown language. As there is no word of all this in the English Service, so doth the book in King Edward's time give to every presbyter his liberty of gesture, which yet gave such offence to Bucer, the censurer of the book, and even in Cassander's own judgment, a man of great moderation in matters of this kind, that he calleth them, *semper satis execrandos missæ gestus*, and would have them to be abhorred, because they confirm to the simple and superstitious, *Ter implam et critialem missæ fiduciam*. The corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament is also to be found here; for the words of the Mass Book, serving to this purpose, which are sharply considered by Bucer in king Edward's liturgy, and are not to be found in the book of England, are taken in here. Almighty God is invoked, that, of his almighty goodness, he may vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify, with his word and Spirit, those gifts of bread and wine, that they may be to us the body and blood of Christ.

"The change here is made a work of God's omnipotency. The words of the mass, *ut fiant nobis*, are translated in king Edward's book, "That they may be unto us," which are again turned into Latin by Alsus, *ut fiant nobis*. On the other part, the expressions of the book of England at the delivery of the elements, of feeding on Christ by faith, and of eating and drinking in remembrance that Christ died for thee, are utterly deleted. Many evidences there be in this part of the communion, of the bodily presence of Christ, very agreeable to the doctrines taught by his secretaries, which this paper cannot contain. They teach us that Christ is received in the sacrament *corporaliter*, both *objectum* and *subjectum*,—*corpus Christi est objectum quod recipitur, et corpus nostrum est subjectum quo recipitur*.

"The book of England abolisheth all that may import the oblation of any unbloody sacrifice; but here we have, besides the preparatory oblation of the elements (which is neither to be found in the book of England now, nor king

Edward's book of old), the oblation of the body and blood of Christ, which Bellarmine calleth *sacrificium laudis*, *quia Deus per illud magnopere laudatur*. This also agreeth well with their late doctrine. We are ready, whenever it shall be judged convenient and we shall be desired, to discover much more matters of this kind, as grounds laid for *missa sola*, or the half mass, the private mass without the people, or communicating in one kind, of the consumption by the priest, and the consummation of the sacrifice, of receiving the sacrament in the mouth, and not in the hand, &c.

"Our supplications were many against these books, but Canterbury procured them to be answered by terrible proclamations. We were constrained to use the remedy of protestation; but for our protestation, and other lawful means which we used for our deliverance, Canterbury procured us to be declared rebels and traitors in all the parish kirks of England. When we were seeking to possess our religion in peace, against decrees and novations, Canterbury kindled war against us. In all this it is known that he was, although not the sole, yet the principal agent and adviser. When, by the pacification at Berwick, both kingdoms looked for peace and quietness, he spared not openly, in the hearing of many, often before the king, and privately at the council table and privy junto, to speak of us as rebels and traitors; and to speak against the pacification as dishonourable, and meet to be broken: neither did his malignance and bitterness ever suffer him to rest, till a new war was entered upon, and all things prepared for our destruction.

"By him it was that our covenant, approved by national assemblies, subscribed by his majesty's commissioner, and by the lords of his majesty's council, and recommended to be subscribed by all the subjects of the kingdom, as a testimony of our duty to God and our king, by him was it called ungodly, damnable, and treasonable; by him were oaths invented and pressed upon divers of our poor countrymen, upon pain of imprisonment and miseries which were unwarrantable by law, and contrary to their national oath.

"When our commissioners appeared, to render the reasons of our demands, he spared not, in presence of the committee, to rail against our national assembly, as not daring to appear before the world and kirks abroad, where he himself and actions were liable to endure trial, and against our just and necessary defence, as the most malicious and treasonable contempt of monarchical government that any bygone age had heard of. His hand was also at the warrant for the restraint and imprisonment of our commissioners sent from the parliament, warranted by the king, and seeking the peace of the kingdoms.

"When we had, by our declaration, remonstrances, and representations, manifested the truth of our intentions, and lawfulness of our actions, to all the good subjects of the kingdom of England; when the late parliament could not be moved to enter into war against us, maintaining our religion and liberties, Canterbury did not only advise the breaking up of that high and honourable court, to the great grief and hazard of the king, but (which is without example) did sit still in the convocation, and make canons and constitutions against us, and our just and necessary defence, ordaining, under all highest pains, that hereafter the clergy shall preach four times in the year, such doctrines as is contrary, not only to our proceedings, but to the doctrine and proceedings of the reformed kirks, tending to the utter slavery and ruin of all estates and

diabolical, and to the dishonour of kings and countries; and as if this had not been sufficient, he procured six subsidies to be lifted of the clergy, under the pain of deprivation to all that should refuse; and which is yet worse, or above which malice cannot ascend, by his means a paper is framed, printed, and sent through all the parishes of England, to be said in all churches in time of divine service, immediately after the prayer for the king and royal family, against our nation, by the name of traitorous subjects, having cast off all obedience to our anointed sovereign, and coming in a rebellious manner to invade England, that shame may cover our faces, as enemies to God and the king.

"Whoever shall impartially examine what hath proceeded from himself, in these two Books of Canons and Common Prayer; what doctrines have been published and printed these years bypast in England by his disciples and emissaries, what gross popery in the most material points we have found, and are ready to show in the posthumous writings of the prelates of Edinburgh and Dunblane, his own creatures, his nearest familiars, and most willing instruments to advance his councils and projects; shall perceive that his intentions were deep and large against all reformed kirks and reformation of religion, which in his majesty's dominions was panting, and by this time had rendered up the ghost; if God had not, in a wonderful way of mercy, prevented it; and that if the pope himself had been in his place, he could not have been more zealous in negotiating for Rome against the reformed kirks, to reduce them to the heresies of doctrine, the superstitions and idolatries of worship, and the tyranny in government which are in that see, and for which the reformed kirks did separate from it, and came forth of Babel. From him certainly hath issued all this deluge which hath almost overturned all. We therefore are confident, that your lordships will deal effectually with the parliament, that this firebrand be entirely removed from his majesty's presence, and that he may be put to trial, and to his deserved censure, according to the laws of the kingdom, which will be good service to God, honour to the king and parliament, terror to the wicked, and comfort to all good men, and to us in special, who by his means principally have been put to so many and grievous afflictions, wherein we had perished, if God had not been with us.

"We do indeed confess, that the prelates of England have been of very different humours, some of them of a more hot, others of a more moderate temper, some of them more and some of them less inclined to popery; yet, what known truth and constant experience have made undeniable, we must at this time confess, that from the first time of reformation of the kirk of Scotland, not only after the coming of king James, of happy memory, into England, but before, the prelates of England have by all means been incessantly working the overthrow of our discipline and government; and if it hath come to pass of late, that the prelates of England have prevailed, and brought us in subjection as to the point of government, and finding their long-watched opportunity, and a fair congruity of many spirits and powers ready to operate for their ends, have made a strong assault upon the whole external worship and doctrine of our church, by which they did not aim to make us reform to England, but first to make Scotland (whose weakness in resisting they had before experienced, in the innovations of government, and some points of worship), and thereafter England, conform to Rome, wherein England had separated from Rome ever since



the Reformation;—an evil, therefore, which hath not so much issued from the personal disposition of the prelates themselves, as the innate quality and nature of the office and prelatical hierarchy, which did bring forth the pope in ancient times, and never ceaseth till it bring forth popish doctrine and worship, were it once rooted, and the principles thereof fomented and closely followed; and from that antipathy and inconsistency of the two forms of ecclesiastical government, which they conceived, and not without cause, that our island, united also under one head and monarch, was not able to bear, the one being in all points and powers the same that it was in time of popery, and now is in the Roman church; the other being the form of government received, maintained, and practised by all the reformed kirks, wherein, by their own testimonies and concessions, the kirk of Scotland had no small eminency. This also we represent to your lordships' most serious consideration, that not only the firebrands may be removed, but also that the fire itself may be provided against, that after this there may be no more combustions."

With this paper, knit together in one volume, followed another printed paper, intituled, "*The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against the Lieutenant of Ireland.*"

Both these papers are dated the 16th of December, 1640.

Thir papers, thus set forth and printed, appear to be directed by our Scottish commissioners to the lords of the lower house, or house of commons of England, who accepted, and acted their part to the full desire of our commissioners; for, first, the bishop of Canterbury is laid by frae the king, and committed to the Tower, and then the lieutenant of Ireland is laid by, and committed to the samen. So his majesty, against his will, is made quit of both.

Upon the 19th of December, one of the lord Sinclair's soldiers, by command of the committee of estates at Edinburgh, was had to the Heading Hill of Aberdeen, bound to a stake, and three soldiers appointed, ilk ane after another, to shoot at him till he was dead, and that for the slaughter of another fellow-soldier in the samen regiment, lately committed by him in Aberdeen. This example made them keep better order in the town.

Sunday the 20th of December, thunderings out of pulpits against Yool-day in Aberdeen, charging merchants and craftsmen, under pain of punishment, to keep their booths, buy, sell, and labour as on any other work-day, all and every one, husbandmen and others. The booth-doors stood open, for fear, but there was little merchandise bought, far less work wrought. The grammars had twenty days play, and the collegenars had eight in Old Aberdeen, conform to use and wont at Yool.

Yool-day, the 25th of December, no preaching in either of Aberdeens, as was wont, and as little work wrought all the three days. It was said doctor Guild would not keep Yool-day, falling this year upon Friday, but on Yool-even he had good chear, where the lord Sinclair, the master of Forbes, the provost and baillies, with some others, were well feasted; all made merry

that night, but no memory of Yool-day on the morrow. But upon the 26th of December, he going through Aberdeen, collecting the voluntary contribution, unhappily wrested his cboot or leg, whereby he might not stand to preach. In the pulpit was found a paper declaring his hypocrisy for feasting upon Yool-even but not upon Yool-day, whereat he was offended, but could challenge no man with it.

Wednesday the 30th of December, colonel master of Forbes sent out a captain with thirty-two soldiers to take in the place of Gight. The house is rendered by the lady, but she came in and dealt so with the master of Forbes, that they were all removed and came back again to Aberdeen.

About this time, Alexander Annand of Caterlyne removed out of Dram, and another captain put in his place, with whom the lady was better pleased; and he remained there till about the 9th of February next.

About this time also returned from London, the lairds of Pitfoddels, elder and younger, the lairds of Udny, Muireask, Fetternear, and diverse others, who had fled the covenant, after they had spent their means, and were forced to submit to the judgment of the committee of estates, who fined every one of them at their pleasure for outstanding, compelled them to swear and subscribe the covenant, syne gave them leave to come home to their own houses, greater fools than they went out, without succour or relief from the king; but first they were all kept long in ward in Edinburgh tolbooth, thereafter fined and set at liberty.

It was reported about this time, that the lord Boyd upon his death-bed revealed a band made up by diverse lords, whereof himself was one, founded upon some miscontentment, not against the covenant, but against the earls of Argyll, Rothes, the lords Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerinoch, Couper, and some others, who took upon them to rule and guide all, and to govern as worthy nobles as themselves in the public business. Shortly after the revelation, the lord Boyd deceased.

This band, as was said, was made up and subscribed by the earls of Montrose, Marischall, Mar, Strathern, Southesk, Seaforth, Wigtoun, Perth, lord Napier, and others. The committee of estates thought heavy of this; they are accused, they confess, and produce the band, which is burnt in the fire.

Monday the 28th of December, Mr. Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgin, accompanied with the young laird of Innes, the laird of Brodie, and some others, without authority brake down the timber partition-wall dividng the kirk of Elgin frae the quire, whilk had stood ever since the reformation, near seven score years or above. On the west side was painted in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. This piece was so excellently done, that the colours never faded, but kept haill and sound as at the be-

gaining; notwithstanding this college or channery-kirk wanted the roof since the reformation, and no hall windows therein to save the same from storm, snow, sleet, or wet, whilk myself saw; and, marvellous to consider! on the other side of this wall, towards the east, was drawn the day of judgment; but all is thrown to the ground. It was said their minister caused to bring home to his house the timber thereof, and burn the samen for serving his kitchen, and other uses; but each night the fire went out wherein it was burnt, and could not be kept in to kindle the morning fire, as use is! whereat the servants marvelled; and thereupon the minister left off and forbore to bring in or burn any more of that timber in his house. This was remarked and spoke through Elgin, and creditably reported to myself. A great boldness, without warrant of the king, to destroy churches at that rate! yet it was done by order of the assembly.

The foresaid Monday, proclamation was made at the cross of Aberdeen, commanding both Newtown and Oldtown to furnish out to general Lesly's army, and to ilk soldier thereof, their share of a stand of gray cloaths, two shirts, and two pair of shoes, under the pain of plundering. Search was made, but found they were not able to do the samen, in respect of the provision made by them before to some of the same soldiers; whereupon order was given out to search the country for hides, gray cloaths, and sarking cloath, and to pay the sellers out of the town of Aberdeen's voluntary contributions; such as might be got was brought in and furnished, and the taylors and cordiners of both Aberdeens were set to work to make up thir cloaths and shoes, and sempsters to sew their shirts; but they got nothing for their travel, and their commodities were per force brought to the town from the country people by a party of soldiers, direct out to search and take wherever they might be found.

#### ANNO 1641.

Captain Forbes, alias Kaird, upon Saturday the 9th of January, is warded in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, for robbing a merchant on the highway, called Liddel, syne transported therefrae to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, there to abide censure, where he was warded, and lay miserably therein, till by moyan he was set to liberty about the — day of — 1642 years. Both Aberdeens were glad to be quit of him, he being troublesome in drink.

The 14th of February, Robert lord Burleigh was chosen president of the meeting of the estates of parliament, without either king or commissioner, yet convened by his majesty's authority, as the acts of that parliament bear, and which estates continued this parliament to the 18th day of April next to come.

Ye heard before of the lord Gordon's coming to this country.

He remained some while about his affairs, and upon Friday the 15th of January, ships at Banff, and back to Berwick sails he; and frae that to Newcastle, where, by persuasion of his uncle, the earl of Argyll, he subscribed the covenant, and became a good bairn.

Ye heard also how serjeant Forsyth was slain by one John Gordon, where lieutenant Fotheringham was brought in and accused before the committee of war in Aberdeen, (the lord Sinclair and master of Forbes being present,) for not revenging of Forsyth's death upon the committees thereof in a military manner. After some reasoning, he was disgracefully degraded, and upon Saturday the 16th of January, by order, the hangman brake his sword between the crosses of Aberdeen, and betwixt the gallows trams standing there, and to his perpetual disgrace, and in example of others to commit the like; thereafter he is with shame convoyed out of the town through Futtie-port to seek his fortune.

Ye heard likewise before of the voluntary contribution taken out of Old Aberdeen; there followed shortly the uplifting of the tenths and twentieths through the country, and also of their farms; and the tenth penny of ilk house maill within the town was also uplifted, reserving the bigging where the heritor himself dwelt free, allenarly. Thus is burrow and land continually vexed.

Ye heard also before how the lord Sinclair's lieutenant had cruelly caused hang up a soldier for deserting; whereat, and some other faults, the lord Sinclair was highly offended, and shortly discharged him, and planted his own lawful brother colonel Sinclair in his place, whilk was thought good service by the people for such cruelty; and now the lord Sinclair with his associates began to hold committees in Aberdeen.

About this time, the victual was daily transported frae Aberdeen, Newburgh, Frasersburgh, and Peterhead, and diverse other parts, towards Newcastle, towards general Lesly's army's maintenance, being uplifted out of the tenths and twentieths and the bishops' rents.

The master of Forbes' regiment was, before the 9th of February discharged and disbanded by the committee of estates (not without the earl Marischall's procuring in some measure), because they were but silly poor naked bodies, burdenable to the country, and not fit for soldiers. Thus is he set beside the cushion, for his sincerity and forwardness in the good cause.

The committee of estates at Edinburgh hearing how the forbidden name of M'Gregor and their accomplices brake loose about this time, and were sorning and troubling the king's lieges day and night, condescended with the laird of Invercauld, for a certain sum of money, to defend the sherriffdoms of Angus, Mearns, Aberdeen, and Banff, (whilk were the countries wherein they did most injury and oppression), for a year to come, from all rief and

spoiled; what was taken by thir robbers frae them, he was obliged to repay the samen to the complainer within the space foresaid; for executing the whilk office, this forenamed laird of Invercauld was captain himself, and gathered together out of his own friends and others, about two hundred and fifty men, and kept the said four shires both night and day so carefully, that none suffered skaith, theft, or oppression, but lived in all peace and quietness; whilk the estates perceiving, discharged him of his office, but gave him not good payment of what was promised at the making of the bargain, thinking that the country would be free of any more vexation; but thir limmars hearing of his discharge, brake out again under John Dugar, to trouble and molest the country, to their great grief and skaith.

Upon Thursday the 18th of February, there came to Old Aberdeen, out of the marquis of Huntly's bounds, about a hundred silly poor pressed bodies, with a captain called Gordon, of the house of Tillieangus. They nighted for their own pay in the Oldtown. Upon the morrow, they offered their service to the earl Marischall, who directed them to his regiment lying at Morpeth in England; but how soon they came to Edinburgh to get pay from the estates, they were directed home, as unworthy soldiers, incontinent, and got not a plack, but came begging home through the country from Edinburgh.

About this time, Lewis Gordon, being with his father, the lord marquis of Huntly, at London, upon some alledged discontentment, left his father's company, without his knowledge, and to his great grief; for he unwisely conveyed away with him his father's hail jewells in a cabinet, being of great worth, and to Holland goes he, leaving his father sorrowful for his lewd miscarriage, whilk, amongst the rest of his crosses, he behoved patiently to suffer, although he had not great store of wealth lying beside him at that time, for maintenance of his noble rank.

Upon the 9th of March, the lord Sinclair directed his brother, lieutenant-colonel Sinclair, with a party of two hundred soldiers, from Aberdeen to Murray, Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland, for inbringing of men to his regiment, with the tenths and twentieths of these countries. He remained at Inverness, and got good obedience; for there came there to him outstanders and others, and willingly suffered all, lest he had lived upon all their estates, and plundered their goods, according to the military discipline, whilk they had no will of. He stayed at Inverness till about the third of May, syne returned.

Ye heard before, how Mr. John Gregory was deposed from the ministry of Drumoak. The laird of Drum deals for him, being his own pastor, and upon swearing and subscribing the covenant, and teaching penitentially, with great difficulty he was again restored to his own parish kirk.

Upon Tuesday the 16th of March, Mr. Thomas Thoirs, minister at Udney, a great Anti-covenanter, who had also fled to

England, comes now calmly in, when he could no better, and gladly swears and subscribes the covenant, begins his penitential sermons this day, and gives obedience, so that he is in peace.

Friday the 19th of March, the lord Sinclair sends out a party of soldiers to live upon the laird of Lethentie's lands, until he should come in and pay his lordship three thousand merks of fine, whilk the laird thought heavy, seeing he paid to this samen regiment six hundred merks before, and that they had plundered frae him his best horses, worth as much. However, he is compelled to come in and agree with his lordship, and so was made quit of the soldiers, who would have shortly harried his ground, if he had not agreed.

About this time, the committee of estates at Edinburgh directed William Blair, messenger, to go and charge diverse gentlemen and barons of the name of Gordon, and others in this country, to compear before our Scottish parliament, to be holden at Edinburgh the 13th of April next to come, and there to answer at the instance of sir Thomas Hope, his majesty's advocate, sir Thomas Nicholson, Mr. Alexander Pearson, Mr. Roger Mowat, and Mr. James Baird, advocates and procurators for the estates, to underly the law for lies-making, and misinforming his majesty against his good subjects, for sowing of sedition, for raising of arms against the country, as incendiaries, and diverse other points; with certification, if they compeared not, they should be declared traitors, andt heir estates confiscated and forfeaulted. This same messenger came and used thir charges, but none gave obedience, and nothing followed upon their disobedience.

Upon the 23d of March, the place of Kandechyle, pertaining to the marquis of Huntly, by a sudden fire was recklessly burnt and destroyed, the haill plenishing consumed, to his great skaith. However, crowner Garden happened to be dwelling at this samen time in this house, who was compelled to agree and pay the marquis therefor.

There came frae the south to Dunotter, the earl of Winton, with his son, the lord Seaton, who had Mr. Andrew Cant, new come frae Newcastle, in their company. They were well entertained, the lady Marischall being the earl of Winton's daughter; and upon the said 23d of March, they, with the earl Marischall, came to Aberdeen, and visited both the towns.

Upon the morrow, by warrant directed from the committee of the kirk, to eleven persons nominated by them, and dwelling within the next adjacent countries about Aberdeen, as they were the body of the general assembly, to nominate, elect, and choose three ministers for serving the cure at the kirk of New Aberdeen, now vacant by death partly, and partly by deposition of their own ordinary ministers; which eleven persons compeared, being ministers and elders of the presbytery and countries aforesaid, and, according to the power given, elected Mr. Edward

Wright, minister of Clackmannan, Mr. George Gillespie, minister at Weems, and Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Newbottle, to be preachers and ministers of the said burrow. Mr. Andrew Cant being present, was upon the foresaid day received, and he accepted; the other two were absent, and accepted not; but others were put in their places. The town of Aberdeen were not fully glad at Cant's coming. Then the foresaid lords, having seen both the towns of Aberdeen, returned back again to the south.

Sunday the 4th of April, a solemn fast was kept in both Aberdeens, and through the haill kingdom, for the happy success of the army, peace and quietness of the land.

Upon Saturday the 10th of April, the lord Gordon, by advice of the earl of Argyll, his uncle on the mother's side, came out of Berwick to Edinburgh (the marquis, his father, being still out of the kingdom), where he gave content to the committee of the general assembly for his fleeing the country, and outstanding; next he gave content to the committee of estates, by swearing and subscribing the covenant, and obliged himself that his name and his father's vassals should keep good order, and likewise that they should swear and subscribe the covenant in his own presence; or otherwise, that he should deliver a note of the refusers' names to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, before the 22d of May next to come. For expeding whereof, he forthwith came to Strathboggie, conveyed his friends at Dumbennan, where himself first sware and subscribed the covenant over again, and then all the rest would subscribe, and took them obliged to keep order, by virtue of their band, for his relief; and such as were absent, or being present refused, he took up their names, and then came to Edinburgh, and there shewed his diligence, whereof the estates were heartily well content.

Ye heard before of the Scottish commissioners, their charge against Canterbury and the lieutenant of Ireland, and of the accusations given therein against them. It is very apparent that theirs and the English minds were set for their destruction fully, as the only two who had the king's ear in all affairs both in church and policy, in thir troublesome times, and who express themselves deadly enemies to our Scottish proceedings, and faithful servants to his majesty. But on the other part, both English and Scottish being combined together, resolved to take them both from guiding the king, or counselling him, after a kind of legal way; and first, they moved the king to send for the deputy to Ireland, who being come, was shortly warded in the knight of the black rod's, and thereafter was transported to the Tower, upon diverse pretended accusations against England and Scotland.

But this noble lieutenant wisely and gravely made clear answers to every article; yet they were all repelled, since the ground of his death was otherwise laid. His majesty left nothing undone for his safety that lay in his princely power, but he could nowise prevail against this plot, to his great grief.

At last sentence is pronounced, ordaining this nobleman's head to be stricken frae his shoulders upon the Towerhill, the 12th of May next to come; whilk sentence they compelled the king to sign, sore against his will, with his own hand.

Tuesday the 13th of April, our parliament was prorogued to the 25th of May, 1641; from that continued to the 15th of July, the said year; from that appointing the next parliament to sit down the 17th of November, 1644, whereat the king was present himself.

Upon Thursday the 15th of April, being a presbytery day, Mr. John Gregory, of whom ye heard before, taught a penitential sermon in New Aberdeen. It was not found satisfactory by Mr. James Hervie, moderator, and the remanent members of the presbytery, and he was ordained to put the samen in write. The brethren advised the samen with the next provincial assembly, who found it not satisfactory, and therefore they ordained him to preach penitentially at certain kirks, till he gave content to the next ensuing general assembly, whilk he obeyed.

Upon Tuesday the 20th of April, the provincial assembly sat down in New Aberdeen. Mr. Adam Barclay, minister at Alford, was chosen moderator to the next provincial assembly. There were sundry matters agitated there; and, first, anent Mr. John Gregory, as ye have heard. Mr. Walter Hempseed was placed minister at Auchterless, in the deposed Mr. John's place. Mr. Andrew Logie, minister at Rayne, continued there, but was prohibited to preach till the next general assembly, and to sustain a preacher out of his stipend to supply his place. Dr. Forbes, laird of Corse, and professor of divinity, was deposed, and his kirk declared vacant, by virtue of a warrant directed from the committee of the general assembly at Edinburgh, grounded upon an act thereanent in the late general assembly, as he who refused to subscribe and swear the covenant. For the present he suffered patiently, his wife being dead. He gave up his own house, and remained a while in John Forbes' house in Old Aberdeen, and thereafter in Mr. Thomas Lesly's house, quietly, upon his own expences;—a learned pious man as was in this land. It was said, he mortified the lodging wherein he dwelt to the professors after him. He offered the keys then to such as should come in his place; but none was present, and he kept his own lodging, wherein he lay all night, but at the same time boarded himself in manner foresaid. To this assembly there came out of ilk parish in this province, a commissioner chosen out of the ruling elders of ilk parish, most able and qualified for the purpose; likewise at every provincial assembly since the reformation this order was kept; so ilk minister came with his ruling elder. There were diverse other acts of this meeting; and upon Thursday the 22d of April, the brethren dissolved.

Friday the 23d of April, *alias* Good Friday, there was no



preaching nor communion given in either of the Aberdeens, as was wont to be before.

About this time the earl Marischall sends for Robert Keith, writer, his old servant, who was then dwelling in Old Aberdeen, as cashiered by wrongous information, and was now guided by Mr. Alexander Lindsay, sometime of Vane, and Robert Keith, sheriff-depute of the Mearns; however, the earl now writes for him, who came to Dunotter, and was received to wonted favour. Shortly, the earl rides (having him with him) to Edinburgh, and craved the estates for his charges disbursed in the good cause; they answered, that the fines lifted out of Aberdeen, and the tenths and twentieths out of the country within the division, was able to pay all his charges. He answered, that he and his doers had received no more out of Aberdeen but nine hundred merks of fines; but they replied, he and his doers had received above twenty-six thousand merks of fines from Aberdeen, by virtue of the common band. The earl marvels at this answer, and returns home to Dunotter, to take trial of this business. Now his special doers were the said Alexander Lindsay and Robert Keith, sir John Douglas, one of his captains (lying at Newcastle with the regiment at this time), and Mr. James Baird, advocate at Dunotter. He tries the said Lindsay and Keith, who constantly denied any such receipt; whereupon the earl presently quits Lindsay, and upon the morn, being the 21st of April, sends Robert Keith to Aberdeen, with a warrant to convene the town's people in the tolbooth, and there, by virtue of their oath, and under their subscriptions, to declare what sums of money, goods, or gear, they had given or payed in the earl Marischall's name, to any of his servants' orders, and to bring a true note thereof with him, which the said Robert Keith gladly did, and the town as willingly revealed. Among the rest, it was told, how Mr. James Baird plundered Mr. Alexander Davidson, a good honest man of the king's, of three hundred merks. How soon the earl gets this note, he forthwith rides back to the committee of estates at Edinburgh.

Now were great rumours of stir in England, by a paper found, bearing a consent of the king's cabinet council (consisting of about eight or nine persons whom his majesty most favoured), for inbringing of the Spanish armada, for help and support of the papists. The king has this cabinet council nightly after supper, who had all consented, with the lieutenant for Ireland, except only the marquis of Hamilton and earl of Morton, as was reported. However, this paper of the foresaid alledged contents is delivered to the house of commons.

Upon the 29th of April, the lord Sinclair conveens diverse barons and gentry within the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, and in a committee holden in the tolbooth thereof, orders were given to the commissioners appointed through the haill parishes to take up

the names of the hail men able to bear arms, between sixty and sixteen, in ilk parish, and to report their diligence before the 10th of May; yet no distress followed on the country at this time; praised be God!

Upon Thursday the 29th day of April, the young prince of Orange, about the age of ten years, came royally convoyed from Holland to the city of London, and, with much magnificence, is married to our king's eldest daughter, Mary, a bairn about eight years of age, conform to the conditions agreed upon betwixt his majesty and his council on the one part, and of the prince of Orange, elder, and the estates of Holland, on the other part. After the marriage, the young prince remained, royally entertained, at the court of England. At last, the prince of Orange, his father, sent for him to come home; he therefore took his leave frae the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and all the king's children, and of the princess his young lady and spouse, whom he left behind him. His majesty gifted him with abundance of plate and other riches; and as he was passing by the Tower of London, he had a volley of a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon. Thus leaving his young wife behind him, he returns back again safe and sound to Holland. Some marvelled at this marriage, as being inferior to the marriages of the king's daughters of England, who were married to crowned heads, and that the greatest in Christendom; others thought it was carefully drawn on by the lords and lower house, who had their own designs of state and church matters in hand, whereby they might be sure, at all hazards, of the concurrence and help of their new ally, the prince of Orange, and estates of Holland; but, contrary to their expectation, this marriage proved to the singular good and assistance against their devilish device.

Upon Tuesday the 27th of April, Mr. John Ross, minister at Birse, taught a penitential sermon at New Aberdeen, disclaiming episcopacy, Perth articles, high commission, books of canons and common prayers, and the like, to be altogether unlawful in our kirk. This preaching was pleasantly heard, and he esteemed a good bairn, however he was before.

Sunday the 2d of May, about three o'clock in the morning, the lord Sinclair rode suddenly from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. Upon the morn, his brother, lieutenant-colonel Sinclair, returned back frae Inverness to Aberdeen. He brought in the fourth and eighth man out of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Murray, amounting to about one hundred men; he also, with Walter Cochran, burgess of Aberdeen, and a commissary there, brought in store of money for the tenths and twentieths, without contradiction.

About this time, our new allies, the Hollanders, sent into Scotland, for maintenance of the good cause, a ship loaded with store of ammunition, powder, ball, and arms, to our Covenanters.

About the 8d of May, word came to Aberdeen of a rebellion

in Ireland, arising from our covenant, fearing against their consciences to be compelled to subscribe the samen, albeit not warranted by the king, and find Scotland and England both under dissention about this covenant, church government, and matters of state. They took advantage of the time, and giving out to be obedient to the king, they fell to with fire and sword against the Covenanters, as well Irish as English and Scotch, within their kingdom, in most cruel manner. The papists were thought to be the principals of it.

Sunday the 9th of May, Mr. William Strachan, minister in Old Aberdeen, after the forenoon's sermon, read out of the pulpit certain printed acts anent runaways, and such as had got forloffs, for furnishing of rickmasters, and also for providing of gray cloath, harden, and shoes, and to deliver the samen to be sent to the army to Newcastle, and to give up their silver work, with sundry other articles; but no silver work was taken up here, in Aberdeen. After reading of thir acts, he also, by direction frae the general assembly, charged the masters and laxfishers of Dee and Don, within this parish, to forbear fishing upon Sunday, viz. frae Saturday at midnight till Sunday at that time, in all time coming; ilk trespassing servant to be punished for the first fault as a single fornicator, for the second as a double fornicator, and for the third to be punished as an adulterer; and if the master trespass by directing his men to work upon the Sabbath-day, he shall be conveyened before the session of the kirk, and censured conform to his fault. This assembly act got some obedience with great difficulty, for it was thought no sin to fish upon the Sabbath-day before.

The earl of Stafford being now out of the way, to the great joy and contentment of the confederate Covenanters, both in England and Scotland, there comes news to Aberdeen that some of the queen's most special friends and favourites had fled the court of England, as being suspected to be upon a plot intending to bring the king's army (lying at Cedess) to London, to whom should have joined the whole Frenchmen (of no small number) dwelling there, the whole papists within the town and country; and sicklike, that the king of France, having a sea army at this time lying at Piccardy, should have loosed therefrae, and landed at Portsmouth in England, and to have met altogether, and gone to raise up the English parliament per force, before the peaceable conclusion thereof. The queen herself was suspected to be upon the council hereof, but this news turned to nothing, for there was no trial found that thir matters were trae; but there comes forth hastily, a proclamation against these persons who had fled, but no obedience followed, nor did the foresaid persons compear, being fled out of the kingdom. It was reported that the English parliament was much taken up about the discovery of papist's plots; and first they had a committee anent fertifying of the Cinque Ports; they caused disarm several pa-

pists in and about London, and the queen's mother was commanded to remove out of the kingdom, which she did; and subsidies were raised for sustaining of the armies.

The king was now dealing earnestly with the lords of the upper house, that the bill should not pass anent taking away the civil offices of bishops.

That there should be a cessation of war betwixt the English and Scots, frae the 16th of May to the last of June. This news came to Aberdeen about the English business, whilk for the most part proved true.

Doctor Guild, of whom ye heard before, sets out a printed paper, whereof the tenor follows:—

*“ To the Nobility, Gentry, Burrows, and others, and Ministers of this late combination in Covenant.*

*“ A Friendly and Faithful Advice, that the event of this great Convention, June 6th, may, by God's blessing, end to his glory, and the peace both of church and kingdom, by Dr. William Guild, sworn Chaplain to his Majesty, and Minister in Aberdeen.*

“ 1st, As remembering that the Lord is the searcher of hearts, and bleaseth only the sincere designs which are intended for his glory and good of his church, chiefly when the samen is so gloriously pretended, ye would do well herein to examine more narrowly than Laban searched Jacob's tents, and to sift your hearts, that under pretence of zeal for religion only, no secret nor corrupt ends, like Achan's thing, be anywise hid, tending to your own private gain, or any other sinister respects, lest that (as God forbid) the happy hoped-for event of this solemn meeting be woefully crost; as Simeon and Levi, pretending religion, but intending their own private vindict, were accused by Him, who otherwise would have blest them.

“ 2d, Consider that you have to do with your native and most gracious prince, the anointed of the Lord. In dealing with him, eye always God, whom he representeth, and with that loyal love and tenderness as becometh. Remember your own places as subjects, and your duties accordingly, so to carry in all humility and due obedience, as you may approve yourselves to God, his majesty, to your own consciences, and to all good men both at home and in all foreign nations; shunning the foul aspersions of the least degree of lese-majesty, as having David's tender heart within you, and not touching the Lord's anointed, or so much as the skirt of his garment, with the least attempt of seeking to impair his royal and sacred dignity, or the lustre of that crown which God hath set upon his head, and whose flourishing ever we all should wish.

“ 3d, Remember, also, that the eyes of subtile vigilant Romans are towards you, waiting for your halting, and to make their most advantageous use of a miscarriage on your parts, thereby by their police to blow the coal of division, and to augment the samen for their own advantage, to bring the truth in your persons to a disgust and reproach, and if they may (which I hope in God they shall never be able to perform), to alienate the affection of your gracious and re-

ligious sovereign from the very profession itself, and from this tender care which hitherto, as a nursing father, he hath had of the samen.

“ 4th, Especially remembering what ye pretend and profess of the king’s defence and his sacred authority. Abjure also the rest of the corruptions of Rome which ye so much abhor, and, like loyal subjects, put ye nothing in practice of that jesuitical and damnable doctrine of theirs, that Christian people may rise in open rebellion against their sacred sovereigns ; and that they in ancient times opposed not violently, heathen or heretical emperors, nor deposed them, only because they wanted force and powers so to do (as speaketh cardinal Bellarmine), which thing Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and many more, teach to be false. Tertullian, in his Apology for the Christians, under the persecuting heathen emperors, testifies that, if it had been lawful for them to be either secret or open revengers of their own wrongs, they neither wanted number nor power ; yet what war is there, saith he, that we are not meet for, and would be ready also to undertake, if that our religion taught us not the contrary ?

“ 5th, And if his majesty discharge these things that are unwarrantable by law, and have occasioned this fearful disturbance, peace would be so regarded, and the duty of native subjects to a gracious prince would be so remembered, as his royal majesty may perceive, by the loving hearts of his loyal people, how much he is obliged to respect and give a patent ear hereafter to their farther grievances, seriously to consider thereof, and in the best manner, and in a fair way to give them contentment, rather than he would seem to foreign nations, by the subjects of one of his kingdoms to be fully inforced in a manner to yield to their desires,—God forbid !

“ 6th, Likewise, having the proof of a gracious prince’s condescending so far, and his promise, by public proclamation, of a patent ear to all his subjects’ farther just complaints, that any seeming wilful imprudence by irruption on your part, should insensibly embark the estate of this our free and native kingdom into such hazard of losses and crosses, cruelties and calamities, which, upon the wrath of so great a prince, and the rupture between him and his subjects in so poor and distressed a kingdom as this is already, would be clearly seen to all nations to ensue ; but rather giving what may be condescended to subjects’ humble desires, a fair way may be made to granting of farther—that Satan, the author of all division, may be disappointed, the popish hopes may be frustrated, so good a prince may be kept and duly respected, the peace of the church and kingdom may be settled, all feared evils as fruits of this combustion may be prevented, and the hearts of all who love God’s truth and good of the country may be comforted ;—which the Lord grant in mercy for Christ’s sake. Amen.”

Saturday the 15th of May, a proclamation was made at the cross of Aberdeen, forbidding transportation of any more victual to our army at Newcastle, which was good news to the country people, who were forced to pay great prices for victual to sustain themselves ; because, out of the sherifdoms of Banff and Aberdeen there was transported twelve thousand bolls of meal and bear, which raised the prices mightily ; but the army was well served, and sent back some of their victual to Leith.

About this time, John Gordon of Haddo is pursued before the committee of estates of parliament, at the instance of Andrew lord Fraser and John Forbes of Lesly, for oppressing of them, their men, tenants, and servants, plundering their girdels, horses, corn, and other goods, and casting thereby the Mains of Muchalls waste, extending to great sums; and for taking of the said John Lesly violently and per force, and carrying him to Strathboggie; for taking frae him his best horse, with a bond for payment of one thousand merks before he was put to liberty, and whereof he had got real payment. Thir complaints were strongly agitated before this committee, whereof the lord of Balmerinoch, brother-in-law to the lord Fraser, was president (no doubt his true friend), agented also by the laird of Craigievar, a deadly enemy to the laird of Haddo. True, Haddo was not guiltless of these complaints, but he had fled the course which the name of Gordon was then upon, and came in to the earl Marischall, his near cousin, and followed him; and for his safety and protection paid also to the earl eight thousand merks, and by whose means he had got an absolvitor, as was alledged, from these claims long before, in presence of a full committee.

Haddo, trusting to this absolvitor, and Marischall's moyan, bade at home, the earl answering for him before the committee; but do his best, the first absolvitor was repealed, and he decarned by the committee of estates of parliament to pay to the lord Fraser for his losses the sum of ten thousand merks or thereby, and to the laird of Lesly, three thousand five hundred merks; whereupon horning, caption, and comprising was hastily raised, but Haddo made protestation against the decreets.

Sunday the 30th of May, doctor William Guild, minister, celebrated the communion in New Aberdeen to the people sitting, none daring to kneel, as was used before; he read out an act of the general assembly, strictly charging and forbidding all such as had not subscribed the covenant to approach this table, or any others coming frae their parishes without a testimonial, otherwise they should be removed publickly.

Friday the 4th of June, Mr. William Strachan, our minister, preached a preparation sermon before the giving of the communion. The next Sabbath, Dr. Alexander Scroggie came and heard his sermon, which was the first he heard the said Mr. Alexander Strachan preach since his coming to the place; and upon Sunday the 6th of June he preached; after sermon he read out these alledged assembly acts to the people sitting, and after prayer he gave the bread on each side to one or two; thereafter the bason and bread lifted by an elder, and ilk man took his sacrament with his own hand; in like manner the minister took the cup and gave it to one or two on each side, so each one gave the cup to his fellow; not done as was before, for the minister before gave each person communicating the blessed sacrament out of his own hand, and to ilk person the cup.

Upon this Sunday, sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny, knight baronet, his banns with dame Elizabeth Gordon were proclaimed. Her husband deceased upon the 29th of November, 1640. There was some suspicion of familiarity betwixt them, whereupon thir banns were proclaimed by direction of the presbytery, himself sitting in the desk in Old Aberdeen, hearing his own banns proclaimed, not ordinarily used.

General Lesly sent about this time John Monro of Assan, and a lieutenant in his army, with a letter to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, desiring him to be warded in the tolbooth, for having conference with one of the king's army called sir Donald Gorme, whilk was done. The earl of Seaforth was also holden in suspicion with us, and I believe little was proved against the one or the other as yet.

About the 6th of June, there fell out some anger betwixt the earl of Argyll and the earl of Montrose, upon some alledged speeches. There was some discontent before betwixt general Lesly and Montrose at Newcastle, anent some letters passing betwixt the king and him, contrary to the order of war, whereat the general was offended, but this matter, though suspicious, was wisely suppress. Now it happened, that a minister called Graham had spoken that the earl of Argyll said, the king's majesty might be deposed and deprived of his crown, upon any of three reasons. 1st, For desertion; that is, leaving his kingdom without good government in church and policy. 2d, For prodition; that is, seeking the tinsel and loss of his kingdom, by destroying of their laws and liberty. 3d, For invasion; that is, raising arms against his loyal subjects. Which speeches this Graham alledged Argyll had spoken in Athol, at the time when he went there to cause that country people subscribe the covenant, as ye have heard before; and that he spake them in presence of diverse barons, gentlemen, and others of rank. How soon Argyll heard of this Graham's speeches, he conveens him before the committee at Edinburgh, and accuses him upon these speeches. This Graham answered, it was true he spake them. Then he was demanded of an author; the earl of Montrose being sitting with the rest at the committee, he was loath to reveal his author; but Montrose spake boldly, Fear not, says he, tell your author. He answers them, My lord, it is yourself that is my author; who also being enquired, confessed that Argyll spake the speeches indeed; and his author being spiered for, Montrose pertly alledged, and said, he would bide by them; and that Mr. John Stuart, younger, commissary of Dunkeld, was his author. Argyll and his sister's son being both sitting at this committee, and hearing thir speeches, were nettled, and became offended with Montrose, betwixt whom fell out some quarrelsome speeches, but all were commanded silence by the committee for this time. Argyll causes charge Mr. John Stuart to compear before the committee to answer for thir speeches; who indeed obeyed the charge, and

compeared, and bade by the speeches; saying to Argyll, My lord, I heard you speak these words in Athol, in presence of a great many people, whereof you are in good memory. Argyll answered, saying, while he was in Athol, he found the Stuarts there against the subscribing of the covenant, to whom he said, this covenant was not against the king, but for religion and liberty of the kingdom; and if they would not subscribe the samen, it might breed them both peril and skaith; for if the body of the country would not go one way, but be divided amongst themselves, it would be an highway to bring in the Englishmen into the land, to dethrone the king, and bring the nobles under servitude and slavery. This he remembered to have said, but denied any farther. Whereupon the said Mr. John Stuart is presently warded and kept fast in the tolbooth of Edinburgh; and at last it cost him his life, as hereafter ye shall hear.

Now, Argyll seeing Montrose thus set against him, strives by all means possible to have a watchful eye over his ways, and understanding that Montrose had lately sent to court, one captain John Stuart with letters, he quietly sends into England three or four trusty servants, to intercept this bearer in his home-coming; whilk they did, and ripe this captain, and find within his riding saddle, a paquet of letters; they bring him to Edinburgh, where Argyll presents him before the committee, with his letters. They immediately brake the paquet, and find diverse letters written to sundry of our noblemen by our Scotch nobles at court, and one especially written by his majesty to Montrose himself thanking him for his loyalty, desiring him also to persevere, and he should not rest unrewarded. What was written in the other letters, I cannot tell. Among the rest there was a curious obscure piece, written after the form following:—

“ Tell L. if G. and B. be disbanded the parliament may be holden, and A. and R. may be cut off by A B C, and by thir means other matters not yet known may take effect, and D. and T. may effectuate what is desired by the assistance of A B C, &c. M. relies upon L. K., looks for the performance of all promised to him in L. his name. No officers of state should be chosen but by A B C. Let L be informed by D. and T. that matters cannot go right till that serpent M. that lies in his bosom be cut off.”

*Clavis.*—“ L. viz. Lyon; G. B. general and his band; A. and G. Argyll and Rothes; A B C, banders; D. T. duke of Lennox and Traquair; M. Montrose; K. the laird of Keir; M. that serpent the marquis of Hamilton.”

This letter, thus ambiguously written, is after this manner found out and expounded among the committee, to their great grief and displeasure. Then they go on and demand further of this captain John Stuart, what he knew in this business, and took his oath, solemnly to declare the truth, who deponed, he knew nothing what was in the paper, but that his master, Montrose, had written to his majesty, forbidding him to come to Scotland



for holding the parliament, till first the Scottish army were disbanded, otherwise he would be in jeopardy. Farther than this he knew not.

Thereafter he is committed to ward in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. In like manner, the earl of Montrose, the lord Napier (married to the earl's sister), a singular man, and sometime president to the committee of estates; the lord of Keir, allied to Napier; the laird of Blackhall, surnamed Stuart, a prime man, and one of the lords of council and session, being combined together, and guilty in writing of letters expressly forbidden under the pain of treason, without consent of the committee, and suspect to be guilty in other passages besides: they, therefore, were all at the same time warded in the castle of Edinburgh, and straitly kept.

About the foresaid 6th of June, there came from England to Scotland, an act intituled, "*An Act for utter abolishing Archbishops, Bishops, Chancellors, Commissars, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chantors, Canons, and all other Officers, out of the Church of England.*"

This act plainly proved how both English and Scots had concluded the ruin and rooting out of bishops from the king's hail dominions, before the beginning of our covenant.

There came word also to us, that our Scottish commissioners met with a committee of the lower house, whom they had acquainted with the plots newly discovered, touching Montrose and his accomplices; desiring their assistance to sequestrate Traquair from the king, and to send him home with the rest of the incendiaries, which at this time was not granted: that the parliament had seized upon the hail Cinque Ports of England, and furnished the samen; and that the hail parliament had subscribed the English covenant, except the papists.

Sunday, being Whitsunday, the 13th of June, Mr. William Strachan gave the communion in Old Aberdeen (as before) the second time. Dr. Scroggie, notwithstanding he was forbidden out of the pulpit to come to the table, as he who had subverted the covenant, took his communion, whilk bred some fear to the minister, who was doubtful to refuse him the communion or give it; but no impediment was made to him, and so he received it.

Upon the foresaid Whitsunday, the lord Sinclair came to the place of Old Montrose, by direction of the committee of estates at Edinburgh, and there violently brake up the gates and doors thereof, entered the house, searched and sought the hail coffers, chests, and trunks within the samen, to see what missives or letters pertaining to the earl of Montrose, or any of his friends, might be found, because his writes lay in this house. They took to Edinburgh also with them the earl's secretary, called Lamby, to try what he knew. The like was done to another house of the said earl's, called Kincardine, and what was found was had to the committee at Edinburgh, the earl himself lying warded in

the castle. It is said they also demolished his stately house of Mugdok.

About this time, the Flanders traders of Aberdeen are compelled to send to Holland seventeen thousand merks, in penny or pennyworths, for their part and for relief of the country, as was for them stented.

Now, soldiers were daily coming out of Caithness and other parts, for making up the lord Sinclair's regiment of five hundred men, but the earl of Murray is quit without furnishing any men. Sunday the 20th of June, Mr. William Strachan, the third time, gave the communion in Old Aberdeen, forbidding (before he gave it), out of the pulpit, all outstanders and Anti-covenanters to approach the table; but Dr. Forbes of Corse obeyed not this prohibition, but came to the table, and received the communion without impediment at this time. Thus both he and Dr. Scroggie, as ye heard before, communicated; but Dr. Lesly, the principal, did not communicate this year at all. And this samst Sunday, Mr. John Lesly, servitor to the said Dr. Forbes, and Mr. John Cassie, stood up, and with uplifted hands subscribed the covenant, whilk they had not done before; and, for their so long outstanding, the presbytery ordained them to confess their error, and to subscribe and swear, as said is.

Mr. Alexander Robertson, minister at Cluny, upon Tuesday the 22d of June, married sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny with dame Elizabeth Gordon, after their banns were thrice proclaimed in Old Aberdeen, and whereupon Mr. William Strachan sent his testimonial; so they were married at Cluny, and their bridal held at Tilliefour; but she died shortly after.

Wednesday the 23d of June, Dr. Scroggie, a reverend old preacher at this kirk, is now, sore against his will, compelled to quit his dwelling-house in Old Aberdeen, and yards pleasantly planted for the most part by himself. So he removes this day, with all his family, from the samen, and delivers the keys to Mr. William Strachan, that he might enter as well to the bigging as to the pulpit. He transported all to Ballogie, and took a chamber, for his coming and going, in New Aberdeen. Thus is this wise, famous, learned old man handled in his old age: however, the said Mr. William Strachan paid him for his planting, before he got entry, four hundred merks.

Upon Thursday the 24th of June, Mr. Andrew Cant comes with his wife and bairns to Aberdeen, takes up his house, enters his calling and ministry, by direction of the general assembly. He was not very welcome to all, because he came not by the town's election. He began to make some innovations, as ye may see hereafter.

Now the papists are straitly put out in all places, without respect, within the kingdom; among the rest the lady Dowager of Huntly, a noble, worthy, and honourable lady, is put at by the kirk to renounce her religion, and conform in severe manner.

This lady, born in France, brought up in the Roman religion all her days, and of great age, would not now (her one foot being in the grave, as the saying is,) alter her religion, but rather made choice to leave the kingdom; whilk she was forced to do for all her kindred's moyan and friendship that she could make. Thus resolutely she settles her estate, rents, and living; leaves, with woe heart, her stately building of the Bog, beautified with many yards, parks, and pleasures, closes up the gates, and takes journey, with about sixteen horse; and, upon Saturday the 26th of June, she came to Aberdeen, lodged in Mr. Alexander Reid's house, and on Monday thereafter, she rides frae Aberdeen towards Edinburgh. A strange thing to see a worthy lady of seventy years of age to be put to such travel and trouble, being a widow, her eldest son, the lord Marquis, being out of the kingdom, her other children dispersed and spread, and albeit nobly born, yet left helpless and comfortless, and so put at by the kirk, that she behoved to go, or else abide excommunication, and thereby lose her estate and living, whilk was she loath to do. She left her oy, Charles, son to the marquis, being but a bairn, with Robert Gordon, baillie of Enzie, to be entertained by him, when she came frae the Bog; and she also sent another of his bairns, called lady Mary, to Anne, countess of Perth, her own eldest sister, to remain with her. These things done, she comes to Aberdeen; frae that she rides to Edinburgh, where she remains till about the end of September, without help or remead; syne rides directly to Berwick, there to remain during her pleasure. It is said, she had store of gold and jewels with her. Afterwards she goes to France. She had about three hundred thousand merks in gold and money with her, by and attour silver plate, which did little good to the distressed estate of that noble house.

Sunday the 27th of June, Dr. Guild, one of the ordinary ministers at Aberdeen, preached. After sermon, he declared that he was ordained to leave his ministry, and become principal of the King's College of Old Aberdeen. He there took his leave of his auditory, whereat some were not discontent, he being somewhat seditious, and they would have been willingly quit of him; and therefore he now removed (and not till now) to the said college.

Ye heard before somewhat of the earl of Montrose and his complices. Now, about this time, the committee of estates, as was said, sent the lord Balmerinoch to the castle of Edinburgh, desiring Montrose to come and speak with the committee, whilk he simpliciter refused, saying, he would come to parliament before his peers, but not before a committee. Thereafter another lord was sent to him, who got the same answer; whereupon the committee ordained the provost and baillies of Edinburgh to go in their name, and charge the constable of the castle to render Montrose to them, and to bring him down to the committee un-

der a strong guard; whilk they did, being about four hundred men. The committee demand Montrose of some questions, who would give no answer nor solution, saying, he would answer in parliament before his peers, and was no more obliged. The committee finding no contentment, sent him back again to the castle, there to remain; but Stephen Boyd was discharged from being captain thereof, and another captain put in his place, because he suffered Montrose to have conference with the rest. So they want that comfort now, and are more straitly kept, so that ilk one had a pae to wait upon him, and none was suffered to go in or out but by permission, to speak with any of them. This was thought strict dealing, there being of Montrose's side, called Banders, about nineteen noblemen, linked together against the committee government, although otherwise good Covenanters.

Saturday the 3d of July, the lord Sinclair returned from Edinburgh back again to Aberdeen, where he ordained his regiment lying there, of about five hundred men, to live upon free quarters within the town, to the wreck of the inhabitants thereof; but they had no great loss, because they received payment for their entertainment frae commissary Farquhar, out of the tenths and twentieths, suppose this Farquhar made his own profit thereby also, by paying them with dear meal. Now, there happened one called John Alexander, servitor to the earl of Seaforth, to come frae Edinburgh to Aberdeen, intending to go north to his master, with letters which he had upon him; but was apprehended in Aberdeen, and sent with the letters to the committee at Edinburgh, thinking to find somewhat among the letters that would make the earl of Seaforth better known, who indeed was under vehement suspicion. How soon the earl gets word, he follows his man south, and after trial nothing was found against himself or his servant; however, he bides the parliament following.

The presbytery of Aberdeen and their moderator were, upon the 8th of July, at the visitation of the kirk of Mary Culter, where Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, Mr. Andrew Melvin, parson of Banchory, and Mr. William Strachan, minister at Old Aberdeen, were chosen commissioners for the said presbytery, to attend the next general assembly. William Blackburn, burgess of Aberdeen, was chosen a ruling or laic elder for the said presbytery. Mr. Samuel Rutherford, minister at —, hearing of this election, writes hastily to the presbytery, then sitting in Aberdeen, craving (as if he had not heard of the election) Mr. Andrew Cant to be chosen one of the commissioners; the matter is agitated, and the brethren thought that the election should stand unchanged, except there were found a nullity in the samen, according to the order observed before in the kirk, without he who was chosen should demit; but Mr. Andrew Melvin is urged to demit, which ignorantly, contrary to his credit, he did;

and upon which the said Mr. Andrew Cant is joined commissioner in his place.

Ye heard how this parliament was continued to the 15th of July, (according to the diverse acts of continuation in the second parliament of king Charles). This day the said parliament sits down, with the nobles, barons, and burgesses both, without the king, for he was not yet come down, and without a commissioner; however, they begin to do such business before his majesty's coming as they thought fit. The earl of Traquair hearing of this parliament, leaves the king (for he durst not bide behind him in England, for fear of the English parliament) and goes to sea, sailing in one of the king's ships, about Holy Island and elsewhere, for security of his life, untill at last he is forced to come in and set caution before the estates, or a committee of parliament, and there to abide his trials.

Well, they began first to call the absents frae this parliament, both at home and abroad, but no bishop was called nor contumaced, except the pretended bishop of Ross. Now, there were particularly summoned to this parliament, John earl of Traquair; sir Robert Spotswood of Dunnipace, late president; sir John Hay of Lauds, late clerk register; Mr. John Maxwell, pretended bishop of Ross; and Dr. Balcanquhall, as incendiaries; and sicklike, were summoned to this parliament, James earl of Montrose, Archibald lord Napier, sir George Strivling of Keir, and sir Archibald Steuart of Blackhall, as plotters, devisers, and machinators of courses against the publick weal, as the 34th act of the last session of the said 2d parliament bears; albeit thir last named persons were all warded in the castle of Edinburgh, as ye heard before. By and attour incendiaries and plotters, there were also summoned the marquis of Huntly, the marquis of Douglas, the earl of Roxburgh, the earl of Nithsdale, the earl of Crawford, the earl of Airth, the earl of Airly, the earl of Linlithgow, the earl of Tulliebardine, the earl of Stirling, the earl of Carnwarth, the lord Semple, the lord Ogilvie, the lord Aboyn, the lord Etrick or general Ruthven, and sundry others, who were out of the kingdom. They were all summoned at the mercat cross of Edinburgh and pier of Leith, upon sixty days' warning. There were also summoned to this parliament sundry of the barons and gentlemen of the name of Gordon in this country, whereof none compeared of that name. This summons was raised by direction of the estates against thir persons, under the pain of forfeiture; whereupon many of thir noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, came home to Edinburgh.

Ye heard before of Dr. John Forbes of Corse his deposition, whereby his place of professor was vacant, to the great grief of the youth and young students of theology, who were well instructed and taught by this learned doctor; but for remead of this, there is direct by the kirk an edict to be served and publick-

ly read at the kirk door of Machar kirk in Old Aberdeen, by the which the commissioners of the presbyteries of the haill diocese of Aberdeen were summoned to compear at Aberdeen, upon the last day of August next to come, for choosing in the deposed professor's place a sufficient qualified man to serve in his room, and upon his rents.

The commissioners of the haill presbytery compeared, and none were absent except Kincardine, Deer, and Turiff; the rest who were present leeted for this place, Mr. Alexander Seyton, minister at Banff; Mr. John Seyton, minister at Kemnay; Mr. George Leith, minister at Culsamond; Mr. William Douglas, minister at Forgue; and because the haill commissioners were not present, they referred thir leeted men, with eiking, paring, or changing, to the next provincial assembly to be holden at Aberdeen; and so they dissolved.

Upon Tuesday the 20th of July, the general assembly sat down in St. Andrew's; Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars in Fife, is moderator; the committee of estates wrote to them, with the earl of Cassilis, shewing that many of the commissioners to this assembly were members of the parliament; desiring them, therefore, to translate their place to Edinburgh, as most commodious both for parliament and them. This matter was much debated among the brethren; at last they yielded, leave St. Andrew's and come to Edinburgh; and upon the 27th of the samen July, sit down in the Grey Friar kirk thereof, where the king's commissioner, viz. earl of Weymss, presented them a letter, written frae his majesty to them, protesting to maintain religion in true piety, to pass presentations to such kirks as he was patron of, to such ministers not yet provided as were thought meet; to see seminaries of learning advanced, requesting the brethren to be peaceably set, and to pray for him. This favourable letter was delivered to the moderator, and read in public audience; thereafter the commissioner delivered somewhat more conform to his commission. Now this assembly sat each day before noon constantly, and the parliament ilk day afternoon. No such order seen here before,—the parliament and the assembly sitting half days together. No lords nor barons, advocates, clerks, or other men of mark, had entry to this assembly, to hear and see, as was wont to be done before, so straitly were the doors kept; so the commissioners, ministers, and ruling elders had only place.

At this assembly, Dr. Sibbald, late minister at Aberdeen, his papers which were taken frae him were revised and sighted; some whereof smelled of Arminianism, as they thought, and whilk they kept; other some were found orthodox, whilk were delivered to Mr. Robert Petrie, agent in Edinburgh, to be sent to Dr. Sibbald, now lying in England or Ireland. Mr. John Gregory, minister at Drumoak, and Mr. Alexander Logie, minister at Rain, were received and reinstalled in their several kirks.

Mr. John Oswald, minister at —, was ordained by the assembly to be transplanted to Aberdeen, which he very willingly obeyed.

The night family exercise, called the *Family of Love*, was there agitated and reasoned, yet (contrary to the mind of the brethren who favoured the samen, as was thought,) it was suppressed and prohibited.

The household exercise, morning and evening prayers, were ordained to be said by ilk man, poor and rich, learned and ignorant, in his own family, under pain of kirk censure.

To this assembly, Dr. Alexander Scroggie (after he is deposed, put frae his kirk, and spoiled of his goods,) gives in now a supplication (notwithstanding of his writing, with the rest of the Aberdeen's doctors, against the covenant), offering to swear and subscribe the samen (whilk he had refused before), and to do what further the brethren should enjoin him. The assembly heard gladly his supplication, and referred him to the committee of the kirk at Edinburgh, ordaining him to go there and give them content, whilk he did at last, where he got some pension.

There were sundry other acts made by them, whilk is here referred to their own books. They indicted another general assembly, by their own authority, without warrant of the king, as was wont to be, to be holden at St. Andrew's, the third Wednesday of July, 1642; and so, upon the 9th of August, they all dissolved.

Upon Wednesday the 21st of July, Mr. John Steuart's head is stricken off frae his shoulders at the cross of Edinburgh, after he was convicted by an assize, before a committee holden to that effect, within the said burrow, for speeches alledged spoken by him against the earl of Argyll, as ye heard before. This gentleman is cruelly executed for words, not before our ordinary justice or sheriff court, according to our Scottish laws, but before a new in-come court. However, it is said, he abode by all the speeches that he spake, and went to death therewith.

About this time, John Leith of Harthill got liberty to come out of the tolbooth, where he was warded (as ye heard before), and go up and down Edinburgh, having one attending him all day, who brought him in ilk night to the tolbooth again; but this liberty lasted not long, but he was miserably handled, as ye may hereafter hear.

About the beginning of August, word came that the earl of Traquair, sir Robert Spotswood, John, pretended bishop of Ross, sir John Hay, and Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, five of the incendiaries above-written, were coming with the king to Scotland; whereupon the estates made proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, forbidding all manner of men to receipt, supply, or support any of them, under great pains; and whoever could take and apprehend them, or reveal them to the estates, should be thankfully rewarded, and estimate singular good service.

Now the king, calling to mind the treaty of peace put betwixt him and his subjects of Scotland, as ye have heard before, craftily conveyed and done by his majesty's commissioners of England, whom he trusted, and the commissioners of Scotland, wherein the Scottish prevail so much, that they get all their wills in the treaty, and much more in the subsequent parliament, as by the reading of the acts thereof plainly may appear; for the Scottish disorder and raising of arms being a mean to get a parliament indicted in England, whilk themselves could not get done; therefore, whilst the parliament is made sure, they go on by all possible means to settle by treaty the king and his Scottish subjects, by granting them all their desires in church and police, and thereafter to make the king, in their English parliament, condescend to the like government; and that uniformity, both in religion and church government, should, with the Scots, be firmly established and made conform.

This great policy is unknown to the king, whereby the English lower house and our confederates were so tied to one another. However, his majesty, as a most gracious illustrious prince, having no mind of such plots, addresses himself to keep the Scottish parliament continued to the 15th of July, and that day already sitten down, his majesty resolves therefore to come to Scotland, to settle all matters by parliament, to the effect he might go on the more soundly with his parliament in England; at any rate to secure us, so that the Scots should not stir nor meddle in the English business. But herein was his majesty deceived; and so he leaves the Scottish commissioners at the English parliament, whom he left sitting behind him, to wit, John earl of Rothes, Charles earl of Dumfermling, John lord Loudon, sir Patrick Hepburn of Wachton, sir William Douglas of Cavers, William Drummond of Rickarton, John Smith of Edinburgh, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn of Dundee, and Hugh Kennedy of Air, as members of the estates of parliament, to whom adjoined Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, clerk to the general assembly. Thir commissioners were appointed to attend the English parliament for the Scotch affairs; but the earl of Rothes, a sore enemy to the king, departed this life in England, and never returned back with the rest of the commissioners, but was buried at his own kirk of Lesly.

Now the king takes journey, with a very few train, having with him his own sister's son the Palgrave of Rhine, the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Morton, and some others. There came also with his majesty, commissioners from the parliament of England, to attend our parliament, that nothing should go wrong, but both parliaments go on in one mind and deliberation. His majesty comes forward, and saw general Lealy's army ty at Newcastle. He received a welcome of fine fireworks. Lealy also welcomed his majesty, as became him: he invited



him to dinner, with whom the king went: thereafter he had some short conference with Lesly, syne went to horse, where he had another fire-work volley, and therefrae came by post to Scotland, and upon Saturday the 14th of August he came to Holy-rood-house, in at the water gate, not passing one hundred persons in his train. Sundry of our Scots nobles met him; the provost and baillies saluted his highness in their long robes, a speech was made, the keys of the town rendered; but the king, somewhat melancholyous after his travel, coming all the way post by coach, gave little ear to their speech. However, they convoyed him in at the water gate to his palace of Holy-rood-house.

Here it is to be noted, a wonder to all posterity, and to the haill Christian world—a monarch! a king! to come to his own subjects, to give them a parliament, having their army and regiments lying in his highway, raised against himself for their own ends, for Lesly was lying at Newcastle, major Munro lying with his men in the Merse, about one thousand four hundred men; Cochran, with his regiment of one thousand men, lying in Lothian; and the lord Sinclair's regiment of five hundred men lying in Aberdeen. Nevertheless, it pleased his majesty, in a peaceable manner and quiet company, to come to Scotland, without regard or fear for thir armies of men, raised against himself.

Well, upon the morn, being Sunday the 15th of August, his majesty went to the Abbey kirk, and heard one of our sermons after the Scottish fashion, before and after noon, without organs or prayers, as he was used with at home.

Upon Tuesday the 17th of August, he came to the parliament house, where was conveened the three estates, consisting of nobles, barons, and burgesses, as the game went now, to whom he made the pleasant pithy speech following:—

“ My lords and gentlemen, there has been nothing so displeasing to me as those unlucky differences which of late have happened to be betwixt me and my subjects, and nothing that I have desired more, than to see the day wherein I hope not only to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know, and be known of, my native country. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed by and overcome, to be here at this time; yet this I will say, that if love to my native country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might have easily found a shift to do that by a commissioner, which I am come to perform myself. All this considered, I cannot doubt but to find some real testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that royal power which I enjoy, after one hundred and eighty descents, and which you have so often professed to maintain, and your own national oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think my pains ill bestowed.

“ Now the end of my coming is shortly this: to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withal to quiet these distractions which have and may fall out

against you ; and this I mind not superficially, but cheerfully to do ; for I assure I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people a general satisfaction.

“ Wherefore, not offering to endear myself to you in words (which, indeed, is not my way), desire, in the first place, to settle that which concerns the religion and just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act.”

This royal and memorable speech was dearly esteemed of the best, and (as his majesty desired) the parliament goes on day by day, as appears in the acts of parliament; for, first, there was read in the king's own audience the act made anent the oath to be given by every member of parliament, act 5. Then follows the 6th act, anent ratification of articles of treaty, with a commission from the commissioners of parliament, the articles of the large treaty, an act of oblivion, with certain other propositions and answers following the samen 6th act. Then follows diverse other trivial acts. In the 21st act, sir Alexander Gibson is made clerk register, in sir John Hay's place, for following the king; in the 22d act, the election of counsellors; in the 23d act, the election of lords of session; in the 33d act is contained the alledged incendiaries, viz. the earl of Montrose, Archibald lord Napier, sir George Strivling of Keir, sir Archibald Steuart of Blackhall, and the earl of Traquair: and how the king is so much favoured as to be judge to their punishment after trial, which would appear to have duly belonged to him as king, without the subjects' consent; in the 41st act, the king discharges rents for the use of the publick, spended against his will, and contrary himself; in the 50th act, anent a president in parliament; in the 51st act, the bishops' rents to be holden of the king; with a continuation of this parliament to the first Tuesday of June 1644. But in the other parliament holden before, upon the 11th of June, 1640, now ratified by his majesty, ye shall find the constitution of the parliament of nobles, barons, burgesses, act 2d; the ratification of the acts of assembly, act 4th; ratification of the covenant, act 5th; the subscription of the covenant and contents thereof, appointing of parliaments once every third year; 17th. act, of the defence of the conclusions of this parliament, and act 39th, of the continuation of this samen, so that the king's intention of a parliament needed now be sought; act 29th, declaring bands and conventions to be lawful, though expressly prohibited before; 16th act, declaring the lord Louden, (chief plotter against the king in this business) to be high chancellor of Scotland. Thir acts in the first and second sessions of this second parliament, for the most part conceived in favours of the Covenanters, conform to the articles of treaty agreed upon before, by the subtilty of the Englishmen, and no reparation nor punishment inflicted upon the raisers of thir troubles, but rather are preferred and advanced, and the king and his loyal subjects born down and suppress.

Admirable to the whole world ! but the king was forced to behold.

In the mean time, many of the lords who were summoned to this parliament came to Edinburgh, among whom came the marquis of Huntly, from England ; about the 28th of August, sir Robert Spotawood of Dunnipace and sir John Hay of Lands ; but thir two were shortly taken and warded in the castle of Edinburgh.

Upon their coming, followed a strict proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, expressly forbidding such nobles as were cited to approach the house of parliament to take their rooms, nor to vote among the estates, till first they swear and subscribe in the face of parliament the national covenant, together with the band of maintenance of the acts of parliament ; and further, to give such other obedience and satisfaction, as in the sight of this parliament should be thought most fitting ; attour, such other noblemen as were not yet come home, who were not as yet summoned, that they should have no place nor voice in parliament, while they do and perform the like. Whereupon the nobles that were come home went not to the parliament house, but convoyed the king up and down, and beheld all. The laird of Banff, having the marquis of Hamilton's favour, came also to Edinburgh at this time.

Now the earl of Montrose is sent for ; he comes to the parliament from the castle of Edinburgh by coach, well guarded and convoyed. He is accused in presence of the king upon diverse matters, containing eight sheets of paper : thereafter he is guarded back again to the castle.

Proclamations again forbidding convocation of the king's lieges, and that no man within Edinburgh or Leith should lodge or receipt any manner of men, under great pains, except they gave up their names to the parliament.

In this month of August, ane great death, both in burrow and land, of young hairns, in the pox, so that nine or ten children would be buried in New Aberdeen in one day, and continued a long time ; all for our sins, and yet not taken to heart !

Now the king's army at York, and our Scots army at Newcastle, are both disbanded, according to our treaty of peace formerly mentioned ; so, about the 27th of August, general Lesly came with his lifeguard, and others, the best of his army, about three thousand, and made a brave muster in the links of Leith, syne disbanded them also. In the meantime, Munro, Cochran, and the lord Sinclair, kept still their regiments of foot undisbanded, because the king's garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle were not disbanded, as was alledged ; others thought they were kept of purpose while the closure of the parliament, fearing trouble. However, there came to Leith from Newcastle diverse barks with victual, sent for the army's provision, and was sold back again. The general got good payment of fourscore thousand pounds sterling before he disbanded his army, as a part of

three hundred thousand pounds promised by the English to our estates of brotherly assistance, and that one hundred and ten thousand pounds thereof should be paid at midsummer, 1642, and as meikle at midsummer, 1643. Thus we wanted not good payment frae the English for our service against the king, by raising of arms in manner aforesaid. Howsoever, the captains, colonels, and other officers drawn to this war from other countries received not full payment from general Lesly of their wages, which made them to cry out against him. Now ilk man went sundry gates, and some went to the king, and got good service of him hereafter. At this time the town of Edinburgh gave the banquet to the king, where this general Lesly was held in great esteem and honour before any other of his majesty's subjects there, whereat many wondered.

Upon Saturday the 4th of September, Mr. Andrew Cant came frae the general assembly, holden at Edinburgh, home to Aberdeen. He began to thunder and cry out of the pulpit against Anti-covenanters, papists, and excommunicated persons; he would not suffer the people to pray when he prayed at sermon, but in their hearts to follow him, saying, his outward prayers were sufficient for all; he refused to baptize bairns, but after preaching or lecture; he discharged reading of scripture or saying of psalms at lyke-wakes, which bred more debauchery quietly, and prejudged the master of the song school of his commodity; on a fasting day he would not give the blessing after forenoon's sermon, but after the afternoon's sermon for all; he cried out against the magistrates of Aberdeen, for making strangers burghesses, and spending the common good upon wine, and other things, superfluously.

There came a letter to the presbytery of Aberdeen, craving solemn thanksgiving to God, as all the presbyteries of Scotland had got the like; whilk letter was read out of the pulpit in Old Aberdeen.

This letter, with the act of the general assembly, came not to Aberdeen while the 11th of September, and a thanksgiving was appointed to be upon Tuesday thereafter.

Upon whilk Tuesday the people convened for this solemn thanksgiving, in midst of harvest, and excellent fair weather for winning of the country corns; doubtless against the minds of the poor labourers of the ground, to be brought into so untimely a thanksgiving and preaching and psalm-singing, in both Aberdeens, both before and after noon; where also this act was also solemnly read, to the dispraise of the king and praise of the Covenanters. No handy-work this day in burrow or land durst be used, whereat the commons, having their corns in point of tinsell, and being fair weather, mightily grieved; likeas, many of the auditors hearing this act of assembly read out, bearing the Covenanters to be good and loyal subjects, and whatsoever was written, said, or proclaimed contrary, to be recalled and suppress,

whereof there were diverse and sundry set out against them. Nevertheless, now they are approved to be good subjects to the king, notwithstanding of their rebellious proceedings and violent actions,—admirable to the whole world! Thus is his majesty counselled and overthrown. But here it is to be marked, that while this day of thanksgiving was straitly kept, the weather was wonderful fair, and the poor country people rather wishing to have been at home winning their corns in such weather, than to be brought in with the crafts and commons, both of burrow and land, sometimes for giving of thanks, and sometimes for fasting, upon work days, and abstinence from work; whereas some poor people, living free hand to mouth, fasted the day of thanks, because they durst not labour for their food. Thus, through this covenant, is both burrow and land holden always under daily vexation. And, which is more to be noted, this day of thanksgiving being a wonderful fair day, fit for harvest, wherein they are forced to sit idle, thereafter there was nothing but tempestuous rains till the 19th of October, at least till the 10th—continuing from the 14th of September till that day, whilk was another day of fast, as ye shall hear; whereby the people's hearts were casten down, fearing the loss of their harvest by thir wicked wets.

About the same time, the queen mother left England, and went over to Brussels in Flanders. The English quitted her with good will, as suspected to be most seditious in thir troublesome times.

Wednesday before Michaelmas, Mr. Alexander Jaffray was chosen provost of Aberdeen for a year to come; Mr. Thomas Gray, Mr. Matthew Lumsden, Mr. George Morison, and Mr. William Mair, baillies.

The laird of Drum continues sheriff, by commission, of Aberdeen, for an year; and Thomas Fraser of Strichen, sheriff of Inverness.

Now falls there out an excellent piece, as the report past. It happened the lord Ker, eldest son to the earl of Roxburgh, (a brave spark, and loyal subject to the king,) to be sitting in company with the earl of Crawford and sir James Hamilton, son to the earl of Haddington, in a lodging in Edinburgh; where the lord Ker alledged the marquis of Hamilton was the instrument of all thir troubles, and desired the said James to go tell the marquis that he said these words, who refused to carry such message. The earl of Crawford, a loyal subject to the king, hearing the speech, thought it was over good a purpose to want a bearer, (being of the same mind that Ker was of,) says, I will carry the message, provided you give me warrant by write, whilk the lord Ker did: whereupon he tells the marquis of Hamilton, who answered the earl of Crawford, he was not to chace such tales. No! my lord says, I have here his write, hearing thir speeches.—Then the marquis said he should take order therewith; whilk he did in most politick manner. To stamp it out he means himself

to the parliament;—the lord Ker is commanded to keep his lodging, and goes so cunningly, that on the morrow the lord Ker is brought in face of the king and parliament, and his speeches were thought to be done after a full collation: an act is made in the parliament's books upon the marquis of Hamilton's loyalty, and the lord Ker let go frae without further accusation.

Upon Sunday the 10th of October, a solemn fast was kept in New Aberdeen, for three causes: 1st, The great mortality of bairns in the pox, both in burrow and land, so that frae the month of August last, there was reckoned buried in Aberdeen about the number of twelvescore bairns in this disease. 2d, For fair weather to win the corns in point of tinsell, who had never a fair day since the 14th of September, whilk was the day of thanksgiving, as ye have before. 3d, For a happy closure of the parliament. Mr. Andrew Cant preached, but left the pulpit without a blessing, as use was, till he preached afternoon, syne gave a blessing for both sermons. After this day of humiliation, it pleased God of his goodness to send in fair weather daily for winning the corns.

Upon the 3d Tuesday and 19th of September, the provincial assembly of Aberdeen convened within the Gray Friars kirk thereof; Mr. Andrew Cant is chosen moderator for one year, at least till the next assembly; ilk minister came with his ruling elder to this provincial assembly, according to an act of the general assembly; by and attour it is ordered thereby, that out of every kirk session of every parish there shall be chosen one of the worthiest of that number to be a laick or ruling elder, and to attend upon the presbytery where that parish lies, to concur, consult, and advise with the rest of the presbytery and laick elders upon such matters as occur, and the elder to report to his own session the next Sunday what was done in the presbytery.

Right so it is ordained by the general assembly, before the restitution of bishops, as is thought, that one, two, or three of the ablest of the ministry of ilk presbytery, with one of the ruling elders as commissioner, to attend ilk general assembly; and every minister within the province comes, with his ruling elder, to ilk provincial assembly: so that of all the haill ministers of the haill parishes, and a ruling elder chosen out of each parish, must none be absent from this provincial assembly, but be personally and precisely there (health of body serving); but all and every minister is not obliged to keep every general assembly.

James Murray, clerk-depute to the general assembly, had collected to him twenty shillings frae ilk minister and ilk ruling elder, not used before; by order of the general assembly, ilk provincial assembly is holden to pay the time coming.

Dr. Scroggie came not to this provincial assembly, as was ordered before by the committee of the kirk at Edinburgh, but stayed in Edinburgh, and writes his excuse; but the moderator and brethren accepted not pleasantly thereof; however he

wrought so that he had gifted to him out of Rome, eight chalders of victual during his lifetime, since his kirk was taken frae him. Mr. Alexander Innes, minister at Rothemay, his godson, who was deposed frae his kirk also, and Mr. Alexander Scroggie, his son, deposed frae his regency, as ye have heard, ilk ane of them got a pension from the king.

Ilk minister was ordained to give up a roll of such papists as was within his parish, except excommunicate papists. That none who had not subscribed the covenant should have the benefit of the communion, yet see Dr. Forbes and Dr. Lealie communicate, who stood still out, notwithstanding of this ordinance. No order was taken with the planting a professor in the said Dr. Forbes' place, whereby the youth all this time wanted the benefit of learning. Sundry other acts were made here at this assembly, and upon Friday the 22d of October, ilk man went home.

Much about the 13th of October, there fell out a great stir at Edinburgh (the king and parliament peaceably sitting), anent an alledged plot devised by the earl of Crawford, lieutenant-colonel Steuart, crowner Cochran, and some others, for taking or killing the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Argyll, and earl of Lanerk, brother to the marquis, as the chief instruments of all thir troubles. The king never seeing, or at least mistrusting Hamilton's loyalty, who had approven himself a traitor to his king and gracious master, and that with great policy and greater secrecy, who always acquainted our Covenanters of whatever his majesty spoke or wrote or devised against them, whereby they were put on their guard before the king could act any purpose, and as was plainly spoken, he did what he could to fortify the Covenanters against his royal master the king, who had made up his lost estate, and given him as many favours as his heart could crave, or his majesty could give. However, Hamilton, Lanerk, (his brother), the lord Gordon (his sister's son), and the earl of Argyll, without the king's knowledge, went quietly frae court, and rode to a place of Hamilton's mother's, called Kinneil, where for a while they remained together, nearhand Linlithgow, syne went to Hamilton, and therefrae to Glasgow, in sober manner, as they thought fit. This pretended plot is alledged to be revealed to general Lesly by one called captain Hume. The town of Edinburgh, understanding of their flight, suddenly goes to arms, and puts a strong guard besides the ordinary guard, and within them, nearest about the king, so that none could win in nor out to his majesty without their knowledge. General Lesly is made captain of this guard, governour of Edinburgh, and captain of the castle thereof. At this sudden alteration the king is astonished, not knowing what it meant, till he received a letter from the marquis, excusing his sudden departure, because his enemies had devised his ruin, whereat he much more marvelled; and immediately hung a sword about his craig, whilk he never did before. The earl of Crawford, Cochran, and lieutenant crowner Steuart,

are suddenly taken, and ilk ane put in a baillie's house, securely guarded till farther orders should be taken. Cochran, and the haill officers of his regiment, is cashiered and discharged, and general Lealy appoints other officers over the regiment, whilk stood haill unbroken, and with Munro's regiment, consisting of about one thousand four hundred men, was drawn nearer Edinburgh through this business, and the town of Edinburgh straitly watched both day and night, with about one thousand men. This sudden flight was wonderful to many, quietly speaking of Hamilton's guiltiness every where. However, the parliament sits daily. This matter is agitated before the king and parliament, where his majesty spake plainly, that his own queen with tears had oftentimes told him of the marquis' miscarriages, whilk he could never believe, and now he saw some sparks of it appear, not only miscarrying himself, but drawing on the earls of Argyll and Lanerk to his opinion. Some marvelled at the king's speech in such a place. Now it falls in how thir alledged plotters should be tried, some saying it was fittest they should be tried in face of parliament, whilk also was the king's will; others more politickly (who were the marquis' friends, most part being all his), said it was more fit they should be carried before a committee, to be chosen for that effect; whilk last opinion prevailed, and a committee chosen. The earl of Crawford, crowner Cochran, and lieutenant Stenart, were brought before them, well guarded; they are examined, and denied all, as they who in the end proved most innocent of this guise. They were sent back, ilk ane with his own guard, to their lodgings. There was one also captain William Stuart examined before the committee.

Now thir matters being in hand, word was hastily sent to the lords and commons of the English parliament, fervent and forward friends to the marquis of Hamilton, no doubt, as he that was their politick friend from the beginning of thir troubles, and questionless having the king's ear daily, was the more profitable to them in this covenanting cause. Well, thir lords and commons speedily sends down to their own commissioners lying here at our parliament certain instructions.

*" Instructions of the Lords and Commons of the English Parliament to the Committee of both Houses now attending his Royal Majesty in Scotland.*

" 1st, Ye shall acquaint his majesty, that by your advertisement both houses have taken notice of the examination and confession taken in the parliament of Scotland for saving a malicious design and attempt, affirmed to be undertaken by the earl of Crawford and others, against the persons of the marquis of Hamilton, the earls of Argyll and Lanerk, and having taken the samen to consideration, they have good cause to doubt that such evil affected persons that would disturb the peace of the kingdom are not without some malicious correspondence here, which, if this wished purpose had taken effect in Scotland, would have



been ready to attempt some such malicious practice as might produce distempers and confusions in this kingdom, to the hazard of the publick peace; for preserving whereof they have given order for strong guards in the city of London and Westminster, and have resolved to take into their care the security of the rest of the kingdom.

"2ndly, Ye shall declare unto his most excellent Majesty, that the estates of this parliament here do hold it a matter of great importance to this kingdom, that the religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom of Scotland be preserved, according to the treaty and articles agreed by his majesty, and confirmed by act of parliament, of which they are bound to be careful, not only by publick faith in their treaty, but likewise by the duty they owe to his majesty, and this kingdom, because they hold it will be a great mean for preserving religion, liberty, and peace in England and Ireland, and others his majesty's dominions, and the union of all his loyal subjects; in maintaining the common good of all, it will be a sure foundation of honour, greatness, and security to his majesty's royal person, crown, and dignity; wherefore they have resolved to employ their humble and faithful advice to his majesty, the power and authority of parliament of this kingdom, for suppressing all such as by any conspiracy, practice, or other attempt, shall endeavour to disturb the peace of Scotland, and to infringe the articles of the treaty made betwixt the two kingdoms.

"3dly, Ye shall likewise inform the king, that whereas order was given by his majesty, with consent of parliament, for disbanding the garrisons of Carlisle and Berwick, the first part whereof is already disbanding, and all the horse and eight companies of foot sent out of Berwick, and only five remaining, which likewise should have been disbanded, at or before the 15th of this month, if they had not been stayed by his majesty's command, signified by Mr. Treasurer Vane to sir Michael Erlic, lieutenant governor, according to direction in that behalf.

"And whereas, by order of parliament, six ships have been sent for transporting his majesty's munition, ordnance, and other provision in that town, and in Holy Island, all which have been very great charges to the commonwealth, the commons now assembled in parliament have declared, that they intend to be at no further charges for the long stay and entertainment of these men, or for the damages of the ships, if by occasion of this direction they did keep out longer than was agreed upon.

"WILLIAM LENTHALL.

"22d October, 1641."

By this it may be perceived, that the earl of Crawford is pointed at in this business, and as was reported, the committee appointed for trying of this plot went on but slowly, and when matters came to voting they would not vote publicly, according to our old Scots form, lest their voices might be revealed, and turn to their own prejudice, but ilk ane did vote privately by billets, whereby no man's voice might be known;—a new form here in Scotland! And it was thought the slowness of this committee proceeded only of policy from Hamilton himself, and that he feared to be accused of his enemies upon some matters,

whereof he was doubtless guilty, as favouring the country before the king in all thir troubles; and in special, when his majesty had given him orders to land four thousand men at Aberdeen, or Cromarty, to the effect they might have joined with the king's loyal subjects in the north, to suppress the covenant, and to have debursed money, for levying soldiers to that purpose; on the contrary, he came to Forth, and there lies, spending and wasting the king's money in huge measure, without doing any good service, or landing the men; whereas the lord Aboyn, coming by sea in his fleet, landed in Aberdeen, as ye have heard before, gathered his friends in warlike manner, assuring them of help of men and money, and that they were to land presently, wherein the marquis failed, contrary to the king's command and expectation, and to the great disturbance of thir north parts.

The marquis of Hamilton finding himself guilty in thir and diverse other points, and fearing to be revealed by some sparks that knew the verity, he shews his mind to the earl of Argyll, saying, he had engaged himself so far to the covenant and country, that he knew not how to eschew danger of himself, his estate, and means, craving at Argyll what would be his part; who answered, he would live and die with him. Well, then, says he, I have a mind to close up some of my enemies' mouths, and will make it spread, that both your life, my brother's, and my own, are plotted for by such and such persons, and in the mean time, we will convey ourselves from court to make the matter more likely; and being spread, it will fall out, that both the kirk and country will suspect the king to be upon the counsel of this plot (for so it was said, that out of pulpit it was preached in Edinburgh, that it was plotted to bring to death thir three noblemen, chief patriots and pillars of the kirk of God). This policy stopped the mouths of such as intended to complain against the marquis of Hamilton, and his complices. The king, ignorant of thir pieces, goes daily to the parliament, and was followed by multitudes of Anti-covenanters and malcontents, such as the lord Ogilvie, the lord Ker, the laird of Banff, and diverse others, who daily conveyed him to and from the house during thir times.

What shall be said?—the king is counselled and persuaded to send for the marquis of Hamilton, and the earls of Argyll and Lanerk, who upon his letter came;—the rumour calmed, and some little business made about the trial foresaid, but all for nought. They returned to the king upon the 2d of November.

Sunday the last of October, a fast was again kept in both Aberdeens, for the pox, fair weather, and a happy closure of the parliament.

Tuesday the 2d of November, our consistory or sheriff-court sat down in Aberdeen, the laird of Drum being sheriff by commission; but the session sat not down, by reason of the sitting of the parliament, till the 4th of January, 1642.

About this time, the Irish, fearing to be pressed with our co-

venant, as is the Scots, they begin to look about them, and to break loose, chiefly the papists and natives of the land; they had provision out of Dunkirk and West Flanders, of ammunition, powder, and ball, together with store of brave officers of fortune out of France, Germany, Sweden, Holland, West Flanders, and other countries, and had drawn to an head, whereof sir Philem O'Neil was chief.

It is said that the natives lap to arms, about twenty thousand men, to whom also joined the train bands, whom the defunct deputy had drawn up in Ireland before his decease, crying out for religion, laws, and liberties, and therewith entered in blood, killing, burning, and murdering of the protestants, Scottish and English, without mercy, robbing of their goods and lives, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. It is said our Scots lords offered their service against this rebellion, but the king answered, when he went home, the parliament of England would take order therewith. Thus, through occasion of this covenant, is the king again vexed with Ireland, besides the commotions of England and Scotland, which took its beginning therefrae.

It is said that the king had received a letter from the earl of Montrose (cunningly conveyed, himself being warded in the castle of Edinburgh), desiring private conference with his majesty, where he would shew matters concerning his honour, his person, and crown, wherat the king is astonished, and produced this letter publickly before the parliament; which being taken to consideration, the lords, for their own reasons, refused to grant any such private conference, but that Montrose should be heard in presence of the king and a committee appointed for that effect; who, being brought in presence, and questioned upon his letter, whilk he thought none knew but the king himself, did so cunningly carry himself in this perplexity, that no ground or argument could be gathered from his speeches, do what they could; and after their labour is lost, he is convoyed to the castle of Edinburgh, there to remain.

It is here to be noted, that no maws were seen in the lochs of New or Old Aberdeen, since the beginning of thir troubles, and coming of soldiers to Aberdeen, who before flocked and clocked in so great abundance, that it was pleasure to behold them flying above our heads, yea and some made use of their eggs and birds; in like manner, few or no corbies were seen in either Aberdeens, at the water-side of Dee or Don, or the shore, where they wont to flock abundantly for salmon gouries.

Now the parliament of Scotland is daily sitting, and the acts thereof printed, whilk the reader may read: but mark this much, that the Covenanters had all their desire, and these who followed the king simpliciter were born down from honours, dignities, and places, and they, the Covenanters, had got all. The confession, articles of treaty, and general assembly, ratified at large; order taken anent electing officers of state, counsellors and see-

sioners; see the 15th act. The lord Loudon was chosen chancellor, act 16th; Robert earl of Roxburgh, lord privy seal, who worthily had it before; William earl of Lanerk, the marquis of Hamilton's brother, secretary, who had it before; sir James Carmichael, treasurer-depute, and sir John Hamilton, clerk, act 20th; sir Alexander Gibson was made clerk register, in place of sir John Hay, who followed the king, act 21st; the election of the counsellors, act 22d; and election of lords of session, act 23d. All this was done in favours of the Covenanters themselves, their friends and favourites. Then see the 33d act, anent the earl of Montrose, the lord Napier, sir George Strivling of Keir, and sir Archibald Stuart of Blackhall, four of the incendiaries, how they are handled, the king declaring in the end of the said act, that he will not prefer any of the said persons to offices or places of court and state, without consent of parliament, nor grant them access to his person. Read, in like manner, the 34th act, where order is given for charging of John earl of Traquair, sir Robert Spotswood, sir John Hay, Dr. Walter Balcanquhall, and Mr. John Maxwell, pretended bishop of Ross, as plotters, to compare in manner and way as set down in said act. This is to be wondered at, that the king, by an act of oblivion and pacification made in the same parliament, dispenseth with the uptaking of his own rents employed against himself by the Covenanters, act 41st. He dispenses with the troubles made against his command and proclamations; he dispenses with the tyranny, oppression, plundering, and poinding of his good subjects; he dispenses with choosing a president, who was before chosen by himself, act 50th. Their orders, and many other grievances, faults, and hurting of his majesty's royal prerogative, his majesty buries in oblivion.

But on the other side, our Covenanters, to the admiration of the whole christian world, will grant no privilege of this act to the king's faithful subjects and followers; but they must endure all pursuit, vexation, and trouble, as if they were rebellious traitors. His majesty is forced to suffer his true servants to be born down by his great enemies, and could not get them helped; albeit he dispensed with their faults, as is already said, and at their desire casts down his good subjects, degrades them of honours, dignities, and places, and puts them under the censure and judgment of their mortal enemies; whereby some are ward-ed, some are plundered in their houses, estate, and means, in their horse, nolt, cattle, silver, coined and uncoined, goods and gear, gismals, corns, and victual; other some, their stately towers, castles, orchards, yards, and bigging, demolished and thrown to the ground, displenished, ruined, and made desolate; others fleeing the country for their lives, and in the mean time lost their livings and rents, to be intromitted with by their enemies, the Covenanters, their rooms, places, and offices filled up, and peaceably possessed by the said Covenanters; so that where

his good subjects looked for help and redress at his majesty's hands, by the clean contrary they are altogether disappointed, born down, and disgraced, and the Covenanters are highly preferred and exalted to their minds; and whatsoever they craved, the king is forced to yield unto them, and leaves his true subjects wrecked in means and moyan, distressed, and under great misery, tyranny, bloodshed, and oppression, and ilk ane to do for himself.

The earl of Marischall, among the rest, got for himself a fifteen years' tack frae the king of the customs of Aberdeen and Banff, being for a debt owing by the umquhile king James to his goodsire George earl Marischall, for home-bringing queen Ann out of Denmark. Marischall, a prime Covenanter, having got this tack, sets the same customs in backset to some well-affected burgesses of Aberdeen, for yearly payment of twelve thousand five hundred merks, whilk far exceeded the tack-duty before uplifted, through malice, as was thought, of their own neighbours. Surely thir tacksmen had no other intention but to have paid the tack-duty; and if any thing was over, the superplus to be paid, piece and piece, for freeing the town of their debts contracted in thir troubles (about forty thousand pounds Scots, as was said), at the least, for helping to pay the annual rents thereof, and to have made no profit to themselves, nor to handle the neighbour tradesmen rigorously in uplifting of thir customs; but this good purpose was maliciously crossed by Patrick Lesly, late provost, as ye may hereafter hear.

There were sundry pensions and gifts granted besides; the bishops' lands through all Scotland were disposed here and there; amongst the rest, the bishops' rents of Aberdeen were disposed to the colleges of both Aberdeens, the two part to the King's College, and the third part to the college Marischall. The bishop's house, manse, and yards, &c. Dr. Guild, principal of the King's College, had gifted to himself. The rents of this bishoprick altogether were estimate to be about eight thousand merks.

The earl of Argyll was made marquis of Argyll, the lord Loudon was made earl of Loudon, the lord Lindsay was made earl of Lindsay, general Lesly was made earl of Leven, constable of the castle of Edinburgh, by which he had yearly forty chalders of wheat and bear, and who also, for his good service, had one hundred thousand merks granted to him. There were diverse other knights made, and many pensions granted; ratifications, protestations, *pro et contra*, whilk I refer to the acts of parliament. It was also statuted, that a committee of parliament should constantly sit at Edinburgh, for ordering of what could not be overtaken at this parliament, and for examining and trying of the five incendiaries formerly spoken of, and to close that process before the first of March, as well against them as against the plotters.

Thir things and many others thus ordered, upon Wednesday the 17th of November, the king, with his estates, rode the parliament in goodly manner. The crown was carried by the marquis of Argyll, in absence of the marquis of Douglas; the scepter by the earl of Sutherland, and the sword by the earl of Mar. The marquis of Douglas came not to this parliament at all; the marquis of Huntly came about the 28th of August, as is before-noted, but came not to the parliament, but attended the king to and from the tolbooth, yet now he rides in his own place, and the king is conveyed to his own palace at Holy-rood-house. He frankly gives the nobility a banquet in royal and merry manner: the castle salutes the king at supper with thirty-two shot of great ordnance. The samen time, the earl of Montrose, the lord Napier, the lairds of Ker and Blackhall, four of the five alledged incendiaries, sir Robert Spotswood, president, and sir John Hay, clerk-register, upon caution, are set at liberty out of the castle of Edinburgh. The earl of Crawford, crowners Cochran and Steuart, are, upon caution, set out of the baillies' houses, without more hearing. The samen time, the bishop of Murray is, upon caution, set at liberty out of the tolbooth of Edinburgh; he goes to Angus, where, with his brother, the minister of Aberbrothock, he quietly remains, and never came back to Spynie.

Upon Thursday the 18th of November, the king goes to coach, having in his company his own sister's son, the palsgrave or count Palatine of the Rhyne, the duke of Lennox, the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Morton, with some few company; sundry of the nobles, barons, and burgesses, took their leave, others some convoyed him from the town, amongst whom was the marquis of Huntly; and the castle again gives his majesty a good night of thirty-two shot of guns; and so he posts hastily to Seaton, where he breakfasted, leaving all things so soundly stated both in kirk and policy as they themselves could desire, and his majesty returned hail and sound back again to London, upon Thursday the 25th of November, where he was welcomed of his queen, nobles, and city of London, banquetted, and royally and richly propyned. In respect of their joy made by the mayor, aldermen and burgesses, citizens of London, he, with his queen, nobles, and others, were banquetted by the city in Guildhall, and thereafter propyned with twenty thousand pounds sterling, in a fair cup of gold, and five thousand pounds sterling in a golden bason given to the queen; thereafter he is conveyed to his palace at Whitehall. The king thus gone, there followed to the English parliament frae the estates of Scotland, nine commissioners, three for the nobles, three for the barons, and three for the burgesses.

Munro's regiment and Cochran's regiment (suppose himself and his officers were cashiered), standing still about Leith and Edinburgh, and in the country, and the lord Sinclair's regiment, standing still in Aberdeen, all the garrisons of Carlisle and Berwick were disbanded, under pretext of wanting pay; but the

contrary was spoken, saying thir three regiments were kept up in case of any disorder, the king being removed; however, they were all at last removed.

The decreet pronounced against the lord Haddo, at the instance of the lord Fraser and the laird of Lesly, upon thirteen thousand five hundred merks, is ratified in parliament, and Haddo made protestation against the samen.

The marquis of Huntly rode with the king to Berwick, syne returned (after he had seen his mother, the lady dowager of Huntly,) to Edinburgh; his son, the lord Aboyn, still remaining in England; he takes course with the marquis of Argyll, and wadsets to him the lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch for his relief of his two daughters' tocher good, viz. to the earl of Perth, with lady Anna, his eldest daughter, thirty thousand pounds; to the lord Seaton, married with lady Henrietta, his second daughter, forty thousand merks; and to the earl of Haddington, married with lady Jean, twenty-two thousand pounds, as was reported. This last marriage was made by Argyll, in absence of the marquis of Huntly; and while the earl of Argyll got payment of this cautionry, and some other debts besides, he possessed the lands, uplifted the rents, and received the mails and duties thereof, whilk tended greatly to the prejudice of the marquis, with other burdens.

About the 6th of December, Dr. Scroggie came back frae Edinburgh to New Aberdeen, where he carried quietly.

General Ruthven, earl of Etrick, being forfaulted for not giving over the castle of Edinburgh, is at this parliament again restored, as ye may read among the acts.

The estates having got all their wills, would at last grant one favour to the king, which was, that the hail incendiaries and plotters being tried according to the Scots law, then his majesty should be judge of the conviction or absolution. See the 33d and 34th acts of parliament made thereanent. The king having got this favour, the earl of Traquair, after his majesty's departure, came frae Holy Island home to Scotland, and bade trial before the committee of parliament.

Sunday the 12th of December, a fast was kept in both Aberdeens for the troubles in Ireland betwixt the papists and pretestants. Dr. Guild preached there, and brought in a new form, which was the ringing of a bell to the afternoon sermon that day.

Sir Paul Menzies of Kimmundy, late provost of Aberdeen, departed this life in his own house in Aberdeen, upon Saturday the 18th of December, and was honourably buried upon the Monday thereafter.

Ye heard before, anent the customs of Aberdeen and Banff. Patrick Lealy, late provost, envies the town of Aberdeen's good proceedings, and strives against it, drawing sir William Dick, provost of Edinburgh, to his opinion, who is so steady in furnishing money in the good cause to the estates, that hardly could

they do any thing without him; likewise, they had given a set of the king's customs through all Scotland to him (except the customs of Aberdeen and Banff), for payment of his debts. This sir William Dick said, he could not want the customs of Aberdeen and Banff more than the rest: it was answered, the earl Marischall had gotten them already; he said, he would pay Marischall his debt: whereupon the estates tries Marischall; he said, he could not now take his sums, because he had already set in sub tack these customs of Aberdeen and Banff to the town of Aberdeen, frae the whilk he could not flee, but would bide by his tack, and not dispose the same to sir William Dick. The committee of estates of parliament travail between them for agreeance, but no settling, because it was thought if sir William Dick had got the tack, he would have set the samen to Patrick Lesly, as indeed in end it proved.

Mr. John Row, schoolmaster at Saint Johnston, by convoy of Mr. Andrew Cant, is brought to Aberdeen, where he bade his trials, being but a young man, and thereafter was admitted minister in Aberdeen.

Mr. John Oswald, minister at ——— was, by order of the general assembly, appointed to be transplanted therefrae to Aberdeen, where he also came with his wife and family, to serve as a minister. Thir ministers, with the said Andrew Cant, came not by the town's seeking, or free election, as they were wont to do, but imposed upon them by assemblies one way, and moyan another, irresistibly, and whilk they durst not disobey; contrary to old use and wont.

Saturday the 25th of December, of old called Yool-day, and whereon preaching, praise, and thanksgiving to God, was given in remembrance of the birth of our blessed Saviour, and whereat friends and neighbours were merry together, and made good cheer; now this day no such preachings nor such meetings with merriness, walking up and down; but on the contrary, this day was commanded to be kept as a work-day, ilk burgess to keep his booth, and ilk craftsman his work, feasting and idleness forbidden out of the pulpit. The consistory had no vacance at this Yool, but had little ado. The people were otherwise inclined, but durst not disobey; yet little merchandise was sold, and as little work wrought on this day in either Aberdeens. The colleginers and other scholars kept the schools against their wills this day; but the colleginers got the play upon the 27th of December to the 3d of January, and the grammarians to the 10th of January.

Upon the same Yool-day, the lord Gordon came to George Middleton's in Old Aberdeen, where he attended the marquis' coming, who shortly followed; and upon the 1st of January, 1642, he, with a few company, came to Aberdeen, and lodged in Mr. Alexander Reid's house. He was not in this country since the 13th of April, 1639, that he went south with the marquis of



Montrose. Upon the morn, being Sunday, he came over to the Oldtown, heard the devotion both before and after noon, dined with the laird of Cluny, and after sermons he returned back to his own lodging, and both he and his own son within two days rode to Strathboggie.

Ye heard before of the king's welcome home to England, the parliament still sitting there whileas he is here in Scotland. His majesty now keeps the parliament like a most gracious prince, where they urge him to condescend to many acts, to his great miscontentment; such as taking away the voices of bishops, and removing the court of the star chamber. He took away the high commission; he condescends to a triennial parliament, never heard of before; he relinquishes all title of imposing duties upon merchandise; he granted a pressing of soldiers, and a continuation to the parliament of a large time to sit; (not ordinary) he quitted tonnage and poundage, two of the most gainful customs belonging to his crown; he discharged them of ship-monies and ammunition, whilk the country bestowed on his ships royal for their maintenance, with diverse other liberties. Thus is the good king compelled to yield to such ordinances as his royal predecessors never did grant, hoping still to get their furtherance and assistance to subdue our Scottish covenant, and beat back our army from Newcastle; but herein he was much deceived, they never minding any such matter, but craftily drew us in arms, that thereby they might get a parliament indicted to bear down bishops and church government, as was secretly covenanted betwixt us and them, and to clip the king's wings of his own royal prerogative; so that in place of raising of arms against us, our army was well entertained upon their expences during their abode in England, and by their draught we disbanded our army first; the king next, by a treaty of peace; then, in face of parliament, we got all our desires in church and policy that we could crave. The king, thinking to have settled us in peace, went back to his English parliament, who laboured still to have the samen sort of church government and political government frae his majesty, whether he would or not, and to have the samen also established in Ireland, to the king's great grief.

Ye heard before, how John Leith of Harthill was warded in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for a high cause, and how he was set at liberty. Patrick Lesly, his mortal enemy, and provost of Aberdeen, gets him warded again, because he would not set caution that the burrow of Aberdeen should be harmless and skaithless of him, under the pain of forfeiture of his estate, which he would not do, and so he remained fast.

About this time, father Philip, the queen's chief confessor, was taken in London, and warded, to her great grief, and against the privilege of her contract of marriage.

## ANNO 1642.

The lord marquis of Huntly, with his son, the lord Gordon, upon the 7th of January, 1642, rides from Aberdeen to Strathboggie, conveens his friends, and by their advice lays down a course for settling of his distressed estate, to pay his debt, and provide his bairns. After consideration, they found the burden grievous, for the lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch were impignorate, as ye have heard before, and he had no rents there during the not redemption. The lordship of the Enzie had the lady dowager to be life-rentrix thereof: besides the whilk, the marquis had feued out the same for great sums of money, keeping the old rental to be only and yearly paid. This noble marquis, through his prodigious spending in his youth, and other crosses, by his misfortune, is brought to renounce his hail estate to the lord Gordon, for payment of his debt and provision to his bairns, reserving only to himself the sum of ten thousand merks of yearly rent, during his lifetime, and the house of Strathboggie and house of Old Aberdeen to dwell in, whilk was the most his great estate could now bear; but this bargain betwixt him and the lord Gordon came never to full perfection, because the marquis kept still possession.

Upon Sunday the 9th of January, there was universally through all Scotland, and both Aberdeens, preaching and thanksgiving to God for the happy and peaceable closure of our parliament, with singing of psalms within the church, but not through the streets, as was used in elder times.

Our sovereign lord's session sat not down while the 4th of January, because of some other business depending upon the preceeding parliament.

Ye heard before of the king's departure, and the manner thereof, where it is to be observed, he gave out many gifts and pensions before his going; among which, one hundred pounds sterling was granted to the late deposed bishop of Aberdeen (now lying in England) yearly, but another man's name was borrowed thereto. The king's provision came to Holy-rood-house from England, and yet, before he went, his householding and other expences drew up to seven hundred thousand merks, wared and bestowed by the estates, which was to be payed out of the king's rents in Scotland. Diverse thought this was an account of extraordinary charges, seeing he had provision out of England during his abode here.

The committee of estates of parliament daily sitting at Edinburgh, thought it not fit that any person should be paid while the king's own debt of seven hundred thousand merks was paid, and whatsoever gift or pension granted by him might be controlled by them and the lords of exchequer.

Sir James Douglas, brother to the lord marquis of Douglas,

by patent, had power to levy out of Scotland two thousand soldiers, who voluntarily would go with him to France. Captain Robert Keith, brother to the earl Marischall, and captain Gordon of Tulloch, were employed, and raised some soldiers in this country to that service.

Ye heard before anent the customs of Aberdeen and Banff. The earl of Marischall stands to his gift, ratified in parliament. Aberdeen, having a subtack frae him, sends over their commissioners to Edinburgh, to back the samen. Marischall himself rides over; Patrick Lesly also: the matter is agitated before the committee of estates of parliament. Sir William Dick craved the customs of Aberdeen and Banff as due to him, as well as the rest of the customs of Scotland (by information and instigation of the said Patrick Lesly, as was largely spoken), otherwise he would advance no more monies to the publick. The earl Marischall answers, in presence of the committee, that he had gotten a gift for payment of five thousand pounds sterling resting to his goodwile, a true debt, ratified in parliament, whilk is the most the laws of Scotland may do for his security; and if they will bring back the king's gift, orderly past and ratified by parliament, he has no more assurance for all his lands and estate, but they may be taken frae him, as well as thir customs, whereof he had already set a subtack to the town of Aberdeen, whilk with his honour he could not quit, but bide by the samen. The committee of estates heard the earl, but he received no satisfactory answer; whereupon he went to the door malecontent. Now it is here to be remembered, that this committee of estates appointed to sit daily in Edinburgh, in place of parliament, for ruling of such business as could not be expedie in face of full parliament, consisted of nobles, barons, and burgesses, whilk are the three estates; and that of the primest and choicest Covenanters. This Patrick Lesly being one of the first, he was thereby one of the committee, who sat with them as a burgess; he had thereby the favours of that estate; and for sir William Dick, who was working in his name this work, he had the moyan of the marquis of Argyll, the earl of Rothes' friends, the earl of Lindsay, general Lesly earl of Leven, and what they could do for Patrick Lesly; so that in the end he overbalanced the earl, do what he could, and wan his point, contrary to law, equity, and reason, to the great grief of Aberdeen (except his own faction therein); who, as is said, had sent him over as their commissioner, to have gotten a gift of a tack of their own customs, and had allowed him four thousand merke for his onwaiting charges and expences; but while as the town of Aberdeen looked that he was dealing for them, it was thought he dealt for himself, whereby the earl Marischall was preferred before him to the customs foresaid; whereupon this Patrick Lesly took this course, to cross this noble earl in his just acquired right. Thus they contended for the samen most wilfully, the town of Aberdeen doing what they could by their commissioner,

Mr. Matthew Lumden, to back the earl against the said Patrick Lealy, who had mightily wronged them, and consumed their means, as is already said.

Now great tumults and uproars in London anent episcopacy; the house of commons pretending to have them abolished, others again of the upper house against the samen. The apprentices of London rise in arms, crying, Down with episcopacy! The king's own guard and trained soldiers meddle with them, and kills some of thir apprentices. In end, this treacherous tumult is pacified; whereupon followed a new covenant among some of the nobles and bishops and others, concluding to defend the liberties of bishops, according to the laws, against the house of commons, inventers and devisers of this business. It is sworn and subscribed, as was reported; but the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Lanerk, his brether, being urged to subscribe the samen, refused, because they had already subscribed the Scots covenant. It was answered, he was earl of Cambridge in England, and so one of their nobles, who should concur and assist them; he still refused, whereby he is daily more and more well known to be the country's but not the king's man, as his majesty trusted, and as himself outwardly professed, and thereby daily and justly drawn in suspicion, and at last leaves the king and keeps the parliament.

Now printed papers daily coming from London, called *Diurnal Occurrences*, declaring what is done and acted in parliament, upper and lower houses, which is tedious here to insert. It was reported that the king commanded sir William Balfour, captain of the Tower of London, to be removed, whilk was obeyed (but before he came out, the haill cannon of the Tower were dismounted and made unserviceable), and the king puts in his place a Frenchman called colonel Biron, at least to be lieutenant of the Tower. The apprentices, doubtless by instigation still of the lower house, again get up in London, crying out, and craving colonel Linford, with some other commanders, to be removed out of the Tower, being the king's loyal men, whilk the king granted, to settle this tumult. There were some more of the like stirs of the apprentices, to the king's high anger, who now begins to go and come with a strong guard for his own safety.

About the 10th of January, 1642, the baillies of Old Aberdeen, John Forbes and Thomas Mercer, by tolerance of Dr. Guild, principal, caused masons throw down to the ground the bishop's dove-coat (whilk indeed was ruinous and unprofitable) to be stones to the bigging of a song-school, whilk by some was net thought sacrilegious, but yet was evil done, as others thought.

About the 20th of January, there came to the parliament twelve English bishops, with a petition, declaring, according to the English law, the bishops should conven in parliament; and possess their own places: but to this parliament they could not

come nor resort, for fear of their life, and therefore, in presence of the king, the lords and peers, protested solemnly, that what was acted in this parliament since the 27th of December should be null and of none avail, or what should be done thereafter in their absence should be likewise null, because they durst not come to the house of commons for fear of their lives, being by multitudes of unknown people daily boasted and menaced in their coming to that honourable house of parliament, to perform their service. After this petition and protestation was read, the bishops were removed, who went to their lodgings; the upper house sent down the samen to the house of commons, who took this lawful petition and pregnant protestation (working to turn all their travel to nought) so highly, that incontinent without more advice of the king or upper house, they sent out the black rod, who took and apprehended every one of thir twelve bishops, out of their lodgings, and brought them before the house of commons, who, as the form is, were all set down upon their knees at the bar. After some speeches, the learned and well-beloved bishop of Durham, with another bishop of great note, were committed to the black rod, and the other ten were committed to the Tower. They are daily accused in face of his majesty and both houses of parliament, upon this petition and protestation: they made their own apologies in defence thereof, whilk was little thought of: they desire to be put to liberty, which is denied and refused by the house of commons. In the end, they are forfeited in their hail goods, gear, and possessions, and degraded from their offices and dignities, eight whereof had some competent means to sustain their lives, and other four more, evil exposed, had less.

Great cruelty in Ireland, and meikle blood spilt of the English and Scottish puritan protestants; fire and sword went almost through the hail land, without mercy to sex or kind, young or old, man, woman, or child,—all put to death, and their goods spoilzied! they rage at our covenant, compelled thereto by their own Irish parliament, holden by the king's commissioners of England (for their parliament is sub-delegate to the English parliament, and whatever is enacted or done in this Irish parliament is by the English commissioners, and by direction and at command of the council and parliament of England), who now had given warrant against the natives and others, to swear and subscribe the covenant, minding to bring the king's hail dominions under one covenant, whilk bred meikle sorrow and trouble among the Irishes, and vexation and trouble to the Scottish and English, as is hereafter noted.

Captain Forbes, alias Kaird, of whom ye heard before, by moyan of some friends, is, after long imprisonment, about the 22d of January, set to liberty out of the tolbooth of Edinburgh.

Saturday the 22d of January, the lord Sinclair returned back from Edinburgh to Aberdeen, to his soldiers.

Now the committee of estates of parliament goes on upon the trial of James earl of Montrose, Archibald lord Napier, sir George Strivling of Keir, and sir Archibald Steuart of Blackhall, as alledged incendiaries; John earl of Traquair, sir Robert Spotswood of Dunnipace, and sir John Hay, late clerk register, Dr. Walter Balcanquhall, and John sometime bishop of Ross, being fugitives and absent, as having been plotters, devisers, and machinators of courses against the publick weal, as it is set down in the 33d and 34th acts of king Charles' second parliament. What was done and tried against them, or either of them, was not revealed, but kept secret; yet it was reported that Traquair was convicted in five capital points, but his sentence is referred to the king.

Sir Philem O'Neil, now general of the Irish, as ye heard before, grows now daily more and more great in forces, and without resistance makes havock of all his enemies; and, as report passed, had the haill country near conquered.

The king sent to the house of commons two of his own domestic servants, called sir William Fleming, and Mungo Murray, desiring some five of their number to be imprisoned, for treason committed by them against his majesty, whilk was not obeyed. The king quickly directed to cause seal the trunks of these five persons, that none should be opened, while they were sighted; the lower house again, at their own hand, in misregard of the king, violently brake up their trunks, to his high displeasure and dishonour. The names of thir five is Pyme, Hampden, Stroud, Hollis, and Haslerig. His majesty, seeing his authority thus abused, resolved to quit the parliament, and rides frae Westminster to one of his own houses at Southampton, having with him his queen, prince palatine, his sister's son, the duke of Lenox, with some others, and his own trained band, consisting of five hundred men. Thus with grief and discontentment he leaves the parliament. It is said, the marquis of Hamilton made choice to attend the parliament, and left the king, as he that was no great courtier.

Sunday the 23d of January, there rose a high and mighty wind, which blew over the *corps-du-guard*, bigged at the cross of Aberdeen, and hurt and bruised some five or six of Sinclair's soldiers lying therein, upon the night, where, by their fire the timber was kindled, and had almost put the town on fire, but the townsmen quickly gathered, drowned out the fire, and relieved the soldiers. It is said, the same *corps-du-guard* was blown from the place whereon it stood to the earl Marischall's yett, whilk appears to be William Scot's malison, for it was bigged all of his timber, himself being out of the country. In this month of January, there were heard very unusual high winds, whilk doubtless did great skaith by sea, amongst which the merchants of Aberdeen lost a hundred tuns of wine in a French ship.

Friday the 28th of January, the lord Aboyn now came from

England home to Edinburgh, after he had bidden a long time out of the country.

The 2d of February, at midnight, there arose an extraordinary high wind here in Aberdeen, with fireflaught and rain. The rivers of Dee and Ythan, through high flood, overflowed their wonted limits, both in this month and January. Dee surpassed in spout the key-head, and Ythan grew so great, that it drowned out the fires in some men's houses, dwelling in Ellon and Newburgh, far beyond the wonted course; many thinking thir to be prodigious tokens. Besides, in Marr, about that part called Banka Fair, the country people heard nightly tucking of drums, beginning about the sky going to, and continuing till eight hours at even: the noise was fearful, for they would hear marches perfectly tucked, as if there had been an army in order. This was not well thought of by honest peaceable men, as it over-well proved, to the overthrow of the house of Drum.

Ye heard before of the lord Sinclair's coming back to Aberdeen. Mr. Robert Farquhar paid the town's people in old mitey meal for his soldiers entertainment, who had continued there a long time. Now, they raised four field-pieces, whilk they had standing at the cross, and Sinclair drew up his soldiera, consisting of but about two hundred and sixty men, and, upon Wednesday the 9th of February, he began with bag and baggage to march south, leaving Aberdeen not well paid; for this Farquhar outed his mitey meal upon the honest people of the town at an high price, for the good entertainment they had furnished out of their purses.

This regiment grew less and less daily, and was no more but about two hundred and sixty soldiers at their departure. They did no good, but meikle evil daily, debauching, drinking, whoring, night-walking, combating, swearing, and brought sundry honest women-servants to great misery, whose bodies they had abused; some of whom followed the camp out of the town, others went out to the Crabestone, and returned back again to Aberdeen; but they and such others as were guilty were cruelly handled for their whoredom; for some were warded in the Pittie-vault; some set caution to remove from the town, after they had compted and reckoned for their tavernry with their mistresses; other some were taken and warded in the tolbooth, whereof there were twelve taken, and with tows bound two and two together, and conveyed by the hangman through the streets out of the town, ordained to be banished perpetually, and none hereafter to receipt them under the pain of forty pounds, *toties quoties*. It is said, there were delated and tried about sixty-five of thir poor women, whereof some fled, some banished, some set caution in manner foresaid, and all and every one brought under shame and great misery, whereof no doubt were honest men's wives and maids at last called in great suspicion. O woeful Aberdeen! by thy sins this heavy scourge is laid upon thee, by all the burrows of Scot-

land much to be lamented. Thus this ribband regiment heaped up sin to our own numberless sins, and did no more good, lying idle, and consuming honest men's livings.

About this time, we heard how the duke of Lenox was called in some question by the English parliament, wrought by the malice of the marquis of Hamilton, as was said; but it turned to nought; for the duke bade constantly with the king, and the other (being over-well thought of both in Scotland and England) keeps still the parliament.

Monday the 14th of February the lord Aboyn came frae Edinburgh home to Strathboggie, and heard of his father's affair, as ye may read before.

About the 24th of February, Mr. William Blackhall, one of the regents of the Colledge Marischall, a prompt scholar, bred, born, and brought up in Aberdeen, and never yet out of the country, refused to subscribe the country covenant, as the rest did, whereupon he was deposed of his regency; thereafter he lived simply in sober manner within the town. He is called in suspicion of popery: he is convened before the session of Aberdeen, and at last brought before the presbytery upon the foresaid 24th of February, the samen then sitting within the colledge kirk of Old Aberdeen, Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, moderator. He is accused of what religion he was, and of what kirk he was; after some answers, at last he plainly and avowedly declared he was a Roman Catholic, and would bide by the samen, to the astonishment of the haill hearers, being of another profession, as appears, and so pertly (now in the hottest time of persecution of papists in this land) to manifest himself so. After some dealing with him by the ministry and brethren, at last he is excommunicate and charged to conform, or leave the country.

Upon Monday the 21st of February, the queen's majesty, upon certain reasons moving her, took her leave of the king, and shipped at Dover, syne sailed to Holland to see her daughter lady Mary, princess of Orange, at the Hague; she was honourably convoyed by the king's royal ships, and royally received at the Hague both by the prince of Orange elder, and the young prince also, her own grandson.

Strait proclamations were made in England, charging all papists, jesuits, and seminary priests, to remove forthwith out of the kingdom; under the pains contained in the acts of parliament made in Queen Elizabeth's time.

Upon Sunday the 27th of February, a declaration was read out of the Oldtown pulpit, by our minister, Mr. William Strachan, shewing the state of the protestants in Ireland, and how their wives and bairns were miserably banished, and forced to flee into the west parts of Scotland for refuge, and the land not able to sustain them. It was found expedient, that ilk parish within the kingdom should receive a collection of ilk man's charity, for



their help and support; whereupon was collected of this poor parish fourscore pounds.

The archbishop of Canterbury is now begun upon, and trial taken of his disorder; and the rest of the bishops was all continued to a general assembly, consisting both of bishops and ministers, for settling the distractions of their own kirk of England.

Pitiful it is to hear or see our royal king to be so abused by written pamphlets, and whereof himself oftentimes complains! and to let the reader know one despitiful pamphlet, I have set it down in this place, verbatim:

“Change thy place, Charles, put on Pyme’s gown,  
 Whilst in the upper house he wears thy crown.  
 Let him be king a while, and be you Pyme;  
 They will adore thee, as they now do him.  
 Hang up thy bishops, that so proudly strive  
 To advance their own and thy prerogative:  
 And be content, since some of them are Romans,  
 To have some traitors in the house of commons.  
 Let us do what we list, and you shall see  
 We’ll all be kings, as well as Pyme or ye.  
 We fasted first, and prayed that wars would cease;—  
 When fasting would not do’t, we paid for peace,  
 And glad we had it so: then gave God thanks,  
 Which makes the Irish play the Scottish pranks.”

Let the good reader consider this pamphlet, and see how his royal majesty is used. This Pyme indeed was master-speaker in the lower house, who was no great friend to the king, but did his best for the liberties of the subject, misregarding the royal prerogative. He is accused by the king of treason, but he got no remead:

In the beginning of March, 1642, proclamation was made at the cross of New Aberdeen, charging all burgesses, merchants, and traders, to answer and obey sir William Dick of the customs, or to his factors, under all highest pains; whilk at last he obtained, by paying to the earl Marischall of about five thousand pounds sterling at Whitsunday next.

About or upon the 2d of March, the laird of Cluny, with his lady, rode from their dwelling in Old Aberdeen very quietly, fearing caption, towards Berwick. His trunks followed him, and he removed from Berwick to Durham, there to remain while some course was taken with his affairs; but his lady died there.

Great preparations both in England and Scotland against the Irish rebels. There came money to levy ten thousand Scotsmen out of England to go on against Ireland; and sundry noblemen began to raise regiments. The lord Sinclair’s regiment, Munro and his regiment, with some others, about five thousand soldiers,

went over to Carrisfergus safely; but in the mean time his wife died in Edinburgh.

Saturday the 12th of March, the lady Aboyn departed this life, and was quietly buried. A virtuous, worthy, chaste lady. She left an only daughter to John lord Aboyn, her umquhile husband. Her father's brother succeeded to the lordship, with the burden of twelve thousand merks to the said daughter.

Great preparations both by sea and land made by the kings of Spain and France, each against other; and it was reported that the king of France was gone with his army to Catalonia.

Tuesday the 15th of March was the laird of Haddo's day of law, for the alledged slaughter of Mr. James Stalker at Turriff, as ye have heard before. It is said, after the said Stalker had rendered his arms, he was most cruelly shot dead by one called Gordon, son to Terpersie, at the laird of Haddo's command, because he was the lord Fraser's servant, as this Stalker himself confessed; but before his death he made a testament, by Mr. Thomas Mitchell, parson at Turriff, wherein he declared how and by whom he was slain, whilk testament was produced before the justice: however, Haddo, upon caution that he should, under great sums of money, compear again before the justice the 4th of June, wan home; the lord Fraser, the lairds of Lealy, Craigievar, and all their friends, being his great enemies.

About this time, captain Robert Keith and captain Gordon shipped their soldiers at Footdee, and, upon the 5th of March, took up sail and go to France, landing safely.

There went sundry petitions from the parliament to the king, and diverse messages from him to them, lying at Newmarket, but took little effect. Thereafter his majesty came to York. The parliament sent to the marquis of Hartford, who had the young prince Charles in his keeping, to bring him to them, who brought him to the king, his own father, whereat they were offended. They alledged that they wanted to bring up the king's son in virtuous education, for the whilk they sent for him. The king answered, he was his son, of whom it was meetest he should have the care of his upbringing. His majesty sent immediately also for his second son, the duke of York, and most wisely kept them both with himself.

Upon Thursday the last of March, there came some limmers to Mr. William Chalmers, minister at Skene, his house, and robbed and spoiled both monies and other goods, and went their way without reparation, being within six miles of Aberdeen.

The papists of England, jesuits, and priests, are sharply sought, and the like suggestion here in Scotland, against our Scots papists; some in England were executed, and other some imprisoned, but our papists were all fled.

Upon the 6th of April, a committee was holden at Saint Johnston, where there was little done, but adjourned to be holden at Elgin the 3d of May, as ye may see hereafter.

Ye heard before, how Dr. Sandilands, commissary, wanted his clerkship of the general assembly, and Mr. Archibald Johnston had gotten the samen. In recompence of this he had gotten some satisfaction; and besides, for such bygone pensions as were resting him by the deprived bishops before their depositions, he by moyen got three thousand five hundred merks ordained to be paid to him out of the bishoprick of Aberdeen for the Martinmas term, 1641, and Whitsunday term, 1642, to be uplifted out of the feu-duty allenary.

Wednesday the 6th of April, Dr. Guild began to preach within the college kirk a weekly sermon, to be taught that day to the Oldtown people, students, masters, and members of the college. He caused take down the organ case, which was of fine wainscot, and had stood within the kirk since the reformation. This order seemed strange, to preach out of Machar kirk, as was sometimes used before, and bring down the people, man, wife, and maids, to the college kirk, among young scholars and students; and he, being a principal, to teach in English, where, by the foundation, he is bound to preach and give out his lessons in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, except exercise and presbytery days, that he should use the vulgar tongue. The reader of Machar kirk was tied to this weekly sermon, to take up the psalm; the great bells of the college and Machar kirk bells rang three times to ilk sermon for conveying an auditory, whilk was never used before, and which decayed shortly, to his disgrace, as he justly deserved.

Upon the aforesaid 6th of April, the drum went through the town, strictly charging all manner of men not to bring in any flesh, of whatsoever sort, to the market, while Saturday the last of April, under confiscation of their flesh; whereupon none could be got in Aberdeen. This was done to take away the memory of Pasch-day, whilk this year fell upon the 10th of April, by which no flesh could be gotten to buy nor to eat; as the old use was for ilk man to make good chear on this day, according to his power, but is now holden by their laws to be superstitious; and the Lentron continued to the last of April, according to an ordinance of a committee holden at Edinburgh, and for keeping of store to the fore, whilk in many years bygone was well enough kept for Pasch-day. No sermon on Good Friday nor yet that day, as the old form was; such was this sudden alteration.

Pasch-day, the 10th of April, no flesh durst be sold in Aberdeen, for making of good chear, as was wont to be; so ilk honest man did the best he could for himself. A matter never before heard of in this land, that Pasch-day should be included within Lentron time, because it was now holden superstitious, nor no communion given on Good Friday, as was before. Marvellous in Aberdeen, to see no market of fowl or flesh to be sold on Pasch-even!

About a day or two before Pasch, there came to Aberdeen an Italian monster of a man, about twenty-four years of age, having

a birth growing from his breast upward, face to face as it were, a creature having head and long hair of the colour of a man's, the head still drooping backwards and downwards; he had eyes, but not open; he had ears, two arms, two hands, three fingers on each hand, a body, a leg, and foot with six toes, the other leg within the flesh, inclining to the left side. It had some signs of virility, it had a kind of life and feeling, but void of all other senses; fed with man's nourishment, and evacuated the same way as his. This great work of God was admired of by many in Aberdeen, and through the countries where he travelled; yet such was the goodness of God, that he could go and walk where he pleased, carrying this birth without any pain, yea, or unespied when his cloaths were on. When he came to town he had two servants waiting on him, who, with himself, were well clad. His portraiture was drawn and hung up at his lodging to the view of the people; the one servant had a trumpet which sounded at such time as the people should come and see this monster, who flocked abundantly to his lodging. The other servant received the money frae ilk person for his sight, some less, some more: and after there was so much collected as could be gotten, he with his servants shortly left the town, and went south again.

The king, still remaining at York, might not be moved to come to the parliament at Westminster, for plain fear of his life, as his own messages bear; whereupon they go on, they meddle with the Cinque Ports, in-put and out-put governours at their pleasure, due only to his majesty before; next they meddle with his royal ships, discharge sir John Pennington, vice-admiral, an old servant to the king, and put in the earl of Warwick in his place; they remove the French captain, called colonel Biron, frae the Tower of London, and put another in his place; they petition the king for governing of the militia, whilk is the armies of the country, and belonging to the care of the parliament, as his great council; he simpliciter denied to grant this unto them, because it belonged only to himself to be king and captain of the militia, whilk they nowise would condescend unto, fearing, if he were captain of the militia in thir dangerous days, he might prove an enemy to the parliament. Thir pitiful news of this divisions and discontents came daily to Aberdeen.

Sunday the 17th of April, Mr. William Strachan gave the communion in Old Aberdeen for the first day, where Dr. Forbes of Corse got his communion, who had not as yet sworn or subscribed the covenant.

His majesty hearing of the great oppressions his subjects suffered in Ireland, resolved to go thither in person for ordering of these rebellions; and sure it was plainly spoken, that thir rebellions never bred in the mind of sir Philem O'Neil, nor yet the Irish allenarly, but also was plotted by the whole papists of note in Scotland, England, and Ireland, Germany, France, Spain, and elsewhere: likeas, sundry times there came out of West

Flanders ammunition, powder, ball, and other arms necessary, but still was intercepted and taken by the way by the Hollanders, who were combined with the parliament of England (as may appear) in all this business. The English parliament hearing of the king's intention towards Ireland, were altogether set against the samen.

Now daily more and more forces preparing for Ireland. It was said, the marquis of Argyll had purchased a patent frae the king and English parliament, to levy soldiers for Ireland, to go in with fire and sword, and what he conquest should be his own, holden of his majesty. It was reported, that there were ten thousand chalders of victual to be transported out of Scotland to Ireland, for the maintenance of soldiers; and Argyll had agreed with Mr. Robert Farquhar for one thousand bolls of victual to be carried out of this north country to Carrickfergus, for the whilk he should have ten pound for ilk boll that was landed safely on shore; he coft meikle victual in this country to fulfil his bargain with Argyll, and raised the victual to high prices upon the country people for his particular gain; but howsoever this bargain was made, the marquis of Argyll had no such patent, neither went he on in such service.

Word came here to Aberdeen that, about the 20th of April, sir Thomas Dorrell and sir Thomas Hales, two of the king's domestic servants, had intercepted a letter written by the parliament of England to sir John Hotham, governour of Hull, bearing an express command or charge, in case his majesty came to Hull, and craved entrance to the town, to hold him out at the ports, and not to suffer his majesty to come in. This letter was brought to the king, as is said, whereat he marvelled, and also was highly offended; however, for further trial, and his better assurance, he directed the samen letter to the foresaid governour of Hull, and immediately after that his majesty lap on with about four hundred horse, having also in his company Charles the young prince and James duke of York, his two sons; count Palatine, the duke of Lenox, and some other noblemen, and came riding directly to the burrow of Hull; but when he came there, the hail ports were closely shut. The king desired the governour to give him entry to his own town, which he plainly refused, whereat his majesty was highly offended. The king went further on, and craved but entry for himself, his two sons, the duke of Lenox, and others, not exceeding the number of twenty persons, but this was refused also, albeit there were two hundred soldiers lying in garrison within the town. The king seeing this, causes proclaim this governour a traitor, and returns back melancholy to the town of York, frae which place he writes and sends a message to the parliament against sir John Hotham, governour of Hull.

The parliament gave no just satisfaction to the king's most just decrees, but rather not only approves of sir John Hotham's do-

ings to be good, but also finds fault that he was proclaimed a traitor; that the king's servants, for intercepting the parliament's letter, should be sent up. The king, thus disappointed of his expectation, takes it heavy, and, as is said, he declared by another paper, he liked no civil wars, but if wars came, let God be judge. This town is one of the principal strengths of all England, wherein the king's magazine still lay. The parliamentarians at their own hand, without the king's advice, takes in the town, and meddles with the king's magazine and militia, sets in a garrison of soldiers to defend the samen, and places the said sir John Hotham governour, who rebelliously stood out against the king, as ye have heard, neither could his majesty get reparation, do his best. Yet the Lord in his own time revenged his cause, and made the parliamentarians themselves to hang him up, and young sir John Hotham his son both, for faults committed against the parliament, as was by them alledged, as ye shall hereafter hear.

Upon the third Tuesday and 19th day of April, the provincial assembly sat down in the session-house of New Aberdeen. Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, is moderator till the next provincial assembly, where ilk minister had his ruling elder. Dr. Forbes of Corse was sent fer, who compeared immediately before this assembly. The moderator with the rest publicly regretted his lying out from his calling, to the prejudice both of the kirk and commonwealth, whereto he made his own answer; then the brethren sent of their number a committee to confer privately with him, anent his not subscribing of the covenant, and to ask why he went not to Edinburgh for his further resolution, as was communed at the last assembly holden at Aberdeen. After some reasoning with this committee, he said, if the provincial assembly thought fit he should go to Edinburgh, whilk they advised him to do, to see if he could recover his own place, which was not yet filled up.

At this assembly, Mr. William Wedderburn, minister at Bethelney, was accused of fornication. He confesses, and is deprived, and ordained to make repentance.

Mr. Thomas Mitchel, parson of Turriff, is accused for pursuing of Thomas Bell's wife, to have lyen with her, in Couper of Fife, as he is coming here frae Edinburgh; and sicklike, in that samen man's house in Couper, offering to force another woman; at the samen time, he is delated by the said Thomas Bell himself, then dwelling in Drum, suppose his wife was dwelling in Couper. The assembly, ashamed of this purpose, directs out a committee of the brethren to confer privately with the said Mr. Thomas Mitchel hereanent, who constantly stood to his denial. The assembly therefore appointed the matter to be further tried in presence of thirteen ministers and eight ruling elders, specially nominated, and for that effect, to meet in New Aberdeen the 1st of June next. There were diverse other suspicions among them,

but quietly suppress. Mr. Andrew Logie, parson of Rayne, was publickly accused upon some points of misbehaviour, and ordained to bide trial before a committee of ministers and ruling elders. Sundry other things being expedite, this assembly, upon Friday the 22d of April, dissolved.

About this time, there came word, that our bishop of Aberdeen, and the bishop of Brechin, had gotten benefices in England frae the king, and that Dr. Sibbald was a preacher in Ireland.

It is said, the king of Denmark had raised his customs quadruple to what was paid before, in contempt of the English and Scots Covenanters standing against their king, his sister's son; and none should pass by Elsinore without payment, to the great wreck of thir countries, who cannot well live without iron, lint, and such other commodities.

Now again is the town of Aberdeen disappointed by expectation of their customs. Patrick Lealy agrees with the earl Marischall; he gets his haille money in a stock, whilk was better to the earl than to take it yearly; and Patrick Lealy gets a letter of tack over the town's head, seeing their customs were promised to them before by the earl.

The town's people of Aberdeen are pursued before the provost and baillies, for eighteen pounds two shillings, as the price of ilk musket, and four pounds for ilk pike, according to ilk man's several intromission, albeit thir arms, with their own besides, were plundered frae them by the earl Marischall and major Munro. This was done at the instance of the marquis of Huntly. The town is also stented in a taxation of seven thousand merks to pay three ministers their stipends yearly, and the superplus to help to pay the annuals of forty thousand pounds, whereof the town, through the good cause, was run in debt. This business bred great murmuring in the town, and ilk man was stented, and compelled to make payment proportionally.

Upon Sunday the 24th of April, the communion was given here in Aberdeen, where Dr. Forbes took it again, who had not subscribed the covenant, but still stood out.

Ye heard of the incendiaries, viz. John bishop of Ross, Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, the earl of Traquair, sir Robert Spotiswood, president, and sir John Hay, late clerk register. The first two were absent out of the kingdom, the last three were present, and past their trials, and Traquair, as was thought, guilty in five points. (See the 34th act of the third parliament.) In like manner, the earl of Montrose, the lord Napier, sir George Strivling of Keir, knight, and sir Archibald Steuart of Blackhall, were all continued to the next parliament. (See the 33d act of King Charles, second session.)

Upon the 28th of April, Mr. Alexander Colvil, justice-depute, came to Aberdeen, and from thence rode to Elgin, to hold a committee.

About this time, there came forth an imprinted quære, with an answer thereto, made by the same author, as does appear; and as some says, by the English parliament, tending thus :—

“ *Queritur*.—What shall be done with a king that deserts his parliament, that brings in foreign nations, and neglects his militia, that turns the mouth of his cannon against his own subjects ? ”

“ *Answer*.—This king tynes his government of the militia *simpliciter de jure*.”

This printed quære, thus proponed and solved, was thought strange by many, who saw and read the samén. Howsoever it was, or whoever it was that set it out, yet it is most certain the parliament would nowise grant to give the government of the militia to the king, whilk truly and justly belonged to his royal majesty; fearing, if he had that power in his own hand, he might command them per force to yield, submit, and obey him, which otherwise he could hardly get done; which proved too true, as may be seen in this discourse.

The king found himself highly wronged (on the other part) by his own subjects, to withhold per force the militia from him, whereof himself is captain, being righteous king, and a special point of his prerogative royal, and he resolved to have and hold the samén, as his royal predecessors were in use to do before him, or die by the gate. Thus he is brought under fear of his life, or to be taken and imprisoned by his subjects, if he stands out against them; and, on the other side, the parliament stands still in fear of his majesty, and alteration in religion, as was thought, albeit they knew the contrary, having his overthrow rather privately aimed at, than any such preposterous fear of religion, as hereafter clearly does appear; albeit this royal king was endued by God Almighty with such rare gifts of body and mind, as Great Britain had never his parallel to reign over it; for he was holy, godly, religious, zealous in prayer, upright and just, and a brave justiciar, merciful and bountiful, chaste, charitable, and liberal, noways covetous nor blood-thirsty, moderate and temperate in his mouth, clean and pure in all his actions; nevertheless, this godly king, by his unnatural subjects (for their ends) is brought to this point of extremity, that he was under fear of his life or captivity, as is formerly said, and had no certainty of rest in Scotland or Ireland with safety; all done and acted by that clandestine covenant, drawn up betwixt the male-contents, or rather malignants, of Scotland and England, and carried so secretly as his majesty heard never of the samén, albeit the marquis of Hamilton and others of his majesty's counsellors knew it very well, and if in the beginning it had been revealed to the king, his majesty might have easily punished the traitors, and suppress the perfidious plot; but before the matter came to his ears it was past help or cure, which I beseech the Almighty



God, searcher of all hearts, to pacify, and to bring the king and his subjects under a solid and settled peace!

In the mean time, the king begins to look about himself, and try who were his friends, and who were his foes; and the parliament strengthening themselves by all manner of ways to get their will over the king.

Sunday the 1st of May, a fast solemnly kept through all the kirks of Scotland, for thir causes: 1st, For the sins of the land in general. 2d, For the distractions of England and Scotland. 3d, The distractions of England itself. Dr. Guild preached in Old Aberdeen both before and after noon; the people kept the church all day, and while afternoon's sermon was done. And as before was used to ring three bells ilk fasting day to the afternoon's preaching, here was a new fashion begun, and but one bell rung to convene such people to the afternoon's sermons as came not to the forenoon's preaching, whilk form was observed on fasting days.

Monday the 2d of May, drums beating daily through New Aberdeen, for soldiers to march for Ireland in the earl of Lindsay's regiment, under major Borthwick, upon the king's pay; ilk common soldier to have eight shilling ilk day, and the officers to get good payment of their dues. There was ten thousand soldiers to be raised out of Scotland for this expedition, and fifteen thousand out of England, upon thir charges. The English had orders to march in upon the south side of Ireland, and the Scots upon the north side of the country. The Irish convened in great multitudes, but were scant of arms and ammunition, as was thought; and such as they expected coming out of West Flanders for their supply, was daily taken by the Hollanders, who still lay in wait for them.

Ye heard before of major Monro: he arrived safely at Carrickfergus, and received his pay compleatly, and writes to the Scots council for orders. There was few soldiers in thir north parts to this Irish expedition, but raised out of the south, and small content among the officers of fortune, who had left their fortunes in other countries, and come home, hoping for preferment and benefit by thir troubles; but they were disappointed; for ilk nobleman would be crowner of his own company, suppose of small skill, who choosed their own captains and other officers of their own friends, whereby the good soldiers were debarred, and the regiments like to be misguided. But general Lesly hearing of this disorder, resolved and gave command that ilk regiment should be served with qualified officers, and not by unskilful soldiers; albeit many officers of fortune had great murmuring, seeing upon general Lesly's letters they had left their services in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, Poland, and other foreign countries, and had come and served at Newcastle in this service, and disappointed of their pay by general Lesly himself; swa that frae the crowner to the single soldier there was want of

payment, whilk made ilk man to do for himself; some went back to foreign countries, others went to York, and were well received by the king, and placed in the country about, and others bade still in Scotland, albeit they had not yet gotten great content. The foresaid general Lesly, the earl of Cassilis, the earl of Lindsay, and diverse others, were making great preparations for the service.

Upon Sunday the 8th of May, the communion was given the third time here in Old Aberdeen. Dr. Forbes and Dr. Lesly both took it at this time, albeit both outstanders and not subscribers of the covenant.

About this time, the chancellor of Scotland rode to York to speak with his majesty. Some said he was written for; he returns back again, and a council day followed.

The earl of Montrose, the earl of Airly, and laird of Keir, as was said, rode to the king, but his majesty expressly prohibited them to come nearer to him than within a post, because by the 33d act of his own parliament he is obliged not to give presence to incendiaries or plotters without advice of his parliament; yet it was thought they had conference with some of the king's servants, wherewith they were content, and returned home again.

Upon the 11th day of May, the bishop of Murray's wife having caused transport out of Spynie her hail goods and gear, insight and plenishing, and sent it about by sea to the place of Guthrie, heritably pertaining to her husband, she, I say, removes the said day frae the said place of Spynie, and delivers the keys to the earl of Murray, constable thereof, having given John Innes of Leuchars, who had good right to the said constabulary, two thousand merks for his good-will thereof; however, the bishop's wife leaves Murray, and, convoyed by her two sons, Mr. John Guthrie, parson of Duffus, and Mr. Patrick Guthrie, came to Old Aberdeen upon the 13th of May, and from that past towards Angus, her husband remaining in Aberbrothock, who had never seen other since her husband was taken south, as ye have before. Thereafter the bishop takes up house in his own place of Guthrie, and there quietly remains.

After removing of the bishop's wife from Spynie, the earl of Murray possessed his sister's son, the young laird of Innes, therewith; but it was said, the samen night he entered Spynie, the stately house of Milton of Ross, pertaining to his father, was recklessly burnt (except the tower), with meikle good plenishing; a thing to be noted.

Upon the said 11th of May, Mr. Alexander Colvil, justice-depute, and Mr. Alexander Hamilton, justice-clerk-depute, held a justice court at Elgin, by way of committee, having convened the marquis of Huntly, the lord Gordon, the earls of Murray and Findlater, and many barons. Their errand was to agree with William M'Intosh, alias William M'Lachlan, to raise six hundred men to keep, frae Dunotter north to the sea-banks, the

hail countries frae theft, robbery, and oppression of the Clangregors, who were in companies using all violence. There was promised to him for this service, nine thousand pound Scots, to save the country skaitless during the space of an year; he always having power to raise the country for his defence, if need required; likeas, he set diverse barons cautioners to refund sic skait as was done in the time foresaid to the country people. This agreeance was made at Elgin, as was made before at Saint Johnston with James Stuart, for saving the country from the same Clangregors. Shortly, William M'Lachlan and his men go to the fields. This committee court continued eight days at Elgin, where William Couper in Glenrinness was assized, convicted, and hanged, for incest and other crimes. A new committee was appointed to be holden again at Elgin in the month of August next to come; and so they dissolved.

Upon Sunday the 15th of May, Mr. John Rae, one of the regents of the College Marischall, sitting at the morning prayers in the Newtown kirk, suddenly fell lunatick, and rising up cried loudly out, to the astonishment of the hail people; he was conveyed home, and drawn blood of, and shortly after became sober. Some noted this suddenty to be the third visitation of this college: for, 1st, The house took fire, as ye have heard before; 2d, Mr. Robert Blackhall, one of the regents thereof, turned papist, was excommunicated, and left the kingdom, as ye have also heard; and, 3d, This accident falling out in the person of another regent; but the Lord shortly restored him to his wits again; blessed be his holy name!

The 24th of May, the marquis of Huntly and the lord Gordon his son, came frae Strathboggie to Tilliefour, held courts, made chamberlains, and took possession of the lady Wardhouse her hail liferent lands in her name, and name of the laird of Cluny her husband, both being absent in Durham in England; and syne returned back again to Strathboggie.

Wednesday the 25th of May, a great council day was held in Edinburgh, whilk with Leith was under watch. There was presented before this council his majesty's letter, showing how his English subjects were encroaching upon his royal prerogative, and therefore directed them and his Scottish subjects to stand to his defence, conform to their oath of allegiance, and to assist him as necessity required. To this council their came frae the English parliament commissioners also, desiring them to remember their first clandestine covenant, made betwixt the prime malignants of Scotland, forgers and beginners of our covenant, and the puritans and malignants of England, and to stand to the samen. The council is put to their wits' end. It is here to be noted, how this royal king, first and last, is abused by his subjects of both kingdoms, by the draught of this ungodly, unreasonable, clandestine covenant (whereof his majesty had never gotten knowledge); for, first, as appears, it was devised by our

Scots, who began the perturbation in the kirk of Edinburgh, raises an army, goes into England, and gets good payment and brotherly assistance, as ye heard before. The king craves assistance from England against the Scots coming into their country; they would do nothing without they had a parliament, whilk his majesty was forced to indict, whereby the English wan their desires; then craftily commissioners were chosen between the king and the Scots, articles were drawn up, tending to our will and discontentment of the king's majesty, and done by such commissioners as were our friends, albeit chosen by the king. Well, thir articles of peace drawn up, both armies of Scotland and England disbanded, a parliament holden in Scotland, the king comes and grants all our desires, but gat no content himself, as the acts of parliament purport; he returns to the parliament of England, and finds they are daily encroaching upon his royal prerogative. Wherefore he writes to the Scots council, and craves their aid, council, and advice, as becomes loyal subjects to their liege lord. This is a strange plot, devised by two combined factions, to bear down a great and godly monarch. Howsoever, this clandestine covenant was privately drawn up without the king's knowledge, by the beginners of the covenant here in Scotland on the one part, and the English puritans on the other part; yet there was many noblemen of both kingdoms that were not on this course, nor privy to the samen, while about this council day, this clandestine band began to break out and be divulged, whilk took some stamp in their stomachs, thinking they were not tied to this privy covenant, and would rather follow the king nor the chief leaders of this covenant, whilk indeed bred heart-burnings, and great and many malecontents, and great appearance of distractions and divisions, both in Scotland and England, besides the great rebellion in Ireland; who followed the king, favoured and bade faster by him in thir days of distemper within Scotland; but he is forced to quit them, and these loyal subjects are holden incendiaries and plotters; some taken and warded, others chased out of the kingdom, others accused most shamefully in presence of committees, whilk the king could not gainstand, suppose sore against his will; his majesty's most special friends in England also holden by parliament evil counsellors; the archbishop of Canterbury, and twelve other bishops, taken and disgracefully warded. The great deputy of Ireland, the king's most loyal and true servant, and a thunderbolt against our Scots covenant, most cruelly beheaded, to his majesty's unspeakable grief, and whilk he could not get helped. So Scotland's Covenanters first gat their hail wills, ruled or misruled all; England, following their footsteps, goes on in the samen course: so both in kirk and policy they change and make laws and alterations, guide and govern all, and make the king yield, subscribe, and consent thereto, albeit sore against his will, or otherwise no peace in Israel. His majesty's rents in

Scotland taken up per force, to maintain soldiers against himself, wherewith he sweetly and nobly dispenses, and likewise gives full power to meddle with his rents, till other changes and disbursements (given up by the Covenanters) was first paid; his friends and followers in Scotland spoiled of their lands, rents, dignities, and offices, in some kind, and Covenanters, greatest enemies to the king, preferred to their places, both in council and session, though sore against the will of this royal king, who is so bound up by act of parliament not to prefer them to any public office without consent of parliament, nor to speak or confer with them without their advice, as ye have in the thirty-third act of king Charles' second parliament. What other acts and ordinances are there set down in favour of themselves, their counsellors and soldiers, may be clearly seen extended with consent of his majesty, to the satisfaction of their hearts and minds, against the expectation of many, and wonder of all the christian world, and to the great disgrace, shame, and skaith of all his majesty's friends and followers.

Thursday the 26th of May, the presbytery of Aberdeen changes their presbytery day of meeting weekly frae Thursday to Tuesday. It was first changed frae Friday to Thursday, and now frae Thursday to Tuesday. Sic changes now goes! Dr. Scroggie compears before this presbytery, and produces under his own hand his recantation following:—

“Wherefore, clearly discerning my former mistakings in opposing the national covenant of this kirk and kingdom, I do now pass from all the reasons and arguments spoken or given out by myself alone, or others, either before or at the late assembly at Aberdeen, against our subscribing thereof, in as far as they militate against the covenant, or utters any thing to the prejudice thereof

“And particularly, I now declare the points whereupon I was questioned at my deposition, and did not clearly give satisfaction, as follows:—

“1st, I profess that the humanity of Christ ought not to be painted for religious use, or to be had in publick places of worship.

“2d, That the kirk of Rome is an heretical, apostate, and idolatrous kirk, and not the true kirk.

“3d, I now declare clearly, that it is unlawful in a Christian kirk to have or use altars, cappings, and bowing before them, the priest's habit while he officiates, such as surplices, rochets, and cape, the Table standing altarways, and prayers towards the east.

“4th, I do also, according to our covenant, renounce the Service Book of Canons, Ordination Book, and High Commission, even as they are condemned by our General Assembly, and upon the samen grounds.

“5th, I farther do declare, that albeit in the Lord's Supper there is a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ for us, yet the samen ought not to be called properly a sacrifice, either propitiatory or commemorative.

“6th, I also renounce the absolute necessity of private baptism.

“7th, I deny the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be given to dying persons, as a visitation, and think the giving or taking thereof then to be superstitious.

" 8th, I confess that the citing of the place, Matt. xxvi. 28.—' All those that take the sword shall perish by the sword ;' ' and they that resist shall receive unto themselves condemnation,' Rom. xiii. 2.—to condemn the just and necessary defence of this nation, are misapplied ; and do bless God, that our sovereign the king, and our neighbour kingdom of England, have taken notice of, and caused publish, the dutiffulness and loyalty of our nation thereunto.

" 9th, And if any other thing be found set out by me, or others about Aberdeen, contrary to the just and lawful cause of the covenant, I disclaim them all.

" 10th, Finally, I allow and avow the lawfulness of ruling elders in the government of the kirk, and in all the assemblies thereof.

" At the presbytery of Aberdeen, 20th of May, 1642.

(*Sic sub.*)

" Mr. ALEXANDER SCROGGIE."

This recantation was wondered at by many, he biding out so long, with great loss of means and credit, but comes now in, resolving to live in the town with his wife and bairns, and to abide his time with patience.

Ye heard before of the king's letter brought before our council the 25th of May, whilk by them was ordered to be printed, and whereof the tenor follows :—

" CHARLES, &c.

" Right trusty and well-beloved consins and counsellors, we greet you well. Although we have written our mind to you our council, yet upon our second thoughts, arising especially upon some bad rumours coming to our knowledge, we find it necessary, both for ourself and for the good of that our kingdom, to declare and make known both our disposition and desires more fully.

" We know and feel the charge to be great, and the place to be high where-in God, the King of kings, hath placed us, and that we must render an account of all our actions to Him, who in his own time shall judge all men, without exception of persons. We have no other intention but by our government to honour Him by whom kings reign, and to procure the good of our people ; and, for this end, to preserve the right and authority wherewith God hath invested us, and which by his providence hath been derived to us by many princely progenitors ; in which glory that our ancient kingdom of Scotland doth participate.

" We did not require of you that you should sit as judges upon the affairs of another kingdom ; we only intended to have both our sufferings and actions (as they are exprest in many messages past betwixt us and our parliament) made thoroughly known unto you, that since we have none besides you whom we acquaint with our proceedings, you may clearly see, that we have been so far from wronging our parliament of England, that we have given them all manner of satisfaction, even above that which they themselves in the beginning did express or almost desire, and as much as could well consist with the safety of our honour and person. We will not put you in mind of your natural affection towards us, which we know will be rather kindled than extinguished by our distress ; nor of your covenant, wherein you are zealous of our greatness and

authority, and which standeth in that sense wherein you did swear and subscribe it ; nor of the many good laws made in our late parliament (of which we hope the present and succeeding generations shall reap the fruit of, when we are dead and gone) ; nor of the many promises made to us, upon which we were willing to yield to such things for settling the government of that our kingdom in our personal absence, which neither could we have granted, nor would you have craved (as yourselves did profess), had our greater affairs permitted our residence amongst you, and wherein we are most unjustly blamed and calumniated. 1st, That we are popishly affected. 2d, That we are the cause of bloodshed in Ireland. 3d, That we intend to bring in foreign forces. We here do protest and declare, in presence of Him who knows the most secret of our actions and intentions, that we are nowise conscious to ourself of the guiltiness of any of the saids aspersions, and do take Him to witness our innocence therein, who only hath the privilege to be the Searcher of hearts ; and if any, after so full and plain profession, shall distrust this our free declaration, we attest God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and nowise deserved on our part."

" Given at our court, at York, the 20th of May, 1642."

This piece coming before the lords of council, as said is, did seem to put his subjects in remembrance of their oath contained in the covenant for his royal prerogative. 2d, Touching his usage in the English parliament. 3d, His purgation of the foul aspersions laid to his charge. What more is insinuated I leave to the reader. But it is true, there convened in the Canongate about twenty-four earls, lords, and barons, called *banders*, and their followers, who were contrary to the covenant, still shewing them to be the king's men ; they attended to hear the contents of the king's letter sent to the council, and withal they themselves sent, as was said, a petition to the saids lords of council, under the subscription of the earl of Montgomery (first a strong Covenanter, but now left the samen), desiring them to remember their national oath, and oath of allegiance to his majesty, contained in the covenant, and as good and loyal subjects to defend the king's royal prerogative, now impaired and encroached upon by the English parliament. The council gives no answer to this petition. Many barons, burgesses, and gentlemen came over out of Fife to Edinburgh : the town is strictly watched, and the town of Leith both ; none of the banders in companies suffered to come within the ports of Edinburgh. In the meantime, there is another supplication given in to the council, of the whilk the tenor follows :—

*" Apud Edinburgum, ultimo die mensis Maji, Anno Domini 1642.*

" The which day, in presence of the lords of Secret Council, compeared personally, Thomas earl of Haddington ; David lord Elcho ; Arthur Erskine of Scotscraig ; sir John Wachope of Niddry ; John Binnay and Thomas Paterson ; merchants burgesses of Edinburgh ; James Lenton, burgess of St. Andrew's ; Mr. Andrew Ramsay, minister at Edinburgh ; and Mr. John Moncrief, minis-

ter at Kinghorn, for themselves, and in name of the noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, occasionally met at Edinburgh, and gave in to the said lords the application under-written, of the which the tenor follows :—

“ To the right honourable the Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council, the humble Petition of many Noblemen, Gentlemen, Burgesses, and Ministers, occasionally meeting at Edinburgh.

“ Most humbly sheweth,

“ Whereas they, upon the report of convocations, suddenly endeavoured and unexpectedly brought in to this council day, for the most part by these who have been esteemed by the country, and challenged by the parliament as incendiaries, plotters, and enemies to the peace of those kingdoms, have occasionally convened at Edinburgh, and having heard of letters from his majesty, and declarations from the parliament of England, anent the present distractions of that kingdom, they have reason, from bygone experience and present presumptions, to fear the intentions and endeavours of these evil-affected persons and their adherents, lest by their convocations and solicitations they take occasion of these differences to raise jealousies and divisions betwixt the kingdoms ; and considering the common interest of all the subjects of this kingdom to preserve the late peace, so happily concluded betwixt the nations, by the providence of God, his majesty’s goodness and wisdom, and the mediation of the parliament of England, and so solemnly established by the late treaty, oath of parliament, public faith, and great seal of these kingdoms, as in all other points, so especially in those articles (whereunto the rest are called but prefaces) for settling and entertaining a solid peace betwixt these nations in time coming, lest upon any pretence they should be dashed one against another, wherein it is declared the duty of the estates, yea of every subject, for to convene and suppress any evil-affected persons who would raise arms against the subjects of the other kingdom, without consent of parliament, as traitors to the state, much more to petition against it ; and wherein there is appointed a committee of the estates for conservation of the peace, in the interim, between parliaments ; all which the petitioners, among the rest of the good subjects of this kingdom, did hazard their lives to obtain, and did demand in the treaty, upon their dangerous experience of the council of England, their meddling in the affairs betwixt his majesty and this kingdom, to the engaging of the nations in war, which is so oft condemned by the estates of this kingdom in their remonstrances, pressing that common rule of equity, to do as ye would be done unto, which is now and may be retorted on this kingdom. Likewise desiring earnestly that your lordships, in these publick resolutions, of so great importance to thir dominions, may carry along with you the hearts and consciences of this kingdom, and prevent that the breach grow not wider, by false confidence, grounded upon sudden undertakings of any persons ; as also their natural affection and duty to their gracious sovereign, according to their manifold obligations, and brotherly affection to the kingdom of England, forcing them to pray to God, and desire all men, according to their stations, to use all lawful means to breed and cultivate a good understanding betwixt his majesty and his parliament, the surest foundation of greatness to his majesty and happiness to these kingdoms ; likewise taking to heart the dangerous con-



requeſtes to his majeſty and his dominions of your lordſhips' answer, by tendering the offer of your ſervice to his majeſty againſt the demands, or upon the differences between his majeſty and his parliament of England, or any other manner of way import (which God forbid) an engaging of yourſelves, or of theſe nations, in a war, or any thing that may tend thereunto. Therefore, in our own names, and in name of the reſt of the nobility, gentry, burgeſſes, and miniſters, whoſe hearts do and hands would go along with this petition, for preſervation of peace betwixt theſe kingdoms; they do in all humility and earneſtneſs petition your lordſhips, in the depth of your wiſdoms, ſeriously to ponder the conſequences of your answer to his majeſty and the parliament of England, at this time; ſo that thereby the confidence between his majeſty and his ſubjects here now amongst themſelves, nor betwixt the kingdoms (theſe unions tending ever to his majeſty's greatneſs, and theſe diviſions to his prejudice), may be by any means weakened, or their peace endangered, and to that end, as your lordſhips would leave no lawful mean, according to your vocation and intereſt, unſeeked for begetting a good underſtanding betwixt his majeſty and his parliament, being his greateſt and impartial council, repreſenting the body, whereof his majeſty is the head, and for removing the diſtractions (the continuance whereof will ever trouble the peace of the kingdom), according to your lordſhips' laſt answer; ſo alſo, ſeeing his majeſty requires not that your lordſhips ſhould, neither can your lordſhips judge of the law and privileges of another independent kingdom, and the parliament of England offer to give all ſatisfaction concerning any meſſages or papers ſent to your lordſhips aſent their proceedings, that your lordſhips would be pleaſed carefully to ſhun all offences of real or verbal engagement, either directly or by way of inference, without conſent of the parliament, conform to treaty, which either may give any juſt cauſe of offence to their gracious ſovereign, or of jealousy to their brethren of England, or of diſcourſe unto any; and if your lordſhips did not obſerve that former rule of equity preſſed by themſelves during their troubles, to do unto others as they would be done unto themſelves, but did fall in the ſame fault, which your lordſhips and the reſt of the eſtates of this kingdom hath condemned in the council of England, and for this effect, they but cannot remember your lordſhips, that according to an article of the treaty there was appointed a commiſſion (as independent as any other) of ſo many of either eſtate, repreſenting the whole kingdom, to prevent all occaſion of diviſion betwixt theſe kingdoms, in the interim betwixt parliaments; all which they humbly repreſent to your lordſhips' wiſe conſiderations, and expect from your lordſhips ſo gracious an answer as may ſatisfy their preſent fears, and ſecure them from dangers in this interim betwixt parliaments, and thereby prevent all neceſſity of petitions of this kind."

Which ſupplication being read, heard, and conſidered by the ſaide lords, and they finding the ſamen to contain matters of publick concernment, and that of importance, that requires mature deliberation; therefore they continue the answer of this petition till to-morrow, and ordains the hail counſellors in town to be warned to attend the council to-morrow, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

*" Apud Edinburgum, primo die Junij, Anno Domini 1642. "*

" The lords of privy council having again read the petition above-written; declare that they will have consideration thereof, and as they are most tender and sensible of whatsoever may concern his majesty's person, honour, or authority, so will they have a special care not to do any thing contrary to the late treaty, or which may infringe the union or peace, or weaken the confidence betwixt those two kingdoms, so happily established in his majesty's presence, and with his royal consent, in both parliaments; and are confident, that as from the saids lords the petitioners neither have nor shall have any necessity, so they will not trouble themselves nor the council hereafter with supplications of this kind." And so dissolved.

New ye have the king's letters and this supplication copied: read and consider both the one and the other, with the council's answer sent to the said supplication, whilk is so strangely and confusedly set down, that I cannot understand the samen perfectly well, nor know I what answer the king got frae the council to his letter; but as some supposed, it was continued to the next parliament; or what answer the English parliament received, I cannot tell. It was found fit by the council, that the king's letter should be published at the haill parish kirks of Scotland, that his good subjects might see his uprightness and sincerity; but Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, came boldly to the council-house, and publickly opposed the publication of the samen out of the pulpits through all Scotland; whereupon the council went to advisement, and condescend to Mr. Robert Douglas' desire, but withal ordained the samen to be presently printed, and dispersed through the haill kingdom; that his majesty's mind might be certified to all and every one; whilk was so done.

It was plainly spoken, that the English parliament desired assistance of our country upon this occasion. Some of our noblemen, principal Covenanters, at this time were displeased in their hearts with our most gracious sovereign, his godly government in some particulars: 1st, For his general revocation in his first parliament, which bred some fears in the hearts of some lords, of the erection of church lands, suppose nothing followed upon this revocation to their prejudice. 2d, For making in the samen parliament a law anent the teinds, called a commission of surrenders of superiorities and tithes, grounded upon the helping of the clergy, who wanted a maintenance and relief of the laity, living yearly under the bondage of the lords of erection or laick patrons, which they thought tended to their great hurt and prejudice. 3d, When his majesty was at parliament, upon some reasons moving him, he refused to confer honours (such as to make barons lords, and lords earls,) upon some, and preferred others to the dignities, whereat there was great grudgings; and sicklike, anent the lord Balmerinoch's accusation touching an infamous libel set out against his majesty most unjustly, and for

the whilk he was convicted, though most graciously remitted by his majesty. Upon thir occasions, I say, thir malecontent lords began to murmur, and inwardly grudge with our king's most just proceedings, and strives to lay grounds for his overthrow in royal government; and first, they privately essay the nobles, knights, barons, burgesses, and clergy of England, how they were set, and find there a number of malecontents, glad to cast off the yoke of obedience, with whom there was secretly made a clandestine covenant, so that ilk ane should take part against the king's prerogative. Now, our lords being sure of England, laid the next course to be sure of Scotland; but they could get no ground to begin the play, till the incoming of the Service-book at Edinburgh began. Then they take hold of the alteration and change of religion, and make it their quarrel, suppose most unjust in many men's judgments. Then followed here in Scotland our covenant, proclamations, protestations, and great perturbations. At last, thir malecontents (seconded by their favourites of England), had all their will, and the king is born down both in church and policy, as may be clearly seen in his second parliament. Now all things being settled here in Scotland, as said is, England begins to follow our order in religion and church government, and many of our faction strives against sundry parts of royal prerogative and established laws, whereupon his majesty could not credibly nor laudibly condescend; whereupon the malecontents of England begin to crave our Scots assistance, conform to the fore-named clandestine covenant, whereby our disorder was first bred, and whilk his majesty could not get suppressed without forces from England, which his majesty could not obtain till first a parliament was indicted, which the king (against his will) yielded unto. They, sure of a parliament, resolved to get all their wills, and first to get our turn done, and thereafter their own, which bred much sorrow through all the king's domiions, as hereafter ye may hear.

Wednesday the 1st of June, the committee of the kirk convened in the kirk of New Aberdeen, by order frae the last provincial assembly, anent Mr. Thomas Mitchel's trials with Thomas Bell's wife, who compeared and confessed all to his face. However, the committee caused note her deposition, and referred the decision to the next provincial assembly, where he was found honest.

The foresaid 1st of June, the session sat down in Edinburgh for administration of justice, and peaceably sat their time.

About this time, a meeting drawn on at York by the king, declaring there the reasons why he left the parliament, chiefly for fear of his life. It was well received by the haill country at York, and avowed by all to his service. Well, the parliament boldly sits still, albeit the king had commanded them to rise, whilk he of his royal power lawfully might have done; and his

majesty being absent, they care not to hold their parliament going on, wherein both the Covenanters of the upper and lower houses prevailed still by a plurality of voices against the king's friends sitting there. In the meantime, there is provided at York, a strong guard for the king's person, both of horse and foot; many malicious pasquils written and printed against the king, and others written against his enemies; a remonstrance also set out in print by the English parliament, declaring what they had done was conform to the laws of England, observed in Edward the second's time, and in king Richard the second's time, which two kings were cruelly abused by their subjects, and done to death, as their chronicles bear; and in effect, some thought they had no less power to do the samen to our gracious sovereign, and either to take and to ward him, or by plain force to kill him, which the king with great patience suffered. In the meantime, they boldly meddle with the king's haill rents, thereby to disable him from raising any forces, if he were so disposed, and withal had meddled with the king's haill royal ships, so that he could do nothing by sea. Thus was this royal king pitifully abused by his own subjects, to the admiration of all christian kings! It is said, the king's seal was privately brought to York to him.

About the beginning of this month of June, Dr. Guild, principal, violently breaks down the insight plenishing within the bishop's house, which was left undestroyed before, such as beds and boards, &c. and caused transport them down to plenish the college chambers and other work; joists and greater timber he cut down; he tirred the haill toofalls of the office-houses, such as bake-house, brew-house, byres, stables, yea, and of some too-fall chambers also, and carried roof and slates away, wherewith he roofed a song-school and slated the samen, within Bernard Innes' close, where never song-school was before. In the samen manner he dang down the walls of the Snow kirk to big the college dykes, as ye have heard before. Now he is demolishing the bishop's house; pitiful and lamentable to behold! kirks and stately buildings first to be casten down by ruffians and rascals, and next by churchmen, under colour of religion.

It is here to be marked, that since January, the beginning of this year 1642, there was great scarcity of white fishes on all our coast, to the hurt and hunger of the poor, and raising of the price of meal and malt, and begging of the fishermen; and it was reported, that when the fishers had laid their lines, and taken fishes abundantly, there came a beast to the lines called the sea-dog, and eat and destroyed the haill bodies, and left nothing on the lines but the heads. A judgment surely from God Almighty, for the like scarcity to continue so long as has scarcely been heard of in Scotland, whilk made the meal and malt at eight, nine, and ten pound the boll, and all other meats were also made very dear. Besides this, a great drought throughout a great part of June, whereby grass and corns were burnt up and dried in the

blade, whilk made also great scarcity of all milkness, butter, and cheese; but the Lord amended this drowth, and upon the 17th, 18th, and 19th of June, sent abundance of rain, to the great comfort of man and beast; but till that time Jane was burnt up, as said is. Yet, albeit the harvest was late, God sent corns abundantly through the ground, for entertaining man and beast, but being transported to Ireland, became dear and scarce.

Word came that the twelve English bishops that were warded, as ye have heard, were about this month of June put to liberty; but the archbishop of Canterbury stayed still in ward.

The Irishes daily grew stronger and stronger, using fire and sword, and all manner of cruelties against man, woman, and bairn, of English, Scots, and Irish Covenanters, in their kingdom, without pity or compassion. Many fled this cruelty that could win away over to Scotland, both man, wife, and child; all this bred by the incoming of our covenant.

Upon Wednesday the 22d of June, the laird of Corse rode to Edinburgh to the committee of the general assembly holden there, by persuasion of our last provincial assembly, not of his own good will. He was made welcome there by the brethren, and had privy conference with them; the parson of Belhelvie was sent commissioner from our provincial assembly to Edinburgh to the samen committee; for they earnestly wished Corse (as an excellent learned man) to keep his own place, if they could in any case procure the samen at their hand by their said commissioner, who was direct for that effect, as said is; but let the brethren in Edinburgh do their best, they could not by threatening nor persuasion alter this learned godly man to swear and subscribe their covenant, which, as he declared, was contrary to his conscience, whilk he would not balance with any worldly pleasure or preferment. Thus, after several meetings and conferences with Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and other ministers at Edinburgh, appointed to sit upon the committee for the general assembly; in end he returned home again upon the 12th of July. Dr. Forbes, foresaid, a learned divine and theologue, denying to swear and subscribe our covenant, was thought a stumbling-block to this our good cause and new reformation.

Upon the 24th of June, the laird of Haddo compeared before the justices in Edinburgh, to underly the law for the alledged slaughter of Mr. James Stalker, (as ye have heard before). After some reasoning, he was ordained to set caution to compear again upon the next citation; and so he returned home again.

About this time, Mr. John Lesly, bishop of Rapho, came from that country to Edinburgh, and from that to England. He said, he came not clad like a bishop, but with sword and hanger, like a soldier. He went post to the king.

Mr. Andrew Cant, being minister at Aberdeen, as ye have

heard, began to bring in novations: He would not baptise a bairn, yea albeit at the point of death, but after preaching on Sunday, or any other preaching day in the week. He cried out against conveneing at lyke-wakes, reading of Scriptures, or singing of psalms at that time; but the dead corps to ly upon a board all night, without any company; but neither of this could he get done. He brought in a lecture-lesson to be used Monday at night, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, instead of evening prayers. No communion given by Cant for the space of two years to the town of Aberdeen, till first they were well catechised, because he alledged they were ignorant.

Mr. Henry Pollock, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, departed this life, confessing frae his heart, that his majesty was cruelly subdued and born down by his own subjects, as was reported; for the whilk he got small convoy to his grave by the puritans of Edinburgh. Mr. Alexander Henderson at Leuchars in Fife, was translated therefrae to be minister at Edinburgh in his room.

About midsummer, England sent to the committee at Edinburgh one hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling, for their brotherly assistance, conform to the act of parliament in 1641.

About the 25th of June, the lord mayor of London was directed to cause make proclamation at all the crosses of the town, charging all true and loyal subjects to come to the king, and by-gones should be forgiven, except some persons, such as sir John Hetham, governour of Hull, and others his capital enemies, whom his majesty was not to pardon. The parliamentarians were highly offended at the mayor of London for suffering this proclamation to be made, and for the whilk he was presently deposed, and another mayor elected and put in his place; but first he was hastily taken, warded, and accused, and thereafter deposed, for obeyed the king's command. Yet this proclamation drew the hearts of many people to the king.

Now his majesty begins to waken, and is fast drawing to an head; his faithful followers and good subjects are by the parliamentarians declared incendiaries and a malignant party; he caused put in a garrison in Newcastle, and diverse lords of parliament resorted to the king; whereupon the parliament resolved to establish a committee of their best number to sit constantly at Westminster, for the parliament, with like authority and power as if the hail estates of parliament were sitting; for they durst not rise totally up, nor desert their parliament, lest the king could not be moved to indict another when they desired, as he had more than reason to refuse. In the meantime, they make preparation for arms, to defend their own pretended acts and ordinances, for their militia.

Tuesday, 28th of June, was a visitation of our Oldtown kirk by the brethren. The session was changed frae after the forenoon's sermon till after the afternoon's sermon, on ilk Sunday.

The landward elders thought this burden heavy, to bide ilk forenoon and buy their dinner in the Oldtown, whilk was abiding them at home in their own house. It was ordained by this presbyterial visitation, that ilk master and mistress of families in town and country, within this parish, should come, with their bairns and servants, to the minister's catechising; noisome to country people to come all, close up their doors, and leave none at home to keep their houses, corns, cattle, and other goods! They ordained the back of the high altar in bishop Dunbar's isle, curiously wrought in wainscot, matchless in all the kirks of Scotland, to be dung down, as smelling of popery and idolatry; pitiful to behold! In the mean time, our minister, Mr. William Strachan, teaches powerfully and plainly the word of God, to the great good and comfort of all his auditors; he takes strict account of those that came not to the communion, and keep not the kirk; calls out the absents out of the pulpits, which drew in such a fair auditory, that the seats of the kirk were not able to hold them; for remead whereof, he caused big up a loft athwart the body of the kirk, and entered the wrights thereto in November; likeas, with great pains and diligence he caused slate the hail body of the kirk in summer time with new lath, new slate, and other new materials, whilk was not so well done since the time it was first slated, after the lead was tirred therefrae; the toofalls were not theeked, because they might not be overtaken this season. This Mr. William Strachan was one of the best ministers that has been seen at this kirk of a long time bygone; but the truth is, the back of the altar was violently pulled down by direction of Mr. William Strachan, only advised thereto by Dr. Guild, principal and moderator for the time, and had not the consent of the brethren thereto, as is said before; and by this glorious timber work of the said altar this new loft was adorned and beautified with gilt pieces and ornaments.

Now the marquis of Hamilton, foreseeing thir forces and apparent troubles, whereof he has not been blameless since the beginning, as would appear, for he had still the king's ear, and was continually upon his council, whilk he reveals to our Covenanters by his letters, whereby they were provided and still upon their guard to answer whatsoever commission was sent by his majesty here, to protest against all manner of proclamations used here, and lead or mislead his gracious prince (who had made up his forlorn estate) as he pleased; for, first, a general assembly was ordained; next, a parliament was indicted, wherein the king in all his designs both of kirk and policy was trampled down, his friends and followers declared rebels, incendiaries, and malignants, yea banished frae their honours, countries, and estates, and their enemies planted and placed in their room; ministers also banished, and their places filled up according to the will of the Covenanters; others deposed with indignity and disgrace; and, in a word, none but the king, the bishops, nobles,

ministers, and others who followed the king, were born down pitifully with shame and disgrace, as may appear in his acts of parliament, where the king's enemies are exalted, and his true friends and followers casten down. To thir haill doings this marquis of Hamilton was still privy. The raising of arms, the coming to Berwick, the treaty of peace, corroboration of parliament, the king's returning to London, he is still with him; he attends his majesty until he saw no appearance of peace. Then he leaves him in his troubles with the parliament, feigning himself to be sick, and he behoved to come to Scotland for his health, whilk the king beheld, and winked at his proceedings, whereof he had gotten some knowledge, suppose too late. But the earl of Lanerk, secretary for Scotland, and secretary to the Scots council, he left behind him with the king, doubtless for an intelligencer, who no question was still careful to acquaint his own brother-german (and only upraiser) the marquis of Hamilton, with all the occurrences betwixt the king and parliament. Many wondered at the marquis of Hamilton's behaviour frae the beginning of this covenant, or what could move him to deal so politiquely with so good a master; for it was well known he honoured this marquis, he enriched his coffers, and denied him nothing worldly wherein he could anywise avail him, in council, in privy-chamber, in bed-chamber, still chiefest in his majesty's secrecy, and yet he would stir against him, and so behave himself under trust, as bred great grief to the king, and much trouble both in Scotland and England, as after does appear, whilk happily might have been prevented, if he had revealed their plots timously to his majesty, and sought his honour, peace, and prosperity, as became a true and loyal subject, both for his highness, and weal of his haill dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who felt and suffered ilk one their own troubles and several vexations, as shall appear more plainly hereafter. However, this marquis of Hamilton leaves the king in the beginning of thir troubles, but his brother, as I have said, bade still at court with the king, whereby he had daily intelligence what was doing at court or abroad. Well, he comes to Hamilton, where he had his meetings with the marquis of Argyll, the high chancellor, and other prime lords of the covenant, at his pleasure; syne, at the down-sitting of the session, he came and dwelt at the king's own palace at Holy-rood-house, attended the council days ordinarily; he had a strait guard about him of his own friends and domestics, and held a great house, as was reported.

The earl of Morton left his majesty also, and came to Scotland to the king's own palace of Dalkeith, where he remained and dwelt all this while. General Lesly (now earl of Leven) brings over his lady to the castle of Edinburgh about this time, therein to dwell together, furnished the samen for his own provision, but had no more men in it but what were before, and his own domestics.



It was reported also, that there was about twenty-four noblemen, called banders, that convened in the Canongate of Edinburgh at the foresaid council day, as ye have heard, all malecontents; and were to petition the council, desiring them to keep the covenant and oath of allegiance to his majesty, and to defend his royal prerogative, now encroached upon by his English subjects. Of thir and the like terms this petition was framed by the nobles and owners of the west country, and given in under the subscription of the earl of Montgomery. The council gave no answer, but slighted the samen, commanding them to remove, which they did, and went to Glasgow. In the meantime, the ministry of Fife, with nobles, barons, and burgesses, gave in also to the council another petition, as ye may see before. They came in with great numbers, as the banders also did. The towns of Edinburgh, Leith, and the council, were guarded with about one thousand men in arms.

It was reported that the Irishes were strong, who cannily espied their time to cast off their yoke of obedience, through the incoming of our covenant.

Sunday the 12th of June, Alexander Harvie, younger, and Alexander Paip, taylor, were both excommunicated by Mr. William Strachan, minister at Machar kirk, for popery.

Wednesday the 15th of June, a proclamation, printed in the king's name, was proclaimed at the cross of New Aberdeen, for levying of four thousand five hundred soldiers, to go under the conduct of the earl of Irvine, brother to the marquis of Argyll, for France. Robert Keith, brother to the earl Marischall, was one of his captains, who got some soldiers in this country, and shipped here at Aberdeen.

Ye heard before of the laird of Haddo, how he was pursued criminally before the justices. At that time, he was forced to consign before the lords ten thousand merks at the lord Fraser's instance, conform to their decreet, whereupon he relaxed himself frae the horn; and, in the meantime, by moyan, they lifted up his money beyond his expectation, and to his great grief; but he wisely concealed his wrath while he saw his time, and to the king goes he; but he first sets caution to compear the next parliament, to underly the law for the slaughter of Mr. James Stalker, foresaid.

Word came that the parliament of England was by themselves to be adjourned, to order the militia themselves without the king's advice, and to take up arms in their own defence against the king, and to seek him at York, which his majesty courageously resolves to bear out as a noble king, conform to his royal predecessors, or then die like a gentleman, as himself said; and in the meantime goes up and down at his pleasure, mickenning the procedure of the parliament; and being at Beverly Castle, there was there presented to his majesty a petition from the parliament, dated the 16th of July, 1642, whereunto his majesty

hastily made an answer, whilk petition and answer by the king's command were printed.

About this time, there fell out great showers of hailstones here about Aberdeen, marvellous to see, being upon the 9th of July! but lay not long, in respect of the time of the year.

Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Aberdeen, and Mr. John Gregory, minister at Drumoak, are chosen commissioners for the presbytery of Aberdeen, and John Lesly, elder, to go to the general assembly, to be holden at St. Andrew's, the 27th of July.

Ye heard before how the queen went over to Holland, in company with her daughter, with whom went John Strachan, skipper Strachan's son of our burrow of Aberdeen, who was born, bred, and brought up within the said town. This John Strachan is a brave mariner, and stout cavalier: he got charge from his majesty of one of the king's yachts, having twenty-four brazen pieces upon her, to follow the queen to Holland, and to attend her service. Now the parliament seeing the king daily to stand out, and not to yield to their wills, and fearing this Strachan's employment was not for nought, they therefore sent to him where he was lying, and summoned him to return, with his ship and goods, back to the parliament, under pain of death. He answered, his charge was frae his majesty, and when he commanded him, he should obey. The king gets word of this charge; whereupon he sends command, under the pain of hanging, that he the said John Strachan should give no obedience to any charge coming frae the parliament for that purpose, whilk he gladly obeyed. Then they summoned him a second time, and the king gave a second countermand; whereupon the parliament sends out four of the king's royal ships, two to ly at the mouth of the river Humber, and two to ly at the mouth of the river —; by one of which ways, they, by the Hollanders, were surely advised this Strachan behoved to go, and was hastily to come to England. But the parliamentarians resolved, before he came that length, to have him quick or dead; of all which Strachan has good intelligence, and resolves to take the sea. He had with him on shipboard the lord Digby and William Murray, who had gone over with the queen, and resolved now to return back with Strachan to England. Well, to the sea goes Strachan; two of the king's ships follow, betwixt whom there was some fight; the other two likewise follows, whilk Strachan espying, and finding himself unable to defend against them all four, made choice to take flight; and being speedier under sail, for that she was of less burden than any of the other four, goes soundly and safely frae them by plain speed, for he was well acquainted with all the sands, creeks, and holes, upon the English coast, whereby he wisely took his advantage, and hastily run her ashore, where the great ships durst not follow. Well, he takes out his cannon, and mounts them upon land; he plants his muskets so, that no one pinnace nor boat durst come near his

ship, albeit they were sent after him, but were dung back again, both by cannon and musket; in the meantime, Strachan sent word to the king of his landing (who was within eighteen miles distance) who hastily sends a guard, conveys the lord Digby, William Murray, himself, and about other one hundred persons, to his majesty. They took order with the cannon, muskets, and ammunition, and let the ship ly still there. There came in this ship great sums of money, by the queen's moyan as was said, together with arms for ten thousand men, ammunition, and cannon, whereof his majesty was very joyful; received Strachan, (whom the parliament had declared traitor for his disobedience), and for his brave service knighted him with his own hand, to the great honour of the burrow of Aberdeen, being one of our townsmen born.

The earl of Northumberland, high admiral of England, by fee and heritage, about this time, upon his own privy respects, laid down his admiralty, and gave over his charge; and the earl of Warwick, at his own hand, meddles with his place, whereat the king takes offence.

Now the king is growing to an head; and the parliamentars, very strong, kept parliament daily and continually: the earl of Essex is chosen their general, and all such as favour the king are declared incendiaries and malignant parties against the country; therefore, the parliament resolves to move, or make the king condescend to their opinions whether he will or not. 1st, That he should ratify their haill acts of parliament, both for church government and policy, albeit contrary to his royal prerogative, and to the utter suppressing of episcopacy. 2d, That his majesty should indict a general assembly, for getting a consent of the kirk, that was of their opinion, to the establishing of this new order of church government in England, as is now with us in Scotland; doubtless plotted and desired betwixt England and Scotland, for their own ends, and overthrow of the laws both of England and Scotland made in favour of bishops, and to his majesty's prejudice, wanting the bishops as the first of the three estates to sit in parliament. 3d, That his majesty should send in the incendiaries and haill malignant parties, to be censured and punished by parliament. The incendiaries are understood to be the king's loyal subjects and faithful followers. Their points seemed in nowise reasonable in the king's sight, and he utterly denied the samen; whereupon both parties went to arms sore against the king's will, as after does appear.

The king seeing no redress anent Hull, lays strait siege thereto; but sir John Hotham, governour thereof, lets out certain sluices of water, whilk overflowed the ground near about the town, so that by land no convenient assault could be made; whereupon the king left the siege, and rode up and down through the country making his friendship, to whom many of his subjects daily resorted.

Wednesday the 27th of July, 1642, the general assembly sat down in St. Andrew's; Mr. Robert Douglas, sometime minister of Kirkcaldie, translated therefrae to Edinburgh, was moderator of this assembly. The earl of Dumfermline was commissioner for the king, with four assessors, viz.—the chancellor, the marquis of Argyll, the earls of Cassilis, Glencairn, Lindsay, Wemyss, and others: diverse barons, gentlemen, and ruling elders; the marquis of Hamilton and earl of Morton were written for, but they came not; and the marquis said, he could now do no service for the king. It is here to be marked, that Argyll sat not only there as assessor to the king's commissioner, but also sat at this assembly as one of the commissioners for the estates of Scotland, who still opposed the king's commissioners pleading for the king's honour; as in special, the assembly received from him a letter frae the king, desiring them not to meddle with the affairs of England, nor so much as mediate, lest their quietness might be turned into trouble, whilk they regarded not as became in the particulars subsequent. A letter came also to this assembly from the parliament of England, desiring them to remember their covenant and unity of religion with England, by their own commissioner, whom they sent with this letter, well backed. There also came another commissioner, with a letter subscribed by about twenty-five puritan London ministers, desiring presbyterian government. Mr. Alexander Spang, minister at Campvere, came also to this assembly, who was well received, and admitted to vote with the brethren. There also came a letter frae our own Scots commissioners lying in England, desiring the assembly to have conformity with England in church government, and that our ecclesiastic form should be written up to England for this effect. Matters are agitate how answers should be sent to thir several letters. The king's commissioner alledged, they could make no answer to any of thir letters but by the king's own advice, and protested against them. Argyll stood up and opposed him, telling him it was lawful for a free assembly to give their own answers; and, first, they penned a pleasant answer to the parliament's letter; another to the London ministers' letter; thirdly, to their own commissioners, to whom they sent our church government, penned by Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister; and concluded to solicit his majesty (as they wrote indeed to him) for conforming of the church of England to our church government.

At this assembly, Mr. John Guthrie was simpliciter deposed frae the kirk of Duffus, and Mr. Alexander Symmer admitted in his place. Mr. Archibald Johnston was clerk to this assembly, and was named "my lord" (being indeed one of the lords of session), but the moderator was named "brother." Strange to see! Mr. Andrew Cant looking to be appointed minister at Edinburgh, was disappointed by Mr. George Gillespie, who was preferred, and he came again to Aberdeen.

Many acts and ordinances were made here at this assembly, whilk is referred here to their own books. They appointed a general fast and prayer, to be kept through all the kirks of Scotland, upon Sunday the 11th of September next, for three several causes. 1st, For the great bloodshed, misery, and calamity of Ireland. 2d, For the divisions and distractions within England, betwixt the king and his people; and that the Lord should bring his majesty's three kingdoms under uniformity of religion and church government. 3d, For fair and seasonable weather to win and ingather the fruits of the ground.

This general assembly nominated and appointed so many to be constant commissioners for them, to sit at Edinburgh till the next general assembly, as a committee for the kirk of Scotland, to cognosce in such manner as if the haill assembly were personally sitting; and after appointing the next general assembly to be holden at Edinburgh, the 2d day of August, 1643, they dissolved and rose up the 6th of August.

This samen Wednesday, and 27th of July, general Lesly lifted three thousand foot and six hundred horsed soldiers, well furnished with cannon, field pieces, and ammunition, and all other things necessary, and marched towards Ireland. Himself shipped (but he was only estimate to be about eighty horse), and landed all safely in Ireland.

The said day, the marquis of Huntly, accompanied with his goodson the lord Drummond and his lady, the lord Aboyn, Charles and lady Mary, the marquis' bairns, and others, being about eighty horse, came frae Strathboggie, rode through the Oldtown to New Aberdeen, with sound of trumpet; the laird of Drum, with his two sons, the laird of Pitfoddels, and sundry others, in his company. The marquis, with the lord Drummond and his bairns, lodged in skipper Anderson's house. Upon the morn, the town of Aberdeen gave them the wine, &c. and made the lord Drummond burgess. Upon Sunday, they came over to the Oldtown, saw the marquis' house and yards, drank with the laird of Corse and Dr. Gordon's relict, in their own houses. The marquis staid in Aberdeen till Saturday the penult of July, convoyed the lord Drummond with his daughter to the bridge of Dee, where they took leave frae other, syne parted, the one going south, the other returning home to Strathboggie. The marquis was not in Aberdeen since the 1st of January, 1642, till this time that he was convoying his goodson to the town.

About this time, some tug-whittings were taken; and, by God's providence, the fishes became larger, for entertainment of the people.

Word came to Aberdeen, that the queen mother departed this life in West Flanders; a great instrument, as was thought, of thir troubles.

In this month of July, the young laird of Gight married the laird of Ludquharn's daughter; and (as was thought by his in-

stigation) fell into some variance with his own mother, the lady Gight, daughter to the lord Ogilvie. He craved his evidents from his mother, as he that was put in fee of the lands of Gight by his goodsire, and his father was never infeft thereintil, who was now out of the kingdom. The lady answered, she could not deliver these writs (her husband being absent) without his consent; whereupon, by Ludquharn's assistance, they resolve to take in the place of Gight, which she shortly mans and stoutly defends. They take in barus and laigh bigging, to see if they could get the gates opened, and shot in at the haill windows, where one William Gordon was shot through the shoulder blade. The earl of Airly, hearing of his sister's distress, spake to the marquis, who settled this matter at Leggataden betwixt Gight, who came thither, and his mother. Now Gight returning back frae Leggataden, well content of the agreement, John Leisk, one of his own folks, shooting a volley with an hagbutt for joy, his hand was shot frae him, and he shortly thereafter died. This hagbutt was plundered by Ludquharn, the said John Leisk being in his company, out of the place of Foveran; so he got his reward, and this siege dissolved.

About this time, Dr. John Gordon, the deposed minister of Elgin, having got some settling in England, returned to Elgin, sold his plenishing and books, made money of all, and took his wife and children with him to England. Thus is this honest man crossed, and compelled to flee his native country and settled calling, as ye may read before.

Now the king is at York; and understanding of the general assembly's letters written to diverse persons, as ye heard before, and that the samen bred great encouragement to the parliamentary faction, thinking surely that all Scotland was with them, and upon their course: this, I say, made them so much the more bold (standing on such terms with the king as they did), and bred some discouragement to the king's followers and faithful subjects. However, he draws to a head, and was estimate to be about seven thousand dragooners, and one thousand four hundred foot, by and attour his trained bands, with brave captains and commanders, having cannon, ammunition, and all other provision necessary, in great abundance.

The parliament, on the other part, sits constantly at Westminster, by an established committee; diverse of the lords and members thereof rides frae the parliament to their own countries, making up forces of men of war to bring the haill kingdom under subjection, and to follow their opinion by strong hand, as our Covenanters did in the kingdom of Scotland; and to this effect, they used all means possible, and established a committee of war, without authority or warrant of the king's majesty. Yet it was said, the parliament was of great power and of better government, ready to meet him with displayed banners.

Word came that the marquis of Hartford, keeper of the young

prince, was overthrown by the lord Brooke, one of the parliamentars, and was fled to one of his own castles frae the king's service.

About this time, a committee holden at Elgin, upon the 10th, 11th, and 12th days of August. The justice-depute, the king's advocate, and justice-clerk, were there. The marquis of Hantly, the earls of Murray and Findlater, the sheriff of Murray, the laird of Grant, and diverse, were at this committee; and sundry others absent, that should have been there. Their business was to take order with the Clangregor, and John Dugar, and other Highland limmars, and with their receptors. They sat down, and fenced their courts daily, albeit there was not a full quorum convened. The poor country people are cited and accused for receipt of thir lawless limmars, and giving of them meat, drink, and harboury. They answered, it was true, because they durst not deny them entertainment for fear of their lives and spoiling of their goods. But no respect was had to the good reason of thir poor bodies, but they were severely fined and punished for their receipt, and the rascals themselves were left unpunished or unsought for. Thus this committee dissolved, ilk ane to their own houses; and upon the 14th of August, the justice-depute, the king's advocate, and justice-clerk, with their servants, rode frae Elgin to Inverness, with little good to the country for their coming.

The earl Marischall rides south again for settling of his customs, whilk agreed, as ye may see hereafter, nothing to his mind, and grievous to the burrow of Aberdeen.

About this time, the lairds of Banff and Foveran, and some others, leave the kingdom, and go to the king, where they remained a while.

Ye have heard before of the king's forces. He resolves now to take his march, and raise his army, upon Monday the 15th of August, and go forward with displayed banners, and set up his standard at Nottingham, whilk courageously he did.

Prince Rupert, his majesty's nephew, being taken by the emperor, and kept by the space of three years in sure custody and keeping, is at this time, by the emperor, ransom-free, put to liberty, who quickly takes journey towards his uncle, the king of Britain, where he was joyfully received, and heartily made welcome; and, as was said, sent freely by the emperor to our king to help him in thir troubles. Well, he is preferred, and made commander over the king's horse. The earl of Crawford likewise comes to him; he is made welcome, and created commander of the volunteers. The king takes order with the commissioners of array, through all the shires and counties (whilk we call *weaponshawings*); he charges all manner of men to conven to his standard, conform to the English laws, under pain of treason; and finding the parliamentars disobeying and not coming to his standard, he forthwith caused discharge their parliament,

commanding them to rise up and dissolve, and declared the earls of Essex and Bedford, the lord Brooke, and some others, traitors.

On the other part, the earl of Essex, general of the horse forces, hastily draws to a head with a brave army, and gave out that they had no purpose against the king himself, but only against his counsellors, malignant and incendiary persons, (who indeed were his majesty's most loyal and true subjects, biding by him most faithfully in thir his miserable distresses), and resolved to take them frae the king's back per force, as they who were enemies to their ungodly and treasonable procedure against his sacred majesty, seeking to defend his royal prerogative with their lives, lands, and goods, against thir rebellious parliamentars.

Upon the 23d of August, one Crichton, brother-german to the laird of Frendraught, was unhappily slain at —, by Adam Gordon, a young boy, with a pistol. He was son to James Gordon in Feehil, of the folks of Curridon, and servitor to — Urquhart of Crombie. Dunbar of Burgie, good-brother to the laird of Frendraught, had drawn on a meeting betwixt Crombie and Crichton, who then stood not in good terms, where Meldrum of Iden was; but this meeting turned tragical, and Crombie, with his boy, and Iden, hastily fled the country, and wan away safely.

Our gracious king's goodness is abused, and daily more and more provoked to wrath by his disloyal parliamentars; for when first his majesty was conditionally content to recal his declarations of treason, and take down his standard, now they will have him to quit his true and loyal subjects, without whom we can have no being, and they, with the earl of Strafford, put out of the gate; then the king should stand alone, that they might do with him as they pleased. But his majesty more generously would protect and defend them the better, whom the parliament sought to destroy for his cause, and held and maintained them as his good subjects, who approved themselves faithful in the troubles which followed. Now the parliamentars most rebelliously begin, at their hand, to meddle with the king, the queen, the young prince, and all their rents; takes in the ships royal; they leave him nothing in property whereon to live; his castles and towers and strengths they take frae him; the prelates and their dependants, with the papists and their lawful rents, they meddle with. So that, in effect, this gracious king is robbed of all means, friends, and moyan, belonging to him, his queen, the young prince, and of his worthy prelates; all done to him by his own unnatural subjects, of purpose to draw him per force to their lawless opinion. But the Lord disappointed their expectation; albeit, his rents and revenues in Scotland, pertaining to him and his queen, was in like manner taken frae him by his disloyal subjects, under pretence to pay their debt, contracted in thir troubles, whilk they call the good cause. Notwithstanding of all thir grievous afflictions, he raises his standard, as ye have



heard before, at Nottingham, not passing two thousand men, and as little money to pay them; however the Lord daily more and more prospers him, as ye may see hereafter.

Upon Sunday the 28th of August, Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. John Oswald, two of the ordinary ministers of Aberdeen, gave the communion, the first in the old kirk, and the second in the new kirk. They gave the bread to one or two nearest them, then the bason by an elder was set before the people down the beard, and ilk man took his communion bread with his own hand out of the bason. The minister thereafter gave the cup to one on ilk side sitting nearest him, and so ilk communicant gave the cup to others, sitting at the table, but not kneeling, as was used before, whereat sundry people murmured and grudged, but could not amend it.

Upon the 29th of August, Dr. Guild, at his own hand, caused brake down the great oaken joists within the bishop's house, and transported them therefrae for reparation of the college. Pitiful to see so glorious a building thus thrown down by despiteful soldiers, and then demolished by doctors of divinity! This Dr. Guild being principal, began to preach there, as ye have heard before, but about Lammas he began to weary, and left off any more preaching; whereat his auditors were nowise displeased; for they had no pleasure of his unsavoury sermons; the students wishing rather to be at their lessons, and the town's people at their work, than hearing him.

About the last of August, the laird of Haddo came home frae England knighted. He brought with him some dainty horses.

Upon the 2d day of September, lady Henrietta Stuart, marchioness of Huntly, departed this life in France, and was buried in her mother's grave at Lyons: a virtuous reverend lady, born in France, and married in Scotland, where she bare her honourable bairn-time, and in her widowhood and old age, by cruelty of the kirk, for her religion is forced to flee her country, and go into France, where she died, as said is. Her eldest son the marquis succeeded to her life-rent lands of the Bog and plough lands; a matter of about sixscore chalders victual, and a good help to his distressed estate; but had no more but the chamberlainry thereof.

The earl Marischall is forced by plain moyan to set sir William Dick five years tack of the customs of Aberdeen and Banff, and that for payment of twelve thousand merks, and a tun of French wine, whilk tack the said sir William Dick presently sets to Patrick Lealy, provost, in sub tack, and he obliged him to relieve him of the tack-duty at the earl Marischall's hands. Thus (such was the iniquity of the time) Patrick Lealy gets thir customs, against the noble earl and all his enemies in Aberdeen, whereat many marvelled. It was said he gave the earl quietly one thousand dollars for his oversight to this five years tack; however the earl had ten years tack to run (unset) after expira-

tion of the said five years tack, for he had gotten a fifteen years' tack in all.

Upon Tuesday the 6th of September, Mr. John Gregory, minister at Drumoak, at the visitation of the kirk of New Aberdeen, taught most learnedly upon the fourth verse of the second chapter of the Colossians, and reprehended the order of our kirk, and new-brought in points. Mr. Andrew Cant, sitting beside the reader, as his use was, offended at this doctrine, quickly closed the reader's book, and laid down the glass before it was run, thinking the minister should the sooner make an end; but he beheld and preached half an hour longer than the time. Sermon being ended, the brethren convene to their visitation, where Mr. Andrew Cant impunged this doctrine, desiring the said Mr. John to put the same in write. He answered, he would not only write, but print his preaching, if need so required, and abide by all that he had taught, as orthodox doctrine. The brethren heard all, and had their own opinions, but without any more censure they dissolved, somewhat perturbed with Cant's curioaity. Upon Thursday, he railed out in his sermon against the said Mr. John Gregory's doctrine, and on Sunday likewise. At last, by mediation of the town's baillies, at a cup of wine, they two were agreed, and settled with small credit to Cant's business.

There came word to Aberdeen, that the English and Scots Covenanters residing in Ireland were pitifully distressed, spoiled of their goods, and reft of their lives. After general Lesly's going into the country the native Irishes declared they would lay down arms at the king's feet, but not to the Scottish and English rebels.

Upon the foresaid 6th of September, the master of Lovat, now come from his marriage with general Lesly's second daughter, came with her to Aberdeen, having her eldest brother the lord of Balgouny, the lord Elcho, sir John Ruthven, and some others in company. They got the banquet frae the town, and little thanks given therefor. They rode to the laird of Fren-draught's house, whose eldest son had been married to an elder daughter of the said general Lesly's, now earl of Leven; but she departed this life shortly, leaving an only daughter behind her. There they were well entertained; from that they rode to Murray to the lord Lovat's house, and from that the Highland gate returned to Edinburgh.

About this time, there came in quietly to Aberdeen, one called Othro Ferrendail, an Irishman, and a skinner to his calling, favoured by Mr. Andrew Cant, and by his moyan admitted freemen. He was trapped for preaching on the night in some houses of the town before their families, with close doors, nocturnal doctrine or Brownisme, as was said, of whom ye may read more hereafter.

About the 10th of September, the earl of Irvine, lawful bro-

ther to the marquis of Argyll, taking up a regiment for France, came to the marquis of Huntly, his own good-brother, who was well entertained in Strathboggie, and got forty soldiers frae him to help his regiment. From that he came to Aberdeen, and was blythly banqueted; his soldiers were shipped here at Aberdeen, under the conduct of lieutenant Blair, and thereafter other men were shipped for his regiment, with lieutenant-colonel Gordon, brother to the laird of Abergeldie.

Saturday the 10th of September, George Thomson, master mason, new come frae Strathboggie to Aberdeen, suddenly fell over Thomas Thomson's stair, and with the fall became speechless and senseless, and departed this life upon the Thursday thereafter. An excellent mason, of singular device; he builded sundry brave buildings; among the rest, he re-edified the steeple of the College kirk of Old Aberdeen.

About the same sime, Thomas Urquhart, chirurgion in Aberdeen (being drunk) fell over William Watson's stair in the Netherkirk-gate of Aberdeen, about seven hours at even, and immediately departed this life, being carried home to his own house. Pitiful accidents in this good cause!

Upon Sunday the 11th of September, and Wednesday thereafter, a fast was solemnly kept in both Aberdeens, and through all the churches of Scotland, by direction of the general assembly, as ye have before. The motives were, first, the troubles betwixt the king and the parliament of England. Secondly, to pray for uniformity in religion, doctrine, and discipline, through England, Scotland, and Ireland. Thirdly, for settling all malecontents in Scotland, that we may live in peace. Fourthly, for fair weather, to ingather the fruits of the ground. This fast was solemnly kept in both Aberdeens on Sunday and Wednesday thereafter, and in New Aberdeen, so precisely, that no booth door durst be opened on Wednesday till both forenoon and afternoon's sermon were ended that day.

Tuesday the 20th of September, Mr. Alexander Scroggie, younger, exercised here very learnedly in Old Aberdeen before the presbytery, to his great commendation. He was preferred to be minister at Forglen, albeit deposed from his being regent in the college of Old Aberdeen, as ye have heard before. Mr. William Scroggie, his brother, thereafter exercised likewise learnedly. It is said at this time the presbytery found it expedient, that baptism should be given upon any day, as well as on a preaching day, when the bairns were weak, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Andrew Cant and his associates.

Ye heard before how Dr. Guild took down the fair oaken joists out of the bishop's house; now about this time he likewise causes tirr and take off the slates off of thir houses, and carried them down to theek a song-school, newly made up by him, of an house within umquhile Bernard Innes's close; he caused break down beds, boards, and other fine wainscot timber work, and

brought them down to the college, to be employed there at his pleasure. He also turred the latrons in the college, whereby the students had not such natural easement as before, whereupon followed, in despite of him, that both the stairs, chamber doors, and close, were nightly abused; yet some time after this it was checked again.

About this time, the earls of Dumfermling, Kinnoul, Airlie, the lairds of Banff, Foveran, and diverse others, came home frae England. The laird of Banff was made lord Banff, and at the same time the young laird of Frendraught was made viscount of — lord Crichton; but his father would not change his style, but be called laird.

Wednesday the 28th of September, being Michael-even, Patrick Lesly, a strong Covenanter, was chosen provost of Aberdeen, Mr. Robert Farquhar, John Lesly, Thomas Mortimer, and Alexander Jaffray, bailties, for an year. Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, sheriff-principal of Aberdeen, and Thomas Fraser of Strichen, sheriff-principal of Inverness, by commission.

About this time, sir John Lesly, eldest son to the deceast laird of Wardhouse, came home out of Germany, but his father's fair estate was delapidated, and little or nothing left him whereupon to live, so that he behoved to shift for himself, and went south to Edinburgh.

Sunday the 2d of October, Alexander Sandison, messenger, swore and subscribed the covenant after sermon in Old Aberdeen, in presence of the congregation, compelled thereto against his will.

Ye heard before how his majesty had raised his standard at Nottingham, with about two thousand men, and very scant of monies, as was reported; pitiful to behold! Ilk day news coming to Aberdeen, sometimes of the king's victories, whereat his true subjects rejoiced; otherwise, that the parliamentars were victorious, whereat the puritans and their faction avowedly rejoiced; but when they heard of the king's victories, they dropped like dead upon the causey.

Word came to Aberdeen about the 27th of September, how prince Rupert had taken in Worcester, after a brave fight. General Essex advancing towards them, sent some troops to keep the gates, and some horsemen of his lifeguard, but they made a foul retreat. There were seven hundred parliamentarians killed, four colours, and diverse prisoners taken; but one colonel Sands did oppose prince Rupert manfully, whereby also some of the king's men were killed and sore hurt. After this victory, there flocked daily out of all shires many of his good subjects, whereby he was now growing to an head, and had his army both of horse and foot in good order and posture.

About this time, marshal Ruthven, with some Dutch commanders, came frae Germany and landed in England; he offer-

ed his service to his majesty, was well received, and did him singular service.

About this time, there were sent to the English parliament the earl of Cassilis, the lord Maitland, sir Archibald Johnston, laick elders; Mr. Alexander Henderson; Mr. Robert Douglas; Mr. George Gillespie, minister at Edinburgh; Mr. Samuel Rutherford, minister at St. Andrew's; Mr. Eleazer Borthwick, minister at —; to treat upon uniformity in religion and church government, as was spoken before in the parliament passages.

Now the king marches for London. General Essex resolves to give him battle before he come there; both armies went on in others sight to Kenton, near Banbury, where there was a large plain field fit for the purpose. The king goes to council of war, resolves to fight on Sunday, against his will, saying, "Then since it is so, let God fight his own battles upon his own day."

Thereafter, while as his majesty was riding up the forefront or head of the army, and immediately before he joined battle, he made a speech, and commanded the seventh psalm (much to the purpose) to be publickly sung, to the great joy of his soldiers, who threw their caps in the air, crying out, God save the king! Forward! forward!

Whereupon his majesty gave order to charge; prince Rupert commanding the right wing, Felt marischal Ruthven the left wing, and the earl of Lindsay the main battle. Prince Rupert at the first charge routed the enemy's left wing, and Ruthven shortly after (though with some more difficulty) did the samen to their right wing, and both pursuing the chace, left the main battle naked, so as the standard being in the van of the king's foot, having long sustained the hail of the enemy's force, and born down with numbers, there was killed to the king the earl of Lindsay, the lord Aubigny, sir Edward Varwein, standard-bearer, and the standard taken, but quickly regained by a private man, called Smith, who was made thereafter the king's standard-bearer in all fields, and created the first banneret in all England, and knighted for this piece of service. Diverse other brave gentlemen besides were killed and cruelly wounded, and sundry taken prisoners, such as the lord Willoughby, son to the said earl of Lindsay, general of the foot army, colonel William Vavasour, and others. It is said, after the taking of the standard, the king with his reserve came courageously forward, and recovered the samen, by means of the said Smith. By this time prince Rupert and Ruthven returned frae the chace, which if they had not followed so far, the standard had not been taken, and the enemy had been utterly overthrown. But shortly after their return, the enemy was routed, and all defeated; the king himself being approved for his valiancy and courage, to the great joy of his army, whom he was still exhorting; and if the night had not come on, his majesty's army had cut them all off. Essex

fled to the castle of Warwick. There was killed to him about five thousand men; and twenty-seven colours, twenty-six cornets of horsemen's colours, eleven pieces of great ordnance, and thirty waggons full of ammunition, were taken. There were killed to the king about two thousand men, besides the persons above-mentioned. It is said, the king led on his troops very fair, and escaped the shot of a cannon within a yard, still crying, "Fight for God and the king and the protestant religion, and God will fight for you." The commanders behaved themselves bravely: sir Thomas Austine wan much honour; the earl of Crawford and Edward Syrton, whose regiment was last in the field, whereof his majesty took special notice. This battle was fought upon Sunday the 23d of October, in a morning, upon a fair muir of heather, betwixt Banbury and London. It is said, before this battle his majesty went from Shrewsbury, and past by the earl of Essex, who being advertised, followed with all diligence, so that the two armies came in sight of one another the samen Sunday morning, and the king and all his army stood in battle array the haill night after the battle. Upon the morrow, his majesty went first to Banbury town, where my lord Peterborough (who fled) had a regiment against the king for the parliament, and who also refused his majesty entrance within the town: he therefore caused shoot an ordnance over the town, whereupon the mayor and others came forth. His majesty gave them all, young and old, quarter for their lives, but gave the pillage of the town to his soldiers. Then his majesty past to the lord Sey's house; himself being absent, and his lady being brought out, she went safely, but her house was pillaged. The lord Saint John, a great man for the parliament, was likewise in this battle killed.

The king went then to Oxford, where he was most joyfully received with universal acclamations. There was brought in before him all the colours and cornets, in triumph of victory. His majesty directed the most part of his horse to a place on the Thames called Feavly, twenty-five miles from London, and sent sir John Barrow with a proclamation to the citizens of London and Westminster, with pardon to all (twenty-eight persons, who chiefly did oppose the king, only excepted), upon provision they would yield and come in to his majesty, and that they would neither aid nor assist Essex with men, money, nor plate. After this, Felt marischal Ruthven is preferred to be general of the king's foot array, in place of the late earl of Lindsay, now deceased. Great numbers of people frae all corners of the country, daily after this battle, came unto the king.

It is said that Essex sent about sixteen couriers or posts, ilk ane after another, to London, to shew the parliament his bad success; whereat they were so afraid, that they left Westminster, where the parliament sat, and went into the city of London for more security, being a mile distant therefrae; they shortly went

away and meddled with the king's third son the duke of Gloucester and his sister, in company with the lady Roxburgh, their foster-mother, and placed them in the marquis of Worcester's house, in Broad-street of London, now pertaining to the lord Crichton. They caused beat down Windsor bridge, with some others, to stop the king's passage; also Kingston bridge. They drew a ditch about Hyde-park, to hold off his forces; and thus all England is in an uproar, whilk I pray God to settle in peace, to the shame and confusion of the plotters, projectors, and devisers of this ungodly, unkindly, and unnatural war, to his own glory, and honour of his servant our king, who daily more and more is provoked to wrath and anger by his disobedient and disloyal subjects!

Upon the third Tuesday, and 18th of October, the provincial assembly sat down in the session-house of the kirk of New Aberdeen. Dr. Guild our principal was chosen moderator, to continue, as use is, to the next provincial assembly. Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, last moderator. The deposed Dr. Scroggie preached upon the morn, by appointment of the presbytery, and being thereafter censured by the brethren, is found faulty in some points. 1st, For not praying for the distressed kirk and state of Ireland. 2dly, For alledging that no innovations could be brought in by subjects, either in church or policy, against the will and authority of a monarch; but this past quickly without more din.

Mr. Thomas Mitchel, parson of Turriff, being accused for adultery in the last provincial assembly, as ye have heard before, produced before the committee appointed for his trials here, famous testimonials, under the subscriptions of the provost, baillies, minister, and reader of Couper of Fife. These women, in their own presence, had sworn quite contrary to their first deposition, and that they were persuaded and enticed to make up that slander. The testimonials were found sufficient, and besides, they took him deeply sworn upon his innocence, whereupon he was absolved frae the scandal, and found a good bairn.

Great business about Brownisme in the assembly, lately crept into Aberdeen, and other parts in the country, practised by William Maxwell, Thomas Pont, and Ortho Ferrendale, preaching in some houses upon the night, as was alledged. Mr. John Ross, minister at Birse, was complained upon, and Gilbert Gordon, appearand of Tillieffroske, that he, his wife, children, and servants, and hail family, had dishaunted his parish kirk of Birse, and had his devotion morning and evening within his dwelling-house. He being conveened, appeared and answered for himself, and said it was true whilk the minister had spoken; and further declared, that the religion he professed was the only true religion; whereupon they demanded him of certain points of religion, whereupon he made his own answer, nowise to the contentment of the brethren; and therefore they ordained his min-

ister to process and excommunicate him, in case of disobedience. Sundry townsmen of this sect are suspected. Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. John Oswald were thought no great dislikers of it; for, by the said Mr. Andrew's moyan, Ferrendale was made freeman, as ye have heard before. In the end, the brethren appointed a committee of a minister and ruling elder out of ilk parish of this presbytery of Aberdeen, to convene at Aberdeen the 8th of November next, for trying thir matters.

Mr. William Wedderburn, lately deposed frae the kirk of Bethelzie, having made his repentance to the full, gets now oversight to teach and preach here and there, but would not admit him to serve the cure of any kirk; yet the general assembly reponed him to any kirk he could procure.

This assembly directed Mr. Robert Reid, parson at Banchory, and Mr. William Strachan, minister at Old Aberdeen, to go and confer with Dr. Forbes, professor; but the brethren had no fruit of this conference; whereupon they sent over again to his own house in Old Aberdeen, Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. John Oswald, two of the ministers of Aberdeen, with the said Mr. William Strachan. They desire him to swear and subscribe the covenant, whereby he might keep his own place; whereunto he answered (as was reported), he could not subscribe the covenant; wherein episcopacy was abjured, but thought bishops lawful and necessary in the church, being able and honest men, but being found faulty and unworthy, to remove them, and put better men in their places, but thought it not expedient to take away their places: further, that private baptism to dying babes was necessary and lawful; that the giving communion to sick persons, lying on death-bed, was lawful and necessary; and to give it to heall persons in the kirk, kneeling in modest manner, was not unlawful. Thir and the like heads were among them at their conferences; whereunto the foresaid ministers answered, they looked for a better answer, and said, they found nothing but that he was averse and contrary to the new reformation, and therefore would deal no more with him, but report his answers to the committee of the general assembly holden at Edinburgh, because he disapproved of their new reformation. He answered, he understood not such reformations as bred destruction of the country, and daily brought in grievous sins and offences before the Almighty God, such as shedding of innocent blood, murder, theft, rapine, plundering, spoiling, and robbing of honest men's goods, blasphemy, tyranny, adultery, perjury, lying, swearing, and many other grievous sins, with uplifted hands, without punishment. The conference being ended, they dined together at his desire in Mr. Thomas Lesly's house, where he then lodged; they return to the brethren the doctor's answers; whereupon they sent the said Mr. John Oswald to the committee of the general assembly holden at Edinburgh, with his answers; but they said, let the provincial assembly take order with him and his place both, as



most incumbent on them. Thus Oswald comes back with his answer, and Dr. Forbes' place still vakes.

This assembly ordained here morning and evening family prayer in ilk man's house, under the pain of censure. Ilk minister declared this ordinance out of the pulpit through this province or diocese; and having closed their business upon Friday the 21st of October, after the afternoon's meeting they dissolved.

The same 18th of October, Alexander Gordon of Birsnoir was married to Isobel Lesly, daughter to Patrick Lesly, provost of Aberdeen, in the kirk thereof, by Mr. Oswald, minister. The lord Gordon coming from the south to Strathboggie, the lord Saltoun and the lord Kilpont met all there by chance, and conveyed thir parties, with many other friends and townsmen, to their wedding. They got good chear; and upon the 25th of October, he brought over his wife to his own house in the Oldtown, where there was a goodly infare.

Our chancellor, as was said, caused about thirty of our Scots captains and commanders go disguised to the English parliament. They shipped at Leith, for none durst go by land without the king's pass and parliament's both.

Diverse foul and filthy pamphlets were daily printed and dispersed through the land, tending partly to the disgrace of the king, and partly to the answering these pamphlets in disgraceful and shameful manner, as they deserved.

Upon Monday the last of October, sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfoddels, at the Crabstane, hurt John Forbes of Lesly in the leg, by a shot; there was on both sides about eleven pistol shot, but none got skaith but Lesly. There was some old grudge betwixt them; for Lesly's father killed Pitfoddel's goodsire's brother unworthily; likewise, there was some controversy betwixt themselves about a moss, where John Forbes of Lesly broke tryst, having appointed to have settled the same; after which they chanced to meet, Lesly coming to the town and Pitfoddels going out; they met, and passed by without salutation. Pitfoddels took it unkindly and pursues, betwixt whom sundry shots were shot. However, they parted, and both came into town; Pitfoddels to his own house, and Lesly to Mr. Robert Farquhar's house. He lay under cure while January, 1643, and then began to walk upon a staff feebly, and not soundly healed. This good cause brought in the bearing and wearing of guns, whilk bred meikle sorrow and mischief in this land.

Upon Friday, Wednesday, and Saturday, thir three days weekly, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. John Oswald, and Mr. John Row, minister at Aberdeen, began their night-about, instead of evening prayers, to lecture lessons, chiefly brought in by this Cant; no honest person durst be absent from thir new-begun lectures, but were rebuked and cried out against, whereby they thought this service was thraldome on work days.

Upon the 1st of November, our sovereign lord's session sat

down in Edinburgh, for administration of justice, and sat peaceably ; praise be to God !

About the 5th of November, in a seaman's house in Peterhead, was heard upon the night beating of drums ; other times, sounding of trumpets, playing of pipes, and ringing of bells, to the astonishment of the hearers ; a token of troubles following.

Upon the 8th of November, the viscount of Frendraught, lord Crichton, was married with — Irvine, daughter to the laird of Drum, at the kirk of Drumeak. His father was not at this marriage, and would not be called lord or viscount, but held himself with the name of laird ; he was before married with general Lealy's daughter, who died shortly thereafter, leaving a daughter behind her.

About this time, word came that the king of Denmark had sent to our king, his own sister's son, some ammunition, powder, and ball, and money, with some captains and commanders, to his great joy.

Saturday the 19th of November, about nine hours at even, there fell out an high east wind, with monstrous rains, which continued till Sunday at twelve hours. The storm came out of the south-east and east. A ship coming frae Norway with timber lost her mast, and was driven on shore ; the men were all saved ; praised be God ! The wind fell, but the rains continued till Monday at nine hours in the morning. Great storms and tempests followed ; whereby there was great skaith by sea, and sundry ships perished upon our coasts, betwixt Montrose and Dundee, and upon the coast-side of Fife.

Now, about this time, the king makes the earl of Newcastle his lieutenant-general, betwixt the river of Trent in England, and the river of Tweed in Scotland, with full power to raise and press all manner of men within these bounds ; who hastily levied out of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and the bishoprick of Durham, about fourteen thousand, whereof four thousand was papists, as was alledged. Thir were the first papists that rose in the king's service, not in their default, but that his majesty employed them not, for fear of suspicion of the parliament's outcrying against him, as they did indeed ; but his majesty answered, that he craved not their help, nor could they look for any more benefit at his hands than they had by the established laws of the kingdom in the days of queen Elizabeth and king James his father, whilk, with all rigour, he was content should be prosecute against them ; and to that effect, that he had (for saving himself from suspicion) sent out his proclamations. But this answer could nowise satisfy the humour of the parliamentars ; but, taking advantage of the king's proclamations, they immediately sent out other proclamations, giving liberty to all papists who would come in to help and assist them, to repeal whatsoever acts made against them in any king or queen's time ; whereupon the papists flocked in daily to the parliament in great

numbers. The king, hearing of this order, said—"Well, seeing the parliament has given way to receive the papists against the law, to fight against me, why then should I refuse their service, who freely offer the samen unto me, and that notwithstanding of the proclamations set out by me against them?" Whereupon he resolves to make all papists welcome that come unto him; and truly sundry and many came in to him, whereby he had great help and comfort, and who were most loyal and true to him in his great and grievous troubles.

Now the earl of Newcastle raises his army and goes towards Yorkshire, for repressing of certain rebels who had promised to the king to be his true servants, and had fallen from their obedience, and had taken part with the parliamentars.

Upon Tuesday the 22d of November, the marquis of Huntly came into Aberdeen, with the lord Gordon and the lord Aboyn, his two sons, and sundry other friends. He was lodged in skipper Anderson's house, and was served by his own domestics, who bought his meat and made it ready to him. The occasion of his coming to town was said to be upon some altercations betwixt the marquis and the lord Gordon, since the writing of a contract in Edinburgh betwixt them, anent the disposition of the marquis' haill lands, rents, and living, for yearly payment to himself of ten thousand merks in silver rent, that the lord Gordon should have six thousand merks of yearly rent, and the lord Aboyn to have five thousand merks of yearly rent, with the boarding; the marquis to keep Strathboggie, and his house in the Oldtown to dwell into, and the lord Gordon to have all the rest; but the lord Gordon not to have power to sell heritably any of his estate without his consent, and other honourable friends, specially condescended upon. How all ended was kept secret. He rode out of Aberdeen upon the 5th of December, and went to Strathboggie. During the time he was in Aberdeen, he got no *bon-accord* drunken to him in wine; whether it was refused, or not offered, I cannot tell. The lord Aboyn followed his father home upon the 9th of December.

Report past, that the king of Denmark had sent an ambassador (with crowner Cochran, who was first against the king, but now returned his true man) to treat of peace betwixt the king and parliament; but, before their coming to England, the parliamentars had petitioned the king for accommodation of peace, but no cessation frae war; and in the meantime, before his majesty returned answer, they sent down six barks, or cabarra, full of ammunition, powder, ball, and other furniture, with six chests full of silver, and a company of brave soldiers; and, under this treaty, to have gone down the Thames (because they durst not go by land), and to have taken in one of the king's own houses, called Kingston, a strong hold, to have manned the same, and kept their commodities safe frae peril; but his majesty being advertised thereof, sent three pieces of cannon to the

Thames side, where they shot and sunk thir cabarres to the sea bottom, men and all ; one whereof being shot at, the bullet lighted on a powder puncheon, fired the ship, and blew ship, men, and all, into the air !

Ye heard how the aforesaid ambassador came ; thereafter, he went first to the king, syne to the parliament, where he and Cochran were both evil intreated, and both warded ; whereat the ambassador cried out, saying, it was against the law of nations to be so used : at last he is put to liberty, and Cochran detained ; but how he was relieved, or what effect this embassy took, I cannot tell.

The king is now lying at Southampton, and his men quartered here and there through the country, where they might be best accommodated. Prince Rupert is lying at Brenton ; now the lord Hellisly, captain of the red regiment of the parliamentars, rencountered with him, but prince Rupert cut them all to pieces, and right swa dressed another regiment called the green or blue regiment, coming to assist the red regiment, to the great grief of the parliamentars, being two of the choicest regiments both of horse and foot which they had. After this fight, which was in the said month of November, prince Rupert returns victoriously to his own quarters ; Essex in the meantime comes out of London with the body of his haill army, and being on his march, he is advertised how thir two regiments are clean defeat and destroyed, whereat, sore moved, he halts and stays, thinking prince Rupert might haply follow his victory and meet him ; but getting word that he was marched to his quarters back again, he marched no further on, but returned to London.

After this, prince Rupert receives orders to go for Kentshire, to repress some rebellions there. The earl of Warwick was directed by the parliamentars to join with sir John Hotham, younger, and resist the king, and defend the country wherever they came ; but good prince Rupert encounters thir two champions, defeated and routed themselves and their soldiers. He got six or seven trunks full of money, with their haill cannon and baggage.

Here it is to be noted, no humiliation, praise, nor thanksgiving, fasting, nor prayer, nor worship given to God, within any Scottish church, notwithstanding of thir great unlooked-for victories ; but we were deaved with fasting, praying, and praising when general Lesly was in the fields, as ye have heard before ; but now no word for the king's victories, for his safety and preservation ; marvellous to behold !

Upon the last day of November, general Lesly returned, bag and baggage, frae Ireland to Edinburgh, leaving major Monro behind him with his army in garrison.

Now remember, the marquis of Hamilton, the king's dear cousin and greatest minion, has left him, for all his favours, riches, and honour, his majesty conferred upon him ; and in thir his grievous troubles he comes cunningly into Scotland, sports

and passes his time, and lets the king (without his good council, help, and furtherance, whilk belonged him truly) to do for himself with great labour, night-watching, trouble, and travail. But if this marquis has proven faithful to his majesty, it may hereafter be seen. Always about the down-setting of the session he comes into Edinburgh, takes up house in the king's own palace of Holy-rood-house, keeps carefully ilk council day, where the chancellor himself, the marquis of Argyll, the lord Belmerinoch, and some others, guided or misguided this miserable kingdom. Ilk ane had their own secret moyan and intelligence. The marquis of Hamilton had his brother the earl of Lanerk, secretary to the king's council of Scots at court, and daily with his majesty, by whom he had good intelligence; always nightly and secretly thir lords had their meetings and conferences as occasion offered.

Dame Elizabeth Gordon, lady Wardhouse, (thereafter lady Cluny) departed this life at the town of Durham, in England, where she and the laird of Cluny her husband had their residence at the time actually dwelling. She died of a cancer, whilk was in one of her paps, and began two years before. It eat up and consumed her through the bowels, as was said. She died upon the second day of December, and was buried honestly out of her own native soil. A woman of suspected chastity, and thought ever familiar with sir Alexander Gordon, laird of Cluny foresaid, this many years bygone, in her husband's time, and thought an evil instrument to the down-throwing of both their fair and flourishing estates; yet few were their life-days in their second marriage, being but married not long ago, as you have heard before.

There came from England to Edinburgh, as was said, an hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling, for the midsummer term of brotherly assistance, 1642, conform to acts of parliament. Others said it was but twenty thousand pounds sterling, to pay our merchants for the victual transported to Ireland. Sir William Dick, sir John Smith, and sir William Gray, burgesses of Edinburgh, and Mr. Robert Farquhar, burgess of Aberdeen, looked to have gotten payment for their victual and other expences, but they got none, do what they could, to their great discontentment.

Report past, that the estates of Holland sent to the parliament of England, craving an union with them; and that the prince of Orange, for favouring our king his own ally, was now in disfavour with the estates.

Ye heard before of the earl of Newcastle, how he had raised arms, and suppress the rebels of Yorkshire victoriously. He hears now how sir John Hotham, younger, (a sore enemy to the king) was plundering and killing his loyal subjects wherever he came; wherefore Newcastle seeks to find him out. Hotham hearing this, resolves to cross his way, by intaking of a pass or bridge, which Newcastle behoved to march by; but this Hotham

is manfully dang frae this pass, and shamefully routed therefrae into Hull, out of the which, if these had not issued some sixty or eighty horsemen for his rescue, he had then been killed. Newcastle being weary in the chase, and seeing him escape, wisely sounded the retreat.

Young Hotham again takes the field, with about six thousand men; Newcastle has about ten thousand men, and goes to seek him out; but Hotham seeing his enemy more in number, entrenched himself craftily, and digged up a sconce strongly for his defence. Newcastle essays to get him out, but could not, without great loss of men, whereupon he began to batter the sconce. In the meantime, Hotham quietly, by an unseen way, conveys himself and his men safely away; Newcastle still battering with cannon while they were all safely gone, bag and baggage, without any skaith, or the loss of a man.

Now the parliament of England had their own ways to move us to raise arms in Scotland against our sovereign lord the king, for their help and assistance, founded upon a pretended act of pacification; and to this effect, write with the earl of Lindsey to our council, who declared by the way to his majesty, that he had such commission from the parliament to Scotland, which commission, they having occasion of his being beside them in England, they earnestly desired him to carry; declaring also the chief points of controversy betwixt his majesty and them were about four in number. 1st, That his majesty would ratify and approve their acts of parliament. 2d, Presbyterian government, without bishops or their dependents. 3d, An indiction of a general assembly. 4th, That such as they called incendiaries and malignant persons about his majesty, (who indeed were his faithful and loyal subjects) should be sent in by him to the parliament, to suffer disgrace, indignity, punishing of their persons, and plundering their estates, at their will and pleasure, as was done by them heretofore to the noble earl of Stafford, never enough to be deplored. Now let the indifferent reader judge whether or not these articles were reasonably craved either frae the nature or hands of a king, whereunto his majesty would in nowise condescend, except that he granted to the indiction of a general assembly to be holden at London the 5th of November, where episcopacy and the book of Common Prayer was there approven, as ye may hereafter see. The earl of Lindsey could not win home from the English parliament by land without the king's pass; so he came and got the same, after he had shown his commission to his majesty.

The earl of Lanerk was sent down with a declaration from his majesty to our Scots council, and a new council-day appointed the 4th and 5th days of January next.

The parliament had sent down their petition, craving aid of us in men and arms, conform to the treaty of pacification and covenant past betwixt them and us, and the king sends down, to

countercheck this petition, a declaration to our council, and both were produced the 22d of December, and a new council-day appointed, as is formerly said. Well, the council convene, the king's declaration and the parliament's petition are both publickly read out. It goes to voting, whether we should assist the parliamentars or not; the king by two voices gets it, and so no assistance; whereat the parliament's friends takes exception, alledging their votes were not sufficient, nor could any thing be concluded without a convention of the estates, to wit, nobles, barons, and burgesses. Now remember this voting was within the council upon the 22d of December. Thereafter, the estates were charged to send their commissioners, and convene at Edinburgh, upon the 4th and 5th of January.

At this first council-day, the earl of Lanerk desired his majesty's declaration to be printed, and publickly dispersed and published through all Scotland, whereby his good subjects might have full information of the truth. It was agitated *pro et contra*; in end, the king by voicing gets his reasonable desire, and the same was ordained to be printed at Edinburgh, to be dispersed and spread to the effect foresaid, and the raising of men referred to the committee of estates, to convene the foresaid 5th of January, 1643.

In the month of December, there came out a paper, set out by Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, called *Scotland's Hallo-lujah*, printed by Raban at Aberdeen, thought to be better titled than it had stuff and good matter, and which I thought not worthy to take pains upon to insert in this place, albeit it is lying beside myself in print.

The king causes quarter his army for their maintenance most commodiously, both for man and horse, through the country to winter.

The marquis of Huntly, in this month of December, sends into our college of the Oldtown, his fourth son, Charles Gordon, to learn grammar. He got Dr. Lesly (the late deposed principal), his chamber, (who had still kept the samen for his recreation until this time), for his son, and his pedagogue to remain into; and the marquis had the said doctor Lesly with himself to Strathboggie, there to remain and be entertained at his own table, because he saw him a distressed gentleman, violently thrown out of his own place for not subscribing the covenant. Thus the marquis requested this doctor to go with him, and so upon the 15th day of December, he left his chamber in the college, who had still kept possession thereof (albeit deposed, as said is) to the foresaid day, and willingly he went with the marquis, to bide his fortune.

Upon the 16th day of December, Dr. Guild and Mr. William Strachan yoked William Charles, wright in Aberdeen, to the down-taking of the back of the high altar, standing upon the east wall of bishop Gavin Dunbar's isle, as high nearly as the

ceiling thereof, curiously wrought of fine wainscot, so that within Scotland there was not a better wrought piece. The craftsman would not put his hand to the down-taking thereof, till Mr. William Strachan, our minister, laid first hand thereto, which he did, and syne the work was begun; and, in taking down one of the three timber crowns, whilk they thought to have gotten down hail and unbroken, beyond their expectation it fell suddenly upon the kirk's great ladder, brake it in three pieces, and itself all in blades, and brake some pavement with the weight thereof; but the people were all safe. Now our minister devised a loft, for ease of the people at sermon, going athwart the kirk south and north, which took away the stately sight and glorious show of the body of the hail kirk, and with this back of the altar and hail ornaments thereupon he decorated the foreside and backside of this beastly loft; whereas forty pounds would have cost as meikle timber as would have done the samen, if they would have suffered the foresaid ornament to stand. This was done without advice of the Oldtown session; and, as some said, without consent of the brethren at the last visitation of our church. It was a well-wrought piece, having three crowns uppermost, and three other kind of crowns beneath, well carved, with golden knops, all now on this loft. There was two thousand merks left by Dr. Scroggie in the kirk box, with the whilk our minister theeked the toofalls of the kirk, the steeple, and Gavin Dunbar's isle, with new slate, and kent with lime that part where the back of the altar stood, that it should not be kent.

In this month of December, and 2d day thereof, dame Elizabeth Gordon, first lady Wardhouse, syne lady Cluny, departed this life at Durham.

Ye heard before of Maxwell and Ferrendale accused of Brownisme. Mr. Andrew Cant favours them, as thought, whereat the brethren were offended, ordaining them to come in before the pulpit, and subscribe the covenant, and deny their tenets; but upon Saturday after sermon, and the last of December, this Ferrendale came in before the pulpit in the Old kirk, where he approved of our church, denied the Brownists' tenets, subscribed our covenant, and, by Mr. Andrew Cant, was received as a good bairn; but the brethren were not content with this satisfaction, not done upon a Sabbath-day, but a week-day, before the communion.

About this time, it was said there was some discontentment betwixt the prince of Orange and the estates of Holland, because he inclined to favour our king, being his good-brother, and therefore most kindly; and that, in the meantime, the estates had sent to the parliament of England, craving an union with them.

About this time, Dr. Guild left off from preaching in the College kirk, whereat the people were not displeased; and began,



ilk night after supper, a lecture-lesson, in presence of the nobles and students, who were little pleased with his discourse.

It is here to be noted, that the victuals here in Aberdeen were monstrous dear; for about and after Martinmas, through the hail winter, the malt holden at fifteen or sixteen merks the boll, the white meal at eight pound the boll, which was the first dear winter heretofore seen in this land, albeit there has been dear summers. There was also great rains, whereby none was able to travel; great storms in the sea, and few fish gotten, to the great grief of the people. Albeit our sins deserved worse, yet God sent, in June, July, and August, excellent weather, which made amends.

Dr. Guild, principal and moderator, at this time refused to give play to the students at Yool-day, but they took it at their own hand, and the grammarians both, who at last by composition got eight days' play.

This year, Yool-day fell upon Sunday. Our ministers, and ministers of Aberdeen, preached against all merriness, play, and pastime; and the night before, by tuck of drum through Aberdeen, the townsmen were commanded to keep themselves sober, and flee all superstitious keeping of days. Upon Monday, the bell went through the Oldtown, commanding all manner of men to open their booth-doors and go to work; but the students fell upon the bellman, and took the bell frae him, for giving such an unusual charge: so the people made good cheer and banqueting, according to their estates, and past their times, Monday and Tuesday both, for all thir threatenings.

It is said, Mr. Andrew Cant, sitting this same Yool-day at afternoon's sermon, Mr. John Rue preaching in the Old kirk, hearing some noise in the kirkyard of bairns and people, he got up suddenly from his seat, sitting as he ordinarily used beside the reader; through the kirk and people goes he, and out at the door, to the great astonishment of the people in the Old church; and when he came to the kirkyard the bairns fled, but he chased them into the New kirk, whereat the people there were offended; at last, he returned back to his own place, and the people became settled and pacified, but wondered at his light behaviour.

#### ANNO 1643.

Word came here to Aberdeen, that general King came frae Denmark with about five hundred thousand pounds sterling to his majesty, and three or four score brave commanders. He was directed frae the king of Denmark, and landed at Newcastle, who was made welcome, and presently preferred to be lieutenant-general to the earl of Newcastle's army, consisting of ten thousand. The earl thereafter went to his majesty, and returned back, where he directed general King to go up to his majesty

with his army, and he would keep Newcastle and the country about with forces enough, which he kept beside for that purpose. This King goes up in good order, his majesty receives him graciously, and puts him in service according to his rank and worth, and honourably rewards him for his pains.

Report past, that London was distressed, wanting both fire and victual, which bred some discontent and division among themselves, some wishing peace, some wishing war.

Upon Sunday the 8th of January, prayer and fasting in both Aberdeens, and through the kingdom, for a blessing to the convention of estates to be holden at Edinburgh.

The committee of the conservators of peace sits down at Edinburgh, upon the 5th day of January, or rather the lords and others commissioners of parliament, for conservation of peace between the two kingdoms.

Ye heard before of the controversy among the council about the printing of the king's letter, and how it was in end granted. It was at the same time thought that the parliament of England their declaration, sent in to our council, should be likewise printed, whereupon the council could not well agree, but there was a petition given unto the saids commissioners of parliament by nobles, barons, gentlemen, and burgesses, occasionally met at Edinburgh, and it was printed and dispersed.

It was reported, there was great multitudes of people at this convention. The council and conservators of peace had their ordinary place of residence; the nobles, barons, and gentry, called the banders, had their meetings in the abbey; and the nobles, barons, and ministers, and gentry of Fife, had their meetings in the Taylor's-hall in the Cowgate, whilk several places of meeting smelled of discontentment and division amongst themselves. It is said, the haill ministers of Fife left their churches upon Sunday the 8th of January, without preachers for them, and came to Edinburgh, crying out before the council for not printing the parliament of England's declaration, as well as they had caused print the king's letter, whilk they were loath to do, without the king's advice or knowledge; and to that effect, and upon other reasons, then sent Mr. Henderson, minister at Edinburgh; Mr. Robert Barclay, provost of Irvine; and the chancellor of Scotland, as commissioners to the king. The report past, that the tenor of their commission was to shew him anent the printing of the said declaration, with other four heads, viz. 1st, The king to bring home his queen, and to convert her from popery. 2d, To return to his English parliament, and adhere to them. 3d, To remove all papists forth of his army. 4th, To indict a general assembly, with a parliament to follow thereon, and that shortly and hastily, within the limited and prescribed time of parliament. The king granted to the publication of the foresaid declaration, but what answer he gave to the rest I cannot tell, but the Fife ministers were directed home to attend their charge. It was

said, there was nominate Mr. Archibald Johnstone, clerk to the assembly, to have gone with the other three commissioners, but the earl of Lanerk being at the council, declared he had no safe conduct for him, whereupon he bade at home. It was ordered, that a great taxation should be taken of the country, their annuity of teinds, and such like, as ye have hereafter. They appoint a new committee to be holden at Edinburgh, the 15th day of February, and upon the 24th of January they dissolved in peace.

Tuesday the 17th of January, Mr. Alexander Middleton, sub-principal in the college of Old Aberdeen, was married with — Gordon, daughter to Mr. Gordon at Kettock's Mill, contrary to the foundation of that college, forbidding marriage to any of the inward members serving therein. There was sundry gifts, cases, and coined gold, given by sundry sitters at this bridal, and some gave rings; but coined gold was not in use to be given here in Aberdeen at free bridals.

Upon the 17th of January, John Lesly, baillie, departed this life in Aberdeen, after some few days' sickness (his brother, the provost, was in Edinburgh), to the great grief of the town's people, being better loved than his brother. He was buried with a brave volley of musketeers.

About this time, general Lesly earl of Leven comes to the castle of Edinburgh and takes up house, and with his lady and family dwells peaceably therein.

Ye heard before of Othro Ferrendale, his repentance. The presbytery of Aberdeen were not well content therewith; whereupon Dr. Guild, moderator, wrote for two ministers and ruling elders out of ilk presbytery within the diocese, and the hail ministers of the presbytery of Aberdeen, as being nearest hand, to meet at New Aberdeen, the 24th of January, for taking order with the slighting of this Ferrendale in his obedience and satisfaction, contrary to their last act, which bears him to come in upon a Sabbath-day after sermon, to deny his hail tenets of Brownisme, swear and subscribe the covenant, ratify and approve our kirk, as the true church of God. The brethren and their ruling elders met; Mr. Andrew Cant made his own apology, which was thought frivolous. In end, they referred this Ferrendale to the next provincial assembly.

This Mr. Andrew Cant used not oft the saying of the Lord's Prayer, either before or after sermons, as wont in that kirk, but had prayers extempore long enough; so the rest of the ministers of Aberdeen kept his custom. They brought in, upon ilk Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, afternoon lectures, taught by ilk minister, time about (in place of saying of prayers ilk night before); the people is compelled to attend thir lectures, or then cried out against. None on the Sabbath-day durst come out of the Newtown to the Oldtown, especially in time of sermon, and to that effect the highways were watched ilk Sunday, and who

were found were convened before their session, and severely punished with shame and derision. In time of preaching on week-days no merchant nor craftsmen's booth doors durst be opened, that the kirk might be the better kept by the masters and servants. The bairns of the grammar-school were forbidden to keep afternoon's sermons, but to keep the schools, where the masters should catechise them upon points of religion. Reading of Holy Scriptures and singing of psalms were discharged at lyke-wakes, by act of the town council of Aberdeen, by persuasion of this Cant and his fellows. The hand-bell should go and proclaim through the town who was dead; but tolling of kirk-bells at their burial was discharged; all brought in by this Cant, and followed by the magistrates of Aberdeen, as he commanded, or as he daily devised, to the grievous burden of the people, who had never seen the like orders; yet they could not get singing of psalms and reading at lyke-wakes altogether suppress.

Ye heard before of a petition given in by some noblemen, barons, and others, to the commissioners of parliament, wherein amongst the rest, they crave the parliament of England's declaration to be printed and published, as well as the king's letters. The king is advertised, and he most graciously gives way to the printing of this declaration, as well as his own letter, whereupon it is shortly printed and divulged through all Scotland.

About this time, there came out another new printed piece, called, *A Peaceable Warning*, containing diverse heads, and in special, declaring the enemies of religion to be of three sorts, viz. papists, separatists, and malignant, discontent, and profane time-servers. It touched the malignants, who were so from the beginning, and now fallen backward, and disaffected to the reformed religion, warning all men therefore to beware of their company, who are described by six or seven circumstances to be known, and to eschew their councils and seducements, declaring withal such as oppose the unity of religion to be enemies to God, to the king, to the people, and prosperity of the kingdoms, with a number of arguments beside, and is entituled, *A Necessary Warning to the Ministry of the Church of Scotland, from the Meeting of the Commissioners of the General Assembly*. This warning commanded a fast and humiliation to be kept through all the kirks of Scotland, upon the last Sabbath of February, and the next Thursday thereafter; and there was bound to this Warning another printed piece, called, *A Declaration against a Cross Petition*, spoken of a little before. This, with the warning, is ordained to be read out after sermon out of all the pulpits of Scotland, whilk was done at some churches, and at others refused by the ministers thereof, such as Stirlingshire, Perthshire, about fourteen presbyteries, alledging they had no orders from a general assembly to divulge such papers, and therefore disobeyed the publication, and wrote also against the commissioners of the general assembly at Edinburgh, for publishing out of pulpit such

pieces ; finding fault with calling the nobles and others (who presented the said petition to the council) malignant, and that their cross petition published at the parish churches should have been done with consent of a general assembly, being of itself rather a mean to breed discord and distraction, than to maintain peace in the kirk and kingdom ; they wrote out to this purpose a paper of eight articles. Thus is this kirk now guided with the spirit of contradiction.

Upon the last of January, Patrick Lesly, provost, came back frae the commissioners of parliament, for conserving the articles of the treaty, &c. with a sore heart for the death of his brother.

Upon Wednesday the 1st of February, there came to the place of Cromarty, where the lady was, Hutcheon Ross of Auchincloch, with two other gentlemen, where they were made welcome, and supped merrily ; but unluckily got a collation which was provided for another, and were all three found dead in their beds upon the morn ; pitiful to behold ! It is said the young laird of Calder was married to Cromarty's daughter ; he thereafter became mad, and of whom his young lady had no pleasure. Thus he being with her in the place of Cromarty, this poison was in a quart stoup provided for him, but fell otherwise, as ye have heard ; whereupon young Calder was hastily removed by his friends out of that place, and never more tried.

Upon the 2d day of February, being Candlemas-day, the bairns of the Oldtown grammar-school came up the gate with candles lighted in their hands, crying and rejoicing, blyth enough, and thus came up to the cross, and round about goes diverse times, climbs to the head thereof, and set on a burning torch thereupon. I marvelled at this, being at such time, and whereof I had never seen the like : attour, they went down frae the cross, convoying John Keith, brother to the earl Marischall, who was their king, to his lodging in the chanonry, with lighted candles.

Ye heard of one Maxwell who was also accused of Brownisme ; a silly wheelwright to his calling. This man was sought for, and all men forbidden out of the pulpit to receipt him ; whilk was done by our minister, Mr. William Strachan, out of the pulpit, upon Sunday the 5th of February.

About this time, the council ordained the country to pay a great taxation, and their annuities of the teinda, and a charge given out and published at the mercat crosses of the burrows and otherwise, for making payment thereof ; whereat the subjects grudged, and were highly offended, to be this way used without authority of their king, done and devised, as was thought, by the marquis of Hamilton, the chancellor, the marquis of Argyll, the earl of Lindsay, Balmerinloch, and some few others of their faction, without advice or consent of the nobility or country statesmen, who had as great interest there as they ; besides, the twentieths were taken before, and the tenths, and many other

finer, both in burrow and land, the king and queen's rents and patrimony of the crown taken up since 1639, whilk was the beginning of these troubles. They had gotten frae England the brotherly assistance, which was about three hundred thousand pounds sterling (see the 6th act of king Charles' second parliament), and no compt nor reckoning how or what way thir moneys were wared and employed; whereat many of the nobles and haill commons, barons, burgeses, and gentry, grudged and murmured, especially those called the banders; whereupon the earl of Montrose and lord Ogilvie are direct up commissioners from thir banders to his majesty, to complain upon thir grievous oppressions, and to try his will thereanent, who quickly went for relief of this poor distressed kingdom; whereat the king was nowise content, and in the meantime the country was distressed.

In this month of February, there is heard at Bankafair, and in the place of Drum, upon the night, tucking of drums and apparitions of armies, as was heard before at — !

Mr. Andrew Leisk, minister at Ellon, told me, that his wife and family, sitting at supper in his own house, heard tucking of drums vively, sometimes appearing near hand, sometimes far off, and upon the 7th of February it was written here to Aberdeen, that Kenton battle of Banbury, wherein his majesty was victorious, has been in vision foughten seven sundry times since syne; armies of men, upon the 12th of February, about eight hours in the morning, were seen upon the Brymman hill, beside Crabeston !

There came news to Aberdeen the samen 7th of February, that sir Ralph Hopeton, the king's man, near Plymouth, had killed one thousand men, had taken one thousand five hundred soldiers prisoners, one thousand arms, and ten pieces of ordnance, and is now made master of the fields in Cornwall and Devonshire. Sir Nicholas Shiping, near the fort of Reydens on Falmouth, which commands the town, hath taken twenty-six of the king's ships, which were first seized upon by the parliamentars; he did also take more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which the soldiers received a month's pay beforehand. Thir ships thus taken were luckily driven by storm of weather into the harbour.

Bendy-Castle, in Gloucestershire, is taken in by prince Rupert, with the loss of five hundred men to the parliament.

Bever-Castle was taken by sir John Henderson, and the soldiers got eighty thousand pounds sterling of coined money and plundering, that was put there by the enemy, with three months' provision.

The lord Sey and colonel Goodwin are totally defeat in Oxfordshire by the king's men, having lost eight hundred men, and forced to run to Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire.

Prince Rupert came to Leicestershire with seven thousand men; sir Hew Shamly got a great defeat from general King; three thousand slain, and four thousand three hundred and ten taken prisoners, with two cannons and a great number of arms.

This was after the earl of Newcastle beat them from the Stamford-bridge, and general King's first piece of service. The earl of Newcastle and general King marched from York with nine thousand men strong, to hurt the Hothamites and other rebels. Prince Maurice shot in grenadoes into the town of Chichester, and fired a house therein, and the people being busy in quenching the fire, he came in and took eleven hundred prisoners, and carried them to Oxford. That the shire of Essex had petitioned the parliament to take a peace at any rate.

The parliament did petition the king for peace upon certain conditions, but his majesty sent to them certain propositions, without which no treaty, viz. 1st, That the king's revenues, forts, and ships, be restored. 2d, That whatever has been published against his royal power should be recalled. 3d, That whatsoever illegals hath been used against his friends and subjects, by imprisoning them without law, or imposing fines upon their estates, be disclaimed, and that persons so committed be forthwith discharged. 4th, That his majesty will consent to the execution of all laws made or to be made for the suppressing of popery, so his majesty desires that a bill be framed for preserving the book of Common Prayer from scorn of Brownists, Anabaptists, &c. with such clauses for the ease of tender consciences, as his majesty hath formerly offered. 5th, That all such persons as upon treaty shall be excepted out of the general pardon, be tried *per pares*. 6thly, That a cessation of arms be presently agreed upon. But the parliament thought their propositions (though most equitable) hard and heavy to be embraced, and so did for themselves in a rebellious way.

Upon Friday the 10th of February, the township of Aberdeen, by tuck of drum, convened in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, to whom provost Lesly made a speech, putting them in mind of their covenant, whilk they had sworn, desiring them constantly to stick to the samen; if any new band happened to be offered them to subscribe, to do it upon their own peril. It was then thought and spoken, that the banders were drawing up a band, who would follow the king or the country, whilk bred this speech, but this band came to no effect. However, the people of Aberdeen, possessed with their own opinions more with the king than against him, departed home to their own houses.

Ye heard before of apparitions and visions seen here at the hill of Brymman, four miles from Aberdeen. William Anderson, tenant in Crabeston, told me he saw a great army, as appeared to him, both of horse and foot, about eight hours in the morning, being misty, and visibly continued till sun-rising; syne vanished away in his sight with noise into a moss hard beside! Likewise, in the muir of Forfar armies were seen in the air; whilk visions the people thought to be prodigious tokens, as it fell out over true, as may be seen hereafter.

Sunday the 12th of February, our minister, Mr. William

Strachan, read out of the pulpit the warning before spoken of, and the next Sunday read out the declaration against the cross petition, and made some little speech thereupon, and the wars of England, Ireland, and Germany, and how our country lived in peace, which was likely to come to trouble hastily also, if we amended not our lives. Thereafter, he appointed a fast to be kept next Sunday and Thursday thereafter, conform to the order of the said declaration, which was at our kirk solemnly kept.

About the 13th of February, word came to Aberdeen, that the queen's majesty had sent out of Holland to Newcastle store of ammunition, powder and ball, with ten tun of gold, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, with officers and brave commanders of French and Walloons, about two thousand. Thereafter, herself takes voyage, accompanied with five great war ships, at the prince of Orange's direction, having Martin Harper Trump for her admiral, with charge to defend her against the parliamentars, if they happened to impede her passage, or pursue her by the way, but being landed, had no farther to defend her. The crafty Hollanders gives way to the prince of Orange's orders, but had a great malice against the queen, and beyond her expectation laid down a course for her destruction; which was, when they understood she was to land at Newcastle, therefore they privately advised the parliament of her drift, whereupon they directed six royal ships to ly at the road of Newcastle, and there, after Martin Harper Trump had taken his leave, to have the queen dead or quick; but God disappointed the treacherous designs of all her enemies, for, beyond all expectation, she lands at Burlington-bay, twelve miles besouth Newcastle. Thir rebel ships are hastily advertised by a pinnace of her arrival, whereupon they hoist sail and come with shot of cannon to the town, sends privately a pinnace ashore to design the house where the queen was lodged, whilk being done, her majesty, having mind of no evil, but glad of rest, now wearied by the sea, is cruelly assaulted; for this six rebel ships, ilk ane by course, sets their broadside to her lodging, batters the house, dings down the roof, ere she wist of herself; but she gets up out of her naked bed in her night walycoat, barefooted and barelegged, with her maids of honour, whereof one for plain fear went straight mad, being a nobleman of England's daughter. She gets safely out of the house, albeit the stones were falling about her head, yet courageously she goes out, they shooting still, and by providence of the Almighty she escapes, with all her company (except the maid of honour) and goes to a den which the cannons could not reach, and on the bare fields she rested, instead of stately lodgings clad with curious tapestry. It is said she offered to the captains of those war ships which convoyed her (before their parting) rich rewards for their service, but they altogether refused the samen, saying, the prince of Orange had forbidden them, under the pain



of death, to take her money. "Well, then," says she, "take here ilk ane of you captains a chain of gold to wear for my sake, which I conceive is not under the compass of his command;" which they in all humility accepted and received. It is said thir rebels shot eighty pieces of cannon before they left off, syne went their way to the sea. Now, let the good reader judge of the cruel tyranny and oppression that thir rebels used against the person of so noble a queen, unmatched in this age for her many shining virtues and unspeakable love to her royal king, who for his honour had undergone those miseries both by sea and land, and who, by her industry, had furnished men, money, ammunition, powder and ball, and arms for forty thousand men. Consider also, what news this volley of cannon was to the king, when he heard of her so dangerous welcome. Now, there comes to her majesty upon the morn, the earl of Newcastle, with a brave company, and convoyed the queen safely to Newcastle. It is said, when she went over to Holland, she craftily convoyed out of the Tower of London the haill jewells and ornaments of the crown, and engaged them at Amsterdam, and other places, for money to provide the king's army in this his most grievous troubles and distress; commended and praised through all christendom, except by the king's enemies, who falsely disapproved her doings, and traitorously traduced her by many infamous lies, pasquills, and libels, as was reported. Thus, through great hazard, the Lord brought her from Holland to Newcastle about the —— day of January; always she is convoyed, where she is made welcome with joy and mirth, and there remained till the 18th of June. It was further reported, that there came frae the queen to Newcastle, four ships, with some of her maids of honour, having within them sixty Dutch horse, and as many commanders, and nine hundred old beaten soldiers, and that herself at that time, with the rest of her navy that was with her, were by storm of weather driven back to Holland, and thereafter she came forward as is before noted, having with her above ten millions of dollars.

About this 13th of February, there came a letter from England to the marquis of Huntly, shewing that prince Rupert had totally defeated the parliament's forces at Tuxford, and that Mr. Hastings had done the like in Derbyshire; also, that the earl of Newcastle had committed to prison the late governour of York, and the sheriff, together with the earl of Newport, the last two at Pomfret, and the first at Newark-upon-Trent, and that sir Thomas Glemond is now governour of York.

The laird of Craigie, Gordon, Donald Farquharson, and —— Gordon, younger of Arradoul, brought in to Old Aberdeen, about the 16th of February, eighty soldiers, who shipped at Aberdeen with the laird of Craigie, for France.

Upon the 18th of February, the laird of Cluny, with Mrs. Lesly, his good-daughter, and another English gentlewoman, re-

turned from Durham home to his own house in Old Aberdeen, leaving his lady dead and buried behind him. It was said, he had purchased frae the lords a supersedere, with consent of his creditors, for four months space, to pay his debt.

Colonel Hurrie, upon some discontentment, left the parliament and came unto the king, who did him good service, as after does appear. Sir James Ramsay, brother to the laird of Balmain, of whom ye have heard before, likewise leaves the parliament, and comes into Scotland about this month of February.

Sunday the 26th of February, fast and humiliation was solemnly kept at our Oldtown church, and the remanent kirks of our diocese, at command and for the causes therein contained, in the declaration given by the commissioners of the general assembly, as ye have heard before; and likewise, on Thursday thereafter, fast and prayer in both Aberdeens, and through the diocese; and in New Aberdeen preaching before and after noon, so precisely kept, that no merchant, tradesman, or craftsman's booth-door was seen opened, yea, not a load of peats nor other commodities durst be brought in to sell, under pain of confiscation, this day was so highly kept; but never fasting and praying for the king, nor thanksgiving for his victory; as the church pleased, the people behoved to obey, albeit wearied heavily therewith, and withal great crying out of pulpits against papists, and incoming of popery, which they made to be one of their greatest grounds whereon their fastings proceeded.

The marquis of Hamilton, hearing of the queen's arrival, about the first of March, went to salute her at Newcastle. The earls of Montrose, Traquair, and the lord Ogilvie, followed to see her majesty also. However, there was some speeches of controversy betwixt Hamilton and Montrose, in presence of the queen, as was said: in end, ilk ane returned home as they went out.

Now, thundering daily out of pulpits against papists in Aberdeen. None durst be seen, but searched and sought for, sic as Thomas Menzies of Balgowny, his wife and children. Mr. George Anderson, Robert Irvine, and John Forbes, who had commission for this parish, accompanied with Mr. John Landie and James Innes, baillies of Old Aberdeen, went out upon a Sabbath-day after the afternoon's sermon, with caption to take Alexander Harvey, in Grandhome, for popery, who was lying bedfast in the gout, to have taken him as an excommunicate papist, but they could not find him; his son they saw upon horseback, excommunicate also, but they had no commission against him, and so they came back again without more ado. Strange stirring, to see that thir commissions, by instigation of Mr. Andrew Cant, and remanent ministers of both Aberdeens, should be execute upon a Sunday, expressly prohibited in other cases by the laws of this kingdom! and upon the 18th of April, the young laird of Birkenbog, by commission, accompanied with the baillies of Banff, brought into Aberdeen a priest called —

Robertson, who was taken by the sheriff out of — Forbes of Blacktown's house, and first had to Banff, and straitly warded, and thereafter transported to Aberdeen by the sheriff and baillies of Banff, and brought into the provincial assembly of New Aberdeen. He was put again into the tolbooth, and shortly thereafter transported to Edinburgh to the council, and after some trials, in the end he was dismissed to West Flanders, obliged, under the pain of death, never to return back to Scotland again.

Upon the 5th of March, and second Sunday of Lentron, the communion was celebrated in Old Aberdeen. The minister, when the first table was full of people, upon his knees said a prayer; the people at the table part sitting, part keeling. Thereafter, and after some short exhortation, he gave the communion to the people, all sitting at the table, and all the rest that day and Sunday thereafter, ilk ane giving the cup to others.

Tuesday the 7th of March, — Morison, spouse to William Lamb, baxter in Aberdeen, lying in childbed about twelve days' space, rose up quietly without knowledge of any, and desperately drowned herself in the water of Dee, beside the Trinity church, to the admiration of her husband and neighbours in Aberdeen! She was called a discreet woman, except that she was inclined to swearing, and no cause of her discontentment known, but tempted by the devil in thir troublesome times! lamentable to see!

Now Munro lies still in Ireland, victuals from Scotland being daily transported to him, and the remanent of our Scots regiments, to the breeding of great dearth here, and little good service done by them against the Irishes there.

Upon Sunday the 21st of March, at night, John Dugar his men came to the Garioch, and took out of John Forbes of Lesly's bounds one of his tenants called James Anderson, an honest yeoman. The cry goes; young Lesly, with a servant called James Dunbar, follows upon horse, kills one of the limmars, takes another, and sends him to the council, where he was hanged, and James Anderson was rescued, and wan safely home.

John Dugar hearing this news, or more truly Duncan Dugar hearing of the samen, came upon the 27th of March to the town of Birkenbreul, with two servants, where he met with Mr. William Forbes of the folk of Brux, he having two men with him also, holden both pretty men; but this Mr. William was a brave gentleman. They entered in drinking; his two men fell asleep, thinking upon no evil; then there fell out some speeches betwixt him and this Dugar, and he suddenly bends a pistol and holds to his breast, but Dugar chops up the pistol, whereby he shoots him through the shoulder, but he behind the hand with a durk sticks this Forbes through the body dead; syne with his own hands killed his two servants sleeping, and safely goes to the door, and without any more ado wins away with his hurt through his shoulder, without any more revenge; lamentable to behold!

Thir Dugars bore the Forbesses, by any other name, a great indignation.

There came news from York, dated the 27th of March, shewing that his majesty had written to the queen, that he had, upon strict muster now at Oxford, twelve thousand foot, and of horse and dragoons six thousand. The lord Herbert from Wales had assured the king of six thousand men, horse and foot, to attend his majesty at Oxford; and Ralph Hopeton has between seven thousand and eight thousand men ready to march into Shropshire. There are three thousand horse and foot under the command of the lord Capel; in Worcester, one thousand horse ready to march to Oxford, and the king's army is duly paid. Forty thousand pound weight of plate, and fifteen thousand pound weight of ingots of gold were brought to the minthouse at Oxford, delivered for the king's use. The earl of Northampton took in Stamford for the king's own use, where the earl of Stamford himself was killed, as an enemy to the king.

The merchants of Bristol have rigged out fourteen ships, under sir John Pennington, the king's admiral, and that the famous sir Nicholas — has set out eight ships, so that the king was to have such share against the parliament upon the sea, as he has upon land, and his army daily increasing.

The earl of Derby has eleven companies of horse and nineteen companies of foot, well armed, and three thousand clubmen, for whom he has sent for arms and ammunition. He took in the town of Lancaster by assault.

Scarborough is surrounded by sir Hugh Chumly to the king; Whitby brought in four foot companies, two troops of horse, and three of dragoons.

Grieson, lieutenant at Grantham, with his hail troops, came over to Henderson, the king's man, when he was at Newark, and the night after the town was surprised, and four hundred men taken in it.

There is some divisions in London. Our countrymen, Balfour and Hurrie, have laid down their commissions; our Scotsmen got no payment, and daily affronted by the English, which they cannot bear. Now commissioners were going from the parliament to the king with much fairer propositions, and many began to hope an accommodation.

The lord Aboyn, in the month of March, went from Strathboggie, accompanied with some twelve gentlemen, whereof agent Gordon was one, towards York, to see the queen.

To remember this month of March; it was very unseasonable, frosts, sleets, snow, hailstones, and the wind still northerly.

About the 1st of April, word came to Aberdeen that prince Rupert had taken in Windsor with great bloodshed.

The queen is lying still at York, well guarded with about ten thousand soldiers, who still is drawing friends to her, who pro-

mitted to get them remissions for bygones, upon their loyalty in time to come.

Ye heard before, how our commissioners were directed to the king by the conservators, for preserving of peace. No word comes from them all this time, because the ways were straitly kept, letters broken up, which were found, and use made of them; but it is said his majesty, about the 7th of April, and not till then, demanded wherefore they were come, who answered, they were directed from the conservators of peace for conserving of peace between the two kingdoms; and to contribute their best endeavours for unity of religion and uniformity of church government, and removal of all differences between his majesty and both houses of parliament; whereunto his majesty made the answer subsequent:—

“ We have considered your propositions and commission by which you are authorised to come hither, for the commissioners for conserving of the peace between both kingdoms. We have likewise duly and carefully weighed and examined the acts of pacifications between our two kingdoms, upon which you seem to ground your commission, and to hold yourselves warranted and obliged to contribute your endeavours, for unity of religion and uniformity of church government within all our dominions, and removal of all differences between us and two houses of parliament. There is nothing in that treaty (by our act) which we shall not solemnly and withal constantly observe always, and we hope it shall be the care of all our loving subjects in both kingdoms to do so too, that the peace may be perpetually kept between them; neither is there any mean we would not use to remove such unhappy differences between us and our two houses of parliament, as we have done to prevent them. But we do not understand, that you or the commissioners for conserving the peace for both kingdoms are warranted and obliged to interpose in the affairs and differences of our kingdom of England; and therefore we cannot, in a business that so much concerns the honour and interest of the nation, admit you under that capacity, or consent that you go qualified for such a mediation to our two houses of parliament, till you make it appear unto us, upon which breach of that act this warrant and obligation of yours, and of them that sent you, is grounded.”

With this answer our commissioners took their leave, and had safe conduct to come home.

Tuesday the 18th of April, and third Tuesday thereof, our provincial assembly sat down in New Aberdeen. Mr. William Douglas, minister at Forgue, with great joining, was chosen moderator; ilk ane striving for this place. Strange orders against the papists. Othro Ferrendale was found to have given sufficient satisfaction, and he sware the covenant now whilk he had subscribed before; two ministers were sent for the laird of Corrie to come over to this assembly, where the brethren conferred publicly with him. He kept still his tenets, and could not be dis-

suaed therefrae, neither for fear nor force, and stoutly alledged he was wrongously and unjustly deposed, without any lawful ground; done more by James Murray, clerk to the general assembly, than otherwise by good order. He answered all their queries worthily and pertinently; at last, the brethren conclude and declare his place, as professor, to continue in dependance, while the next succeeding provincial assembly; and in the interim to advise with the next general assembly.

Horribly uncouth and unkindly weather at this time, frosty and cold; marvellous to see in April! fishes, fowls, and all other commodities scarce getable in Aberdeen. Malt at sixteen merks, white meal at nine pound, household meal at eleven or twelve merks the boll; marvellous to see! Notwithstanding, this assembly did not proclaim a fast, whereby we might crave God's mercy for our sins, and that he would remove this tempestuous weather, now in the very spring; but many days of fast and humiliation were ordained before, and days of thanksgiving for lighter causes. Upon Friday the 21st of April the brethren dissolved, and ilk man home.

Upon the 4th of May, a great convention was holden at Edinburgh: to the whilk meeting, our commissioners, viz. the chancellor, Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. Robert Barclay, came down frae the king; the earls of Roxburgh and Lindsay came likewise down: but at this meeting there was little or nothing done, but all continued to the 22d of June.

Ye heard before, how Hamilton, Montrose, Traquair, and Ogilvie, went up to Newcastle to visit the queen. They in several companies came shortly down, leaving her majesty at Newcastle.

Upon the 29th of May, a ship loaded with victual, lying in Ythan, a plank struck out of her side, and filled with salt water; the meal was put afloat, a great part perished, which was the country people's malison, and God heard the samen; for Mr. Robert Farquhar and other merchants had coft all the victual they could get in Buchan, Marr, Garioch, Boyn, Enzie, Murray, Ross, Sutherland, south and north, gave great prices therefor, upon condition to receive greater prices again for their own particular commodity; and to have been transported into Ireland, to the wreck of our country, giving nine pound for the boll, whereas it might have been sold for the half. Sic as was recovered of this meal was had away in small barks, but this ship lay still while she was mended, and scared away the salmon fishes, as was thought.

About this time, a number of pirates, Dunkirkers and Irishes, frequented thir coasts, about the number of sixteen. They did great skaith to our ships and barks, some they took and set the men ashore; they set a bark laden with coals on fire, in sight of the owners, whom they had set on shore at Peterhead.

General-major Monro about this time had taken the earl of

Antrim, upon whom he had found several letters very suspicious; he writes to the council of Scotland of this purpose, and to the general, and therewith sends the letters unto them, which, with the manner of the earl's taking, was discovered by an imprinted paper set out by the house of commons.

The earl of Nithsdale and viscount of Aboyne are summoned at their dwelling-places and mercat crosses, to compare before the lords of council under the pain of treason, at the meeting to be kept at Edinburgh the 22d of June; but their lords gave no obedience to this summons, standing to their innocence, and alledged this was but a forged draught, to cause them compare, syne abuse them by warding, fining, or other punishment as they pleased best, and, being in their hands, they could not flee their intentions good or bad.

Ye heard before of a meeting at Edinburgh, and how all was continued to the 22d of June; the cause of this convention was grounded upon false rumours, and improbable tales sent down by the parliament of England to our Scottish council, saying, they would prove that his majesty had written to the pope (thereby to withdraw the hearts of his loyal subjects) that he should bring his three kingdoms under the Romish religion, or lose his three crowns, with many other odious speeches against his majesty; which they offered to prove by the king's own letter written to the pope, thereby to withdraw the hearts of his loyal subjects from their loyal obedience to his majesty, and withal did crave aid and assistance of ten thousand men. Always, the council thought it good to convene the conservators of peace, and hail estates of this kingdom, at Edinburgh the 22d of June, to capitulate upon their and other urgent business.

The king, hearing of this false calumnie, dispersed and spread against his royal majesty, quickly takes occasion to purge himself from these vile aspersions, by sending down a missive to several of our nobility, and one among the rest to the lord marquis of Huntly, whereof the tenor follows:—

#### “CHARLES REX.

“Right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Since nothing on earth can be more dear unto us than the preservation of the affection of our people, and among them none more than of those of our native kingdom, which, as the long and uninterrupted government of us and our predecessors over them, doth give us just reason, in a more near and special manner, to challenge from them; so may they justly expect a particular tenderness from us, in every thing which may contribute to their happiness. But knowing what industry is used (by scattering seditious pamphlets, and employing private agents and ministers) to give bad impressions of us and our proceedings; and, under a pretence of danger to religion and government, to corrupt their fidelities and affections, and to engage them in an unjust quarrel against us their king; we cannot, therefore, but remove

these jealousies, and secure their fears from all possibility of any hazard to either of these from us. We have, therefore, thought fit to require you to call together your friends, vassals, tenants, and such others as have any dependence upon you, and in our name to shew them our willingness to give all assurances they can deserve, or we possibly grant, (if more can be given than already is), of preserving inviolably all these graces and favours, which of late we granted to that our kingdom; and we do wish God so to bless our proceedings and posterity, as we do really make good and perform this promise. We hope this will give us full satisfaction of this our solemn protestation, that no such persons as study division, or go about to weaken the confidence betwixt us and our people, and justly deserve the name and punishment of incendiaries, shall be sheltered from the hand of justice; and all such others, as shall endeavour peace and unity, and obedience to us and our laws, may expect that protection and increase of favours from us, which their fidelity deserves. So expecting your care hereof, we bid you heartily farewell.

“From our court at Oxford, 31st April, 1643.”

This paper would appear to give content to all his majesty's good subjects, and to clear himself free all these foul aspersions laid out against him by his enemies. How soon the marquis of Huntly receives his majesty's letter, with all diligence he comes to George Middleton's house in Old Aberdeen, upon Friday the 2d of June, and with all possible speed sends over another letter of the same contents (whilk was within the marquis' packet) to Patrick Lealy, provost, desiring the same to be publicly read before the town's people of Aberdeen, who upon the morn, being Saturday, hastily convened the council, and their minister, Mr. Andrew Cant. The letter is broken up and read in their audience, and the township ordained to be warned to compare within the tolbooth at ten hours on Monday next, by tuck of drum, for hearing the same publicly read. After their meeting, the provost declared, that his majesty's letter came within the marquis' packet, to be read in Aberdeen, whilk letter he caused the clerk read publicly; and the people said, “God save the king,” and so dissolved in peace.

The king sent sundry of the like letters to his nobility and good subjects, to be divulged and spread throughout the kingdom.

Now the marquis coming to Aberdeen, as said is, in quiet manner, he upon the morn, being Saturday, directs the lord Aboyne to meet the marquis of Montrose and the lord Ogilvie, who convoyed them to his father; they supped and lodged together that night. The morn, being Sunday, they heard devotion before and after noon; stayed all night together. On Monday, the marquis, being chancellor of the university, elected by the members thereof, and ratified by the king, since the abolishing of bishops, came down to visit the said college, and returned to the lords back again. Tuesday, the marquis and they parted, and he rode down to Kelly that night. Upon the morn,



the earl of Marischall and the earl of Montrose, with the lord Ogilvie and lord Banff, having met with others, came altogether to the said place of Kelly, where the marquis was, and bade all that night in joyful manner. Upon the morn they parted company. The marquis rode to Strathboggie; the earl Marischall rode to Inverurie; the lord Banff to Raittie; Montrose and the lord Ogilvie came back to George Middleton's house, and from thence they rode south to the king.

The marquis, according to the direction of his majesty's letter, conveyed his friends at Inverurie, upon the 15th of June, and there publicly read the samen in their audience, and so departed. But thir meetings bred no little fear in the hearts of the Covenanters.

A meeting among the clergy at London, without any bishops except the bishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, upon the 1st of June, for ordering their kirk, where episcopacy and Common Prayer-books were found lawful, as was reported.

Sunday the 11th of June, and Wednesday thereafter, both fasting days appointed by the committee of the general assembly at Edinburgh, through all the parish kirks of Scotland, for a happy success to the ensuing meeting to be holden at Edinburgh. It was solemnly kept in both Aberdeens; no booth-door durst be opened in New Aberdeen upon Saturday before, because of the preparation sermon, and charged so by tuck of drum.

The earl of Marischall rides south to this meeting; the laird of Drum and the laird of Philorth as commissioners for the shire of Aberdeen; Patrick Lesly, as commissioner for the town; Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. James Martine, minister at Peterhead, was written for; and Dr. Guild, for the college affairs, went over altogether.

Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, and Mr. John Oswald, minister at Aberdeen, went as commissioners for the presbytery of Aberdeen, to the general assembly to be holden at Edinburgh the 2d day of August next, and Thomas Mowat, burghess of Aberdeen, as ruling elder; they went off about the 15th day of June.

About this time, sir George Gordon, elder of Gight, came home out of Germany, where he had been since he was taken out of Mr. Thomas Lesly's house, as ye have heard before.

About the 18th of June, the queen's majesty comes to Oxford, where the king was, frae York, where she had remained since her coming from Newcastle, as ye have heard. She is convoyed with crowner Alexander Lesly of Auchintoul, crowner Henderson, and several other commanders, with an army of five thousand men, well armed and furnished with all things necessary. In her way to Nottingham, she is beset with an army by the lord Gray, of purpose to have taken her prisoner. It is stoutly foughten (in his majesty's own presence, standing looking on) by crowner Henderson, where the lord Gray was shamefully rout-

ed, and put to flight, and her majesty (having the duke of Lennox all the time of her absence) goes safely on towards the king, where he made her heartily welcome, as she well deserved.

Upon the — day of June, Alexander Gordon of Brassmore, through evil counsel, pitifully hurt and sore wounded John Gordon, his own and only brother-german, in his hand, and diverse parts of his body, upon a slight occasion, at the bishop's back yett, and thereafter would not entertain him, so that he lived in great misery, and in the end was forced to leave the country, and go in service with captain Hepburn into France.

Upon the 22d day of June, the lords of his majesty's privy council and the commissioners for conserving the articles of the treaty, and haill estates, conveyed in Edinburgh upon some grave respects and considerations. The roll of the commissioners names was the first day read, and the next day their commissions were read, whereof some thorough informality was repell-ed. Among other matters that were handled, the earl of Carnwath, sometime called sir Robert Dalziel, was publicly accused upon some speeches, as was said, whereunto he made his own answer in presence of the lords of council. They rise up, and ilk man goes to his own lodging, as the custom is, to dinner. Carnwath goes also to his dinner, but he returned not back again in the afternoon to the council, as they expected; always they sent a man to charge him at his lodging, to compear before the council, but he disobeys; thereafter he is charged at the mercat cross of Edinburgh by an herauld, to compear, but no obedience; whereupon the lords sent to sir William Dick directly, who they knew was debtor to the said earl in forty thousand pound Scots money, and presently desired him to bring ten thousand pound to pay for the said earl's contempt and contumacy, without further process, but that he was charged in form aforesaid, to compear under the pain of ten thousand pound, whilk they exacted, and truly took up; but the earl fearing warding, held out of hands, and to the king goes he.

To this convention there came from the English parliament six commissioners, viz. the earl of Rutland, Mr. Hatchet, sir Harry Vane, both of the house of commons, Mr. Nye, preacher, and — but the earl of Rutland fell sick by the way, and came not with the rest. They durst not come by land, but came by sea in one of the ships royal called the Antelope; they were honourably received, and made heartily welcome. It was said their commission was uniformity of religion in Scotland and England, agreeable with our profession, but more chiefly for aid and support of men to assist the parliament against the king (now daily growing more and more strong at the pleasure of God) under pretext of popery and papists, which was their aim to suppress by violence of arms, as they alledged, but the contrary was seen. Howsoever matters went, it was found needful that a new covenant should be made up by a committee of the honour-

able convention of estates, and of the church and houses of parliament their commissioners in England, as ye may see hereafter the order and progress of this covenant, intending to have the same subscribed, as well in England as in Scotland; and being under one religion, to join together in arms against one gracious king, under colour to suppress prelates and papists, as hereafter more evidently appears. But I leave the council and conservators both sitting for a while, counselling daily with thir English commissioners, how to make up an army, and to lift money to that effect, and gave it out to mediate peace betwixt the king and his parliament, as was teacht daily out of pulpits, suppose against the king's will.

Upon Saturday the 1st of July, sir George Gordon of Haddo unhappily hurt Alexander Jaffray, late baillie, and John Jaffray, their father, at Broom-end, in coming frae the good-man of Brakay's burial, because the said Alexander Jaffray, being a baillie, had caused ward the said sir George's servant for hurting another fellow. This was no just quarrel, to pursue a judge for doing justice; however they gat some blood, but did no skaith. They parted, and Haddo immediately thereafter came to the town, and rode about the cross in contempt, but the Jaffrays were not yet come to town. The town thought evil of Haddo's behaviour, to ride so pridefully about the cross, after hurting of their baillie, and his brother, but this matter was otherwise handled, and laid upon a higher shelf, as may be seen afterwards.

Word came here about the 10th of July, that sir John Hotham, governour of Hull, and sir John Hotham, his son, were both had under suspicion, and that the parliament had sent for them to come to London, who went, and were there accused.

Word came also that the earl of Newcastle had defeated the lord Fairfax, killed fifteen hundred men, taken two thousand arms, and five pieces of cannon, drove them to Bedford, took his lady prisoner, and besieged himself.

Prince Maurice and sir Ralph Hopetoun gave the rebels in the west a great defeat, and killed Harridown their chief commander, for whom great lamentation was made. He gave thereafter another defeat, killed and routed seven troops of horse, and killed two thousand men, and took eight pieces of cannon.

Sir William Waller, alias the conqueror, and general to the earl of Essex' foot army, was bravely defeated and routed by the earl of Crawford, commissary Wilmot, and sir John Byren. There was killed to this bastard conqueror six hundred men, and eight hundred taken prisoners, with seven pieces of cannon, and all their colours and coronets. Prince Rupert, by convoy of our townsman, Hurry, did great fears against Essex; for the whilk the king knighted Hurry with his own hand.

The English parliament sent sir Harry Vane and other commissioners to Kentshire, but they were laid fast in prison. The parliament hearing that their commissioners were so abused and

imprisoned, sent shortly forces to be revenged of this high injury; but the Kentshire men shortly went to arms, and made them retire back again.

The king hearing of this, sent quickly to Kent two thousand riders, and horses, to assist them against the parliament; and that they were in readiness, besides the king's forces, ten thousand strong, to attend the king's service.

The lord Newcastle is strong; the lord Kingston, general of Lincoln, is taking up for the king eight thousand horse and foot, and the queen has in garrison about her five thousand horse and foot.

There was a sickness in Essex's army, very fearful, and not ordinary before, where dieth daily eighty persons. So the finger of God may be seen here also!

Banburgh, in Lincolnshire, was lately betrayed to the lord Willoughby. He took the lord Kingston, a brave nobleman for the king, prisoner, and was sending him in a pinnace to Hull; but colonel Candish came presently with twenty-four troops of horse, and general King came also with some hundred musketeers; they took this pinnace as she was going forth, where unfortunately the lord Kingston was slain (much to be lamented) by a shot coming from the king's men, and Banburgh is straitly besieged by the king's forces.

The earl of Newcastle honourably set at liberty the lady Fairfax (whom he took prisoner) freely, without any ransom, or exchange of any prisoner for her. Forces in Cumberland and Westmoreland, both of horse and foot, daily raising for the king. The earl of Essex keepeth himself in fast places, so that he cannot be fought with, and is under suspicion. The lord Gray is committed to the Tower for refusing to be commissioner from the parliament to Scotland. They are mightily distressed in London for want of coals, and no trade nor handy-work used, but all to desolation. General King beat all the Northampton forces, and killed the most special men there that were for the parliament. The general assembly at London had approved episcopacy, and the Book of Common Prayer. All thir things were done in this month of July.

Upon the — day of July, Adam Abercromby killed his wife's son, called George Leith, brother-german to the goodman of Harthill, and who also was married to the said Adam's own daughter. Thus, in a combat, the father-in-law slays the son-in-law, and wins away unpunished. Marvellous in those days, without respect of birth or blood, to see slaughter and bloodshed daily committed!

Mr. Andrew Cant came home from this meeting to Aberdeen upon the 20th of July, and, upon the 25th of July, there was a committee holden at Kintore, by the said Mr. Andrew Cant; Mr. David Lindsay; Mr. Thomas Mitchell, parson of Turriff; Mr. Mr. John Paterson, minister at Foveran; Mr. John Cheyne,

minister at Kintore; Mr. John Seaton, minister at Kemnay, and several others. Thir persons had power from the committee of the kirk at Edinburgh to meet, sit, and cognosce Mr. Andrew Logie, minister at Rayne, upon a delation given in against him to the said committee of the kirk or general assembly holden at Edinburgh, for unsound doctrine, whilk Mr. John Abercromby (his mortal enemy) alledged he heard him teach at his own parish church of Rayne. Well, the brethren conveens according to their order, day and place foresaid. Mr. Andrew Logie compares, falls in some dispute; he alledged he would bide by what he had said that day to be orthodox doctrine, free of error and heresy; but the brethren, especially Cant, bearing extreme hatred and malice against him, as he who was not a sincere Covenantan in his heart, could not be satisfied with the said Mr. Andrew's lawful arguments; and he, seeing their partiality, produced an appellation in write, appealing frae their judgment to the presbytery of Garioch, according to the old form; but thir brethren disdained to admit this appellation, or to hear the reasons thereof read, but shortly dissolved, charging him to compare before the general assembly the 9th of August; whilk he did not keep, but unwisely sent over the reasons of his appellation, being twenty-nine in number, to Mr. Alexander Henderson, in whom he had some confidence, looking he would be moderator, as it fell forth so; but he got small friendship, being absent himself; for thir foresaid brethren wrote over to the general assembly, declaring the said Mr. Logie's carriage to be worse than it was. Upon thir and other respects his appellation was not read, whilk was divinely grounded, and learnedly set down, as was thought.

Upon the 17th of July, the lord Rae ships at Aberdeen, and went to Denmark, who had lyen a long time at Torry. He was the king's man. See more of him hereafter.

Upon the 2d day of August, the general assembly sat down in Edinburgh. Sir Thomas Hope, advocate, is commissioner for the king, by his letters patent. He took the place proudly upon him, for the honours were daily carried, when he went out and into this assembly, before him; and at preaching he sat in the king's loft in St. Giles' kirk. To this assembly went commissioners and their laick elders from ilk presbytery within the kingdom; amongst whom went for the presbytery of Aberdeen, Mr. David Lindsay of Belhelvie, and Mr. John Oswald, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, and Thomas Mowat, burgess of the said burrow, as a laick or ruling elder. Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister at Edinburgh, was chosen moderator. This assembly sat down ilk day by eight hours in the morning, and continued till twelve hours, syne went to dinner at two hours. They advised and counsell'd with the conservators of peace, or convention of estates, and secret council, of what they had been doing, while six hours at even, syne dissolved, and went home. Thus

the assembly had with them the convention of estates, the conservators of the treaty, and secret council, all sitting with them in their own meeting-rooms, for giving and taking advice and counsel of one another in matters that past. There was diverse matters agitated in this assembly; amongst the which, Mr. Andrew Logie was called, but not compearing, he was simpliciter deprived, and his kirk declared vacant, without any further process, which was thought very summary dealing without any proven offence; and thereafter his kirk was planted with another minister, as ye may see hereafter. Dr. Forbes' place was filled with Mr. William Douglas, minister at Forgue, as ye have hereafter; and he and Dr. Lesly, sometime principal of the King's College of Aberdeen, to be warned to swear and subscribe the covenant, otherwise to be excommunicated; but little process followed thereupon against any of them. Mr. William Wedderburn, minister at Bethelnie, deposed for fornication, as ye have before, gets now liberty to preach upon his repentance, how soon he might be provided in a kirk. The rest of their assembly acts is to be found in their own books, to the which I refer myself. But here I may not forget a supplication given in to this reverend assembly, produced by the commissioners sent by the English parliament. This supplication was set down in write, under the hands of seventy-two English ministers, as was reported, and signetted with their seals, of the whilk the tenor follows:—

“ Reverend and beloved,

“ The experience which we have had of your forwardness in receiving, and faithfulness in weighing, our former addresses, hath given us abundant encouragement to take hold of this present opportunity of breaking out some of our sorrows, which your love and our necessity commands us to present to your consideration and compassion. Much we know we may commit to the wisdom and fidelity of our brethren, these messengers unto you, to impart to you concerning our miserable condition, and unto them we shall leave the rest. Your own national, but especially Christian interest, will not permit you to hide your eyes from the bleeding condition of your poor distressed brethren in England, should neither letters nor messengers be sent unto you; but messengers coming, we should at once neglect ourselves, should we not a little ease our burdened hearts by pouring them out into your bosoms, and seem ungrateful unto you, of whose readiness to suffer with us, and to do for us, we have so great and ample testimonies.

“ Surely, if ever a poor nation was on the edge of a desperate precipice; if ever a poor kirk was ready to be swallowed up by Satan and his instruments, we are that nation, we are that church; and in both respects so much the more miserable, by how much we expected not a preservation only, but an augmentation also of happiness in the one, and glory in the other. We looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of healing, but behold trouble! our God, who in his former judgments was a moth and rottenness (and yet had of late began to send us health and cure) is now turned a lyon to us, and threatens

to rend the very calves of our hearts ; from above he has sent a fire into our bones, and it prevails against us ; from our own bowels he has called forth and strengthened an adversary against us, a generation of brutish hellish men, the rod of his anger, the staff of his indignation, under whose cruelties we bleed, and if present mercy step not in, we die. Righteous art thou, O Lord ! and just are thy judgments ; but oh ! the barbarous carriage of our enemies, wherever God gives up any of his hidden ones into their hands ! we need not express it unto you, who know the inveterate and deadly malice of the antichristian faction against the members of our Lord Jesus ; and it is well known ; we need not express it to you ; in truth we cannot. Your own thoughts can tell you better than any words of ours, what the mercy of papists is towards the ministers and servants of our Lord Jesus Christ ; but the Lord knows we are not troubled so much for their rage against us, or our own miseries and dangers ; but that which breaks our hearts is the danger we behold the protestant religion in all the reformed churches at this time, through that too great and formidable strength the popish faction is now raised to. If our God will lay our bodies as the ground, and as the street under their feet, and pour our blood as dust before their fury, the will of the Lord be done. Might our blood be a sacrifice to ransom the rest of the saints and churches of Christ from antichristian fury, we would offer it up upon this service gladly ; but we know their rage is insatiable, and will not be quenched with our bloods. It is immortal, and will not die with us ; armed against us, not as men, but as Christians, but as protestants, and as men desiring to reform ourselves, and to draw ourselves and others yet nearer unto God. And if God give us up to be devoured by this rage, it will take more strength and courage (at least) to attempt the like, against all the protestant and reformed churches. In a deeper sense of this extreme danger, threatening us and you, and all other churches reformed, than we can express, we have made this address unto you, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, humbly imploring your most fervent prayers to God, who hears prayers, who, if we should judge by providences, seems to be angry with our prayers, though we trust he doth but seem so ; and though he kill us, yet will we trust in him. Oh ! give us the brotherly aid of our reinforced tears and prayers, that the blessings of truth and peace, which our prayers alone hath not obtained, yours conjoynd may ; and give us, reverend and much honoured in the Lord, your advice what remaineth for us further to do, for making of our own and kingdom's peace with God. We have lyen in the dust before him ; we have poured out our hearts in humiliation before him ; we have in sincerity endeavoured to reform ourselves, and with no less sincerity desired, studied, and laboured the public reformation ; nevertheless the Lord has not as yet turned himself from the fierceness of his anger. Be pleased to advise us further, what may be the happiest course for uniting the protestant party more firmly, that we may all serve God with one consent, and stand up against antichrist as one man ; that our God, who now hides himself from his people, may return unto us, delight in us, scatter and subdue his and our enemies, and cause his face to shine upon us. The Lord prosper you, and preserve you, so that the great work of these latter ages may be finished, to his honour, and our own and the church's happiness, through Jesus Christ."

It is said, this long-tailed supplication was well heard of by the

brethren of the general assembly; and having the council and estates and conservators of the treaty all within the town, sitting at their consultations daily, they advised altogether upon this supplication, and what was spoken by word, or brought by the saids messengers to the council, estates, or conservators foresaid; and, after long consideration, they all in one voice finding the quarrel, as they thought, standing presently betwixt the king and his parliament, was the reformation of religion, and mискent any other deeds done against the king's authority and royal prerogative (as if they saw not the samen) resolves and concludes to make up a new covenant, and send it into England to be sworn and subscribed; whilk if they did, that then it should be sworn and subscribed by us all in Scotland, and then to take them by the hand for defence and maintenance of religion, who stood still in rebellion against the king in their unlawful parliament, and all deeds of hostility. This being concluded upon, (without the advice, consent, or knowledge of the king) by the council, estates, and assembly foresaid, or at least by a committee from the said general assembly, by an imprinted act dated 14th of August, the samen was approved by another imprinted act by the convention of estates, dated the 17th of August.

There followed another ordinance frae the commissioners of the general assembly, for the receiving and solemnly swearing and subscribing of the said league and covenant, and another ordinance from the convention of estates, which copied is this:

"Forasmickless by an act of the convention of estates holden at Edinburgh the 15th day of August, 1643 years, for the loan and tax, it is statute and ordained, that for the wants and necessities of the Scots army in Ireland, and other causes contained in the said act, the sum of twelve hundred thousand merks Scots money, with a hundred thousand merks, as allowance to the collectors for ingathering the samen, together also with six score thousand pounds Scots for levying the men, horse, and foot, contained in the said act, should be uplifted by way of tax and loan, out of the several sheriffdoms and burrows of this kingdom, conform to a roll to be set down by the conveners of ilk sheriffdom, both of spiritual and temporal lands, conform to the whilk act the lairds of Drum and Philorth are appointed to be conveners for the first meeting of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, (and thereafter those of the shire to choose their own conveners) Robert Farquharson of Innercauld, John Irvine of Belty, Alexander Strachan of Glenkindy, Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, Mr. William Davidson of Cairny, Sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels, Thomas Erskine of Pitodry, Mr. Robert Farquhar of Munie, Mr. Robert Gordon of Pitlurg, George Gordon of Coclairachie, John Udny of that ilk, James Hay of Muirfield, Robert Irvine of Feddret, and John Keith of Clockreach, who shall convene with the baill heritors, liferenters, tacksmen of teinds, titulars, proper wadsetters, pensioners, conjunct fiars, ladies terees, and others, within the said sheriffdom, upon the first Tuesday of October next, 1643, as the first day of their meeting, within the tolbooth of Aberdeen, and that the samen be intimate at the mercat cross of the head burrow of the shire and every parish kirk thereof,



immediately after divine service; and the said conveners, with such other commissioners as shall convene for the time, shall cause call by name, and surname, the heritors, liferenters, titulars, tacksmen of teinds, and others foresaid, who brulk any benefit to landward, whereby profit or commodity ariseth, and by consent of them, or the most part, shall make, select, and choose eight persons, to be adjoined to the said commissioners, who shall make choice of a clerk, and give up a just rental and true worth of every person or persons their present year's rent, of this crop and year of God, 1643, to landward, as well of land and teinds, as of any other thing whereby yearly profit and commodity ariseth. With certification, if they compare not, the saids conveners shall value and give up such rental of the saids persons, their lands, teinds, and others foresaid, as they shall think expedient, and the saids heritors and others foresaid compelled to pay conform thereto before the term of Candlemas next, as in the said act is at length contained, conform to the said act and instruction direct for that effect; intimates to all and sundry titulars, tacksmen of teinds, proper wadsetters, ladies terces, and others, within the said sheriffdom of Aberdeen, that they and ilk ane of them convene within the tolbooth of Aberdeen, upon the first Tuesday of October next, 1643 years, with the saids conveners and commissioners foresaid, and there give up and set down ane perfect rental and roll of ilk person's rents within the said sheriffdom of Aberdeen and parishes thereof, with certification as contained in the said act," &c.

Now, when this act was intimate to the king's lieges, of such grievous burdens and taxations, whereof the like was never heard of in any king's reign, and now imposed without warrant of the king, by subjects upon subjects, let any discreet man judge, how the loyal subjects of this poor kingdom were born down and daily opprest.

Now, as thir works are a-working in sight of the English commissioners, and to their great joy, and gladness of the brethren of the assembly, who all this time are sitting, the king's advocate and his commissioner carried himself as a good patriot for the country, but how the king was pleased I cannot tell. The assembly indicts another general assembly to be holden at Edinburgh the last Wednesday of May, 1644, and about the 29th of August, rose up and dissolved, leaving the council and conservators of the treaty at their meetings and consultations.

In the meantime, the lord Maitland, and the said Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. George Gillespie, two of the ministers of Edinburgh, were sent immediately after rising of the said assembly to the parliament of England, with the league and covenant, there to be subscribed and sworn. Some of the English commissioners went also with them, as was said, and others bade behind, attending their return. Our commissioners before-named went by sea to London, for by land they had no peaceable passage. As this is doing, Berwick is taken in by the estates, by device of the English parliament, as ye shall hereafter hear, contrary to the treaty, as the king alledged.

Ye heard before how the laird of Haddo hurt Alexander and

John Jaffrays; they go over with their father, recommended by the burrow of Aberdeen, to the burrows of Scotland, and makes them all their friends, and raises letters, charging Haddo to compear before the council, justice, or commissioners of estates, at Edinburgh, the 2d day of August, to answer at the instance of the saids complainers, and of the king's advocate for his interest. Haddo seeks peace friendly, but no agreeance at home nor abroad; he resolves to sit at home, seeing the iniquity of the times; wherefore he is fined in twenty thousand merks, whereof five thousand to the complainers, and fifteen thousand to the publick, and to make payment under the pain of horning; likeas, he was charged, denounced, and registrate, for not-payment thereof. However, the Jaffrays repented somewhat of their going on so busily, since their part of the fine was so little, and thought the publick should have taken no part hereof, resolving by that means to settle more fairly with Haddo, if the hail fine had been at their command; but the estates thought this gear well won.—A monstrous unheard-of fine, for so small a fault, not being slaughter nor mutilation, nor other criminal crime!—But Haddo beheld all, and whereupon sorrow fell, as ye may see hereafter.

As thir things were a-doing, the convention of estates sends a messenger to the marquis of Huntly, charging him, as a peer of the land, to compear before them, but he disobeyed that charge. Thereafter they sent an herauld to charge him, under the pain of treason, to compear, but he bides at home; whereupon he is denounced and registrate at the horn, thinking after an illegal manner to take him by caption, and to use him at their pleasure; whereupon the marquis writes to the council and estates, shewing it was well known his estate was under burden, and he was labouring to pay his debts, as he might, against Martinmas next, so that conveniently he could not come over to this convention. 2d, He declared his rent was not able to maintain him six weeks in Edinburgh, which might sustain him a whole year at home. 3d, He said he was offensive to none, but peaceably set, and no-wise mindful to perturb the country, but should underly what was lawfully laid upon him, or his ground; and for their better assurance, sent over a blank bond, subscribed with his hand, to keep thir conditions, under what penalty they pleased themselves to put in. With thir letters the laird of Cluny was sent to Edinburgh, but the estates disdainfully rejected his letters and bond, and would not hear thereof, but resolved to take order with him shortly. The marquis hearing of this, and having a troubled estate, glad to live in peace, and could not get it, sent over to the estates, desiring letters patent that he might go out of the country to France, there to serve with fifty gentlemen, in his own place of *gens d'armes*; but this is refused also, whereat the marquis is highly offended, and brought almost under despair, not knowing what course to take for keeping his loyalty to his master the king,

of whom you may hear some more hereafter, and which made him to take up arms at last.

As the convention of estates are handling the marquis of Huntly at this rate, so to grieve the country more intolerably, they set out a charge, whilk copied is this:—

“CARLOS REX.

“Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to our lovites ——— messengers, in that part conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting. Forasmickless the estates of our kingdom of Scotland, presently convened, taking into their most serious consideration the great and imminent danger of the true protestant religion, and of the peace of thir kingdoms, from the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, and attempts of the popists and prelates, malignants, and their adherents; have, after mature deliberation, thought expedient to enter into a mutual league and covenant with our kingdom of England, for the defence of the true protestant reformed religion in the kirk of Scotland, and the reformation of religion in the kirk of England, according to the word of God, the example of the best reformed churches, and as may bring the kirks of both kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity of religion and church-government. And sicklike, to preserve and defend the rights and privileges of our parliament, and liberties of our kingdoms respectively, and to preserve and defend our person and authority, in the preservation of the said true religion and liberties of our kingdoms, and to observe the articles of the late treaty and peace between the two nations, and to assist and defend all that shall enter into this covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, as the samen more fully purports: which, as it will be a comfort and encouragement to all Christians who fear God and love religion, to all good and loyal subjects who truly honour us, and to all true patriots who tender the liberty of the country, so doubtless it will exasperate and enrage the said popists, prelates, malignants, and their adherents, to practise and execute all the mischief and cruelty they can against this kirk and kingdoms, as they have done in our kingdoms of England and Ireland.

“For preventing whereof, the estates of this our said kingdom (according to the practice of our council, convention of our estates, and our parliaments in former times, in the like exigences), have resolved to put this our kingdom, with all possible speed, in a present posture of defence; and for the better safety and security thereof, have statute and ordained, and hereby statutes and ordains, that immediately after publication hereof, all the fencible persons within this our kingdom of Scotland, betwixt sixty and sixteen years of age, of whatsoever quality, rank, or degree, shall provide themselves with forty days’ provision, and with ammunition, arms, and other warlike provision of all sorts, in the most substantial manner, for horse and foot, with tents and other furnishings requisite, and that horsemen be armed with pistols, broad swords, and steel caps; and where these arms cannot be had, that they provide jacks, lances, and steel bonnets; and that the footmen be armed with musket and sword, or pikes and sword, and where these cannot be had, that they be furnished with halberts, Lochaber axes, or Jedburgh staves and swords. Our will is herefore, and we straitly charge and command, that incontinent thir our letters

seen, ye pass to the mercat cross of Edinburgh, and several burrows of this our kingdom of Scotland, and parish kirks thereof, wherethrough none may pretend ignorance of the samen, and that ye command and charge all and sundry our subjects foresaid, being fencible persons, betwixt sixty and sixteen years, to provide themselves in manner foresaid, and to be in readiness to make their rendezvous, thus armed, at the places appointed by our estates, and committees having power from them, within forty-eight hours after they shall be lawfully warned by order from them to that effect, as they will testify their affection to the protestant religion, the liberties of our kingdoms, our own honours, and the peace and safety of that their native country, and under the pain to be esteemed as enemies to religion, us, and our kingdoms; and their haill goods to be confiscate to the use of the publick.

" Given under our signet, at Edinburgh, the 18th day of August, and of our reign the nineteenth year, 1643.

*" Per actum Dominorum Concilii,*

*(Sic sub.)*

" ARCH. PRYMROSE, Clk. Con."

This piece came out with the league and covenant and act for loan and taxation, which you have heard before, to the great annoyance of the king's subjects when it was published; but is strange to see the convoyance of this odd piece, hatched and made up narrative in the king's name, and in the assumption would carry no less, but the estates and the rest might set out such proclamations: so, whether it be the king's proclamation, or the estates' proclamation, it is hard to spy, save that the conclusion is in the king's name. However it be, this proclamation is set out without the king's knowledge or consent, as was the use before, yea, expressly against his will.

Thus is the king's haill loyal subjects brought daily more and more under the subjection and slavery, without authority or warrant frae the king.

About this time, many witches are taken in Anstruther, Dysart, Culross, St. Andrew's, and sundry other parts on the coasts of Fife; they made strange confessions, and were burnt to the death!

About this time, — Gordon, younger of Tilliefroskie, was taken upon the causey of Edinburgh, and warded in the tolbooth thereof, for maintaining some points of Brownisme.

Ye heard before how the earl of Nithsdale and viscount of Abeyn were summoned to compear before the council and conservators of peace, anent negotiating with the earl of Antrim. Word came about the 12th of August, that they were both forfeited at the cross of Edinburgh for their non-compearance, and declared traitors, without warrant, consent, or authority of the king; and they are both forced to flee the land, and seek the king's help, for at home they durst not abide.

About the 12th of August, haill families, man, wife, and children, flee out of London for safety of their lives, some to one kingdom and some to another, and some came to Scotland, occa-

sioned by thir troubles ; pitiful to behold ! Bristol, the third richest burrow in all England, is now about this time taken in by the king's men, with great slaughter on both sides. The king himself was lying at Oxford, and not at the intaking thereof. There was gotten eighty pieces of ordnance, store of ammunition, arms, powder, and ball, with abundance of victuals, gold and silver-plate, with other riches. Three of the king's ships lying in the river were also taken, with diverse others able to carry cannon. The king getting word, comes hastily from Oxford to Bristol, creates the lord Hopetoun, a brave commander, governour of this great city, to the contentment of the young prince, the marquis of Hartford, who, for thir places of war, were contending to put in a governour in the said town. Thereafter the king returns back to Oxford.

In this month of August, the marquis' sister, Jean Gordon, lady and relict of umquhile lord Strathbrane, came here to the north, and took up her house in Lesmoir.

In this month many news came to Aberdeen. Exeter was straitly besieged, and the earl of Warwick seeking to relieve it, was routed and defeated. That five hundred Kentmen left the parliament, and came in to the king ; and at Chatham disarmed such as were against his majesty, and took some ordnance and some of the king's ships. That sir John Hotham accused Mr. Pym before the English parliament, for gathering together one hundred thousand pounds sterling to his own use, against the publick weal, whereof the trial was fashious to the parliament : see hereafter, where that traitor Pym died before he was hanged. That Gainsburrow is taken by the king. Lincoln yielded to his majesty, where his excellency the earl of Newcastle had got store of victuals, eight hundred muskets, and eight pieces of ordnance, and that he has advanced his cannon over Trent. Sir John Henderson made lord-general of the horse, and colonel Byron made governour of Newark. That the earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Lincoln, and diverse other noblemen, had left the parliament and come to the king, and left few of the nobles in the upper house, and the lower house also daily diminishing. That the lord Willoughby fled, and taken the rout to Boston ; his haille baggage lost, and not three hundred men in his company, and that the town was under treaty. That Gloucester is besieged, and many men lost on both sides. This was the news that came to Aberdeen at this time.

Saturday the 2d of September, the proclamation anent all manner of men, betwixt sixty and sixteen, to be in readiness, was made at the cross of Aberdeen, by tuck of drum, of which ye heard before ; likeas, the samen proclamation was twice read and proclaimed thereafter at the cross, but little obedience was given in thir parts thereto.

Sunday the 3d of September, the communion was given here in Old Aberdeen, as it was last. Sermon ended, this proclama-

tion was read also at the outgoing of the people at the kirk door, by Alexander Wildgoose, reader. This communion was thought to be untimely given here, being in the height of harvest. Communion the second time was given here upon the 10th of September, being Sunday.

Now it was concluded by our council and estates, to raise an army to go into England, in defence of the good cause, the true protestant reformed religion, rights of parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to defend the king against all prelates, papists, and malignant persons. This is strange to see, how our army shall rise in defence of the king, without his own consent, and under colour of religion, to aid and assist the kingless parliament of England, now standing rebelliously in arms against the king! and it may be marvelled, with what reason justly we could do so, getting all our wills according to the unjust desire of our hearts, at his majesty's hands; or what interest we had to interpose ourselves betwixt the king and his subjects of England, since reason would say, we had gotten our wills, and therefore we might live in rest and peace. No, no; it must be otherwise. England has gotten our turn done, and we must help them to get their turn done also, in all things, both in kirk and police, like unto our government, wherein if England happened not to prevail, then our grounds so surely established was to be feared, and the king might come back upon us, and revoke what he had done. Upon this ground we will raise an army (as was thought), and make general Lesly to take the charge upon him of this service, who cheerfully accepted the samen, and began now to work upon the ordering of this war, as ye shall hereafter hear, and nothing heard but tucking of drums and proclamations.

It was said, some of the nobles had a meeting at Aberdeen, with whom the marquis of Hamilton happened to be (as one who pretended to favour the king), and laid compt to stop any raising of arms against his majesty, but all for nought; it turned to small effect. Their meeting was in September, about fourteen noblemen.

Upon the 14th of September, James Anderson, an honest burghess of Aberdeen, caused bring to the kirk a bairn whilk his wife had new born, to be baptized, because it was weak, about two afternoon, and convened his gossips and comers, as the custom is. Then the father goes to the ministers to come and baptize his bairn, being weak, but ilk ane after other answered, they would not baptize till after the lecture was done. The bairn grows weaker; the father goes again, but still refused; at last the father causes ring the bell the sooner, to make them come to their lecture, but they sat still till the hour came; but before the lecture was done the silly infant deceases in the comers' arms at the pulpit foot, without benefit of baptism. The people fell all in murmuring and amazement at the doings of their ministers;

and the father and friends conveyed waxed wonderful sorrowful; but Mr. John Oswald, who said the lecture, perceiving the bairn to be dead, said, since the bairn is dead in the kirk, cause bury it in the kirk; whilk was instantly done, whereat sundry godly persons were not well content at this church government. In like manner, Thomas Blackhall, a burges of the town, caused bring his lawful bairn to the kirk to be baptized upon the 10th of April before, and held up the bairn in his own hand, as the custom is; but Mr. Andrew Cant would not give the bairn baptism in the father's hand, till a gossip got the bairn in his hand, alledging he was a papist.

About the 4th of September, trial was gotten of some five or six hundred merks stolen out of Mr. John Ray, one of the regents of the Newtown's chest. It was found that Mr. Andrew Cant, the holy minister's son, drew the nails of the chest, and fastened the same with new nails, having another holy brother's son in his company, called Strachan, and student with himself, son to Mr. William Strachan, parson of Daviot. Their prodigal spending, drinking, and debauching, made it to be tried, after this regent had tane a boy of his, called Mathison, who kept his chamber, and tormented him most pitifully for the samen, being innocent, but the two rich fathers paid for their sons' theft. A great scandal to scholars, they being both students, and so the matter was silenced; but if any other student had done the samen, Cant would have cried out against the samen maliciously in the pulpit, and seen them put to the college yetts, wherein they without punishment were creditably kept.

Upon Monday the 11th of September, proclamation was made at the cross of Aberdeen, for ingathering of the taxation and levy money by way of loan, extending to one million two hundred thousand merks Scots money, and one hundred thousand merks to the collectors for ingathering of the samen, and six score thousand pound for levying of men and horse to be uplifted by way of loan, conform to an act of the convention of estates.

Ye heard before of the intaking of Berwick. It was as is reported after this manner: while the heedless parliamentare were negotiating with our Scots, as ye heard before, about the beginning of September there came five of the king's own ships, now at this parliament's service, to Berwick, and landed three hundred soldiers, whom the major received like a traitor, and we being desired to send forces to defend this town against the king if occasion offered, sent shortly a supply of men to keep and defend the samen, upon all adventures, whereat the king was offended.

Ye heard before how the earl of Nithsdale and lord Aboyn went to the king. The earl of Montrose and lord Ogilvie likewise fled the land, and past to the king.

Upon the 11th of September, there came to Aberdeen a baillie and a deacon, commissioners from Edinburgh to Aberdeen, desiring that Mr. John Oswald, one of their ministers, should be

transported to the burrow of Edinburgh, for serving the cure there; which was granted, and he removed out of Aberdeen to Edinburgh upon the 28d of October thereafter, leaving our town to be served with Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. John Rue, till his room was filled.

Ye heard before of our general assembly, and of the supplication given in to them by the parliamentars, divines, and commissioners, and of the league and covenant that was then made. How soon the king heard of this he was highly moved, and shortly writes to the council of Scotland, which copied is thus:

C. R.

“Right trusty and well beloved: Whereas we have been informed, that the late general assembly of our kirk of Scotland have thought fit our subjects there should enter into a mutual league and covenant with these our two houses of parliament of England, who are, and in long time have been, in rebellion against us; a motion we never could have expected to proceed from so grave and pious persons as that meeting did consist of: therefore we do require you, publickly by proclamation, to intimate our pleasure, that no such oath or covenant be pressed upon our Scots subjects, or by them entered into with any other persons, in name of our houses of parliament, or any other of our subjects of England, until we be first acquainted therewith and approve thereof; and this our letter we desire you to put in record, which shall be a sufficient warrant to all our good subjects not to give obedience to any command, under any pretence, from what pretended power soever, to the contrary hereof. We bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court of Evesham, the 14th day of September, and nineteenth year of our reign.” 1643.

But the king gets no obedience, nor did the council set out any such proclamation as is here required. His majesty also writes letters to the chancellor and to the conservators of peace, to the foresaid effect; but no obedience nor publication of the king's pleasure to the lieges, but forward goes the general assembly, the convention of estates, and conservators of the treaty, all hand-in-hand, for levying of an army, lifting of taxations and loan-money, whether the king would or not, in manner before set down. The convention of estates having closed and concluded all, among the rest they made an act, as reported, that no coals should be transported to any burrow of Scotland, or to any foreign country, but all to be winn and sent to London, to furnish them fire, who now were in great distress for want of coals. By this act may be seen clearly the covenanters' keeping of faith to the king, and their kindness to their own country, for the coals sold in Edinburgh, and in Fife and Lothian, was raised to double the price they paid before, to the great grief of the king's lieges; and so thir estates rose and dissolved upon the — day of September, who had sitten since the 2d day of June before; and our smiths of Aberdeen were forced to work their work with peat, for no coals came to Aberdeen, by reason of this act.



Upon Sunday the 17th of September, the communion in New Aberdeen was given for the first, and upon the 24th, for the second time, not after the old fashion, kneeling, but sitting, nor the people suffered to pray, when Mr. Andrew Cant prayed, as their custom was before; but all to be silent and dumb; nor their communion-bread baken and distribute as was wont, but after a new fashion of bread, for it was baken in a round loaf, like a trencher, syne cutted out in long shives, hanging by a tack; and first the minister takes a shive after the blessing, and breaks a piece, and gives to him who was nearest, and he gives the shive to his neighbour, who takes a piece, syne gives it to his neighbour, till it be spent; syne an elder gives in another shive, where the first shive left, and so forth. The like bread and service was never seen in Aberdeen before the coming of Mr. Andrew Cant to be their minister.

Now great preparation for raising of men and arms. General Lesly sends to Holland, France, and Sweden, for commanders and officers, who came to him daily, and resolves to go into England, with an army of ten thousand foot and horse. The order for lifting of thir men, colonels, and commanders, sent down through all the shires of Scotland by a committee of estates; and amongst the rest for the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff, as ye shall see hereafter.

Upon Sunday the 17th of September, after sermon, there was read out the intimation of the act of the convention of estates, at the kirk door of Old Aberdeen, anent the uplifting of taxation and loan money, dated the 15th of August, to the great grief of the auditors.

About the 21st of September, a committee was holden in Aberdeen by the earl Marischall, the tutor of Pitsligo, the lairds of Drum, Philorth, Straloch, Kenmuck, and diverse other barons, anent the levying of soldiers. Order was given that the drum should go through Aberdeen, commanding all apprentices, servants, and fials, not to change their masters while Martinmas next, with certification that they should be taken frae such masters as they feed with, and the master not to be freer in furnishing a man. There were diverse other acts made; and so this committee dissolved, and was continued to the 3d of October.

Wednesday the 27th of September, before Michaelmas, Patrick Lesly was chosen provost of Aberdeen, Mr. Thomas Gray, Mr. Matthew Lumsden, Mr. William Moir, and Mr. Robert Crookshank, chosen baillies. Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum continued sheriff-principal of Aberdeen, Mr. William Davidson, sheriff-depute, and Thomas Fraser of Strichen, sheriff of Inverness.

Upon Tuesday the 3d of October, the committee sat down in New Aberdeen, in the tolbooth thereof, where the lairds of Drum and Philorth, conveners, were; the tutor of Pitsligo, the laird of Tolquhon, and diverse other barons were convened; they fell upon the division of the sheriffdom between the earl Marischall

and lord Gordon, both being absent, and no place was left to the lord Forbes to be crowner with the other two, for causes moving the committee of estates of Edinburgh; but they found the lord Gordon had gotten more bounds than the earl Marischall; whereat it was thought Marischall was not well content, nor yet the lord Forbes, who, by order of the committee at Edinburgh, was put upon the list with the lord viscount of Crighton, which should be chosen third crowner, with the earl Marischall and the lord Gordon. It fell by voice the lord Forbes to be third crowner, yet both were disappointed. The lord Forbes himself was not present, but still in Edinburgh.

News comes to Aberdeen about the 5th of October, of a great battle fought between the king and the earl of Essex, upon Salisbury-plain, where was much bloodshed, but the king still victorious; praised be God! and likewise he had a great victory over that rebels of Reading; the Londoners were routed that came to the rescue thereof. There was killed to the king a marquis of France, and three other lords.

Now the hail ministers of our landward sessions begins to take up the number of the hail fencible men within the several parishes betwixt sixty and sixteen, so that herd and hireman were precisely noted, to the effect the fourth man might be listed; and upon Sunday the 8th of October, after the afternoon's sermon, our minister, Mr. William Strachan, with the sessioners, took the roll of the communicants within Machar parish and Old Aberdeen, and made up a number out thereof of the fencible persons, as said is, whilk was not wisely done, if this order had not been mitigated. Notice was also taken of the rents of the said parish, conform to the act of the convention of estates, dated the 15th of August, for uptaking of taxation and loan, and ilk minister ordained to give up their rents, as ye have heard before.

Upon the samen Sunday, and 8th of October, Mr. Thomas Blackhall and his wife were both excommunicate, and likewise — Menzies, spouse to Thomas Collison, was excommunicate as a papist; strange to see, the wife excommunicate, and the husband not to keep society with her! Mr. Andrew Cant was minister to these excommunications.

About this time, word came that the king caused take the earl of Lothian, and ward him in close ward within the castle of —, for going to France by direction of the committee of estates, and doing some matters with the queen regent of France, and Monsieur, captain of the militia, whereat the king was offended.

There came, at the samen time when Lothian was taken, a French ambassador to his majesty, who sent likewise a Frenchman commissioner to our estates. This ambassador was honourably received, first by the parliament. His commission was to travel betwixt the king and parliament for peace, but they dealt politically with this ambassador, and held him still beside

themselves, abiding an answer, and as was said, would not suffer him to go see the king, as he was directed; howsoever it was, he got no contented answer, and so returned home again.

Now this ambassador having directed a commissioner to Scotland, the committee of estates desired him to produce his commission, which he refused, saying, he had warrant to produce it before the council, whereupon followed a great council day. His commission was to renew the league, upon condition that we should not raise arms in help of the English parliament; to let our Scots papists lift their rents peaceably, and some other articles; but he had no good answer granted unto him, except he gat father Robertson, of whom ye heard before, put to liberty, and had him with himself to France.

Upon Sunday the 15th of October, warning was given out of the pulpit, by Mr. William Strachan, minister, to all heritors, liferenters, freeholders, &c. within the parish, to convene before the committee of New Aberdeen, upon the 19th of October next, for upgiving of their rentals, to proportion the taxation and loan imposed upon the country, as ye have heard before; as also appointed a fast to be kept this day eight days, for conducting our army to be raised against the English papists (alias the king himself), as we were obliged by treaty or covenant to help and assist them.

Dr. Forbes of Corse prepares himself to leave the land; provides a ship lying in the harbour with his necessaries, and, upon the 16th of October, takes his leave, with Mr. John Lesly, his servitor, frae Old Aberdeen, and to Torrie goes he, abiding the tide to ship; but certain of his friends and of the ministry dissuaded him frae his voyage, whilk he was loath to do; but, upon condition that the presbytery of Aberdeen should use no progress of excommunication against him, at their desire he would return home, whilk was granted, and so he came back to his own house upon the 19th of October; but he was forced to go when all was done, as ye have hereafter.

Men gathering fast through Fife, Lothian, Merse, and all be-south, to make up an army to go into England. Edinburgh and Leith more straitly watched nor before.

Upon the third Tuesday, and 17th of October, the provincial assembly sat down in the Gray Friar kirk of Aberdeen, where it never sat before. Ilk minister came in with his laick elder, and brought in a roll of the feneible men of his parish, and a note of the heritors' rents. Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, is chosen moderator till the next provincial assembly; Mr. Andrew Logie, minister at Rayne, who was deprived, as ye have heard before, came in and requested the brethren to write to the committee of the general assembly at Edinburgh, to continue his place unprovided with another, while he were first heard and discussed before them himself; but there was no hearing, and in the meantime great contestation about his kirk betwixt Mr.

John Middleton, minister at Lealy, and Mr. William Robertson, minister at Footdee, because it had a fine stipend. However, Middleton carried it. Mr. Andrew Logie beheld all patiently, and bade constantly by his doctrine, offering to prove the samen orthodox, free of error and heresy; but it availed not, nor no hearing at all. When this kirk is thus provided, over the honest man's head, the assembly fills up the professor's place, and elected Mr. William Douglas, minister at Forgue, as a man most worthy to be professor, in Dr. Forbes' place; whilk being done, as he had gotten his place, so he should get his house, according to his own mortification, wherein Dr. Forbes unwisely had not reserved his own liferent, thinking himself sure of being professor during his lifetime. After other consultations, this provincial assembly dissolved upon Friday afternoon: but remember this Mr. William Douglas is a great Covenanter.

Ye heard before of the league and covenant, how it was sent to England by the lord Maitland, Mr. George Gillespie, and Mr. Alexander Henderson, commissioners, who carried the samen. This league and covenant was graciously received, sworn, and subscribed in England, and sent back to the commissioners of the general assembly frae their brethren before-named; whereupon followed an act of the general assembly and convention of the estates, ordaining the said league and covenant to be sworn by all persons in Scotland.

Both thir acts, with the league and covenant, were hastily printed, dispersed and spread with all diligence, to the hail ministers and parish churches within the kingdom, in manner and to the effect foresaid.

Likeas, there was another paper printed, called, *The Good News of England's approving of the Covenant sent from Scotland*, and some reasons for assisting the parliament of England against the papists and prelatical army. This paper bears the manner of subscribing this covenant, the 4th of September. The covenant, which was sent up from the general assembly and convention of estates, was approven unanimously by the assembly of divines, on Friday the 1st; by the house of commons, on Saturday the 2d; and by the house of peers, on Monday the 4th of September, *nemine contradicente*, as both the printed diurnals and written letters report, with a great and happy change of the countenance of the people, and face of affairs thereupon; blessed be the name of God therefor!

This paper bears neither date nor author, nor is the reasons alledged of any force, since what is alledged may be easily answered. Subjects may not raise arms against foreigners, without the authority of the king; much less against himself; and because of the weakness of thir frivolous pretended reasons, I have omitted them of purpose, as unworthy to be written; yet they are imprinted beside me, wanting both date and author.

Upon Sunday the 22d of October, a solemn fast was kept here

in Old Aberdeen, and in New Aberdeen also, for conducting of our army against the papists, and for blessing our enterprise at our forthgoing, with diverse other reasons. After sermon, our minister, Mr. William Strachan, read out the hail forenamed acts, with the new covenant, earnestly persuading the people to prepare themselves to swear and subscribe the samen; which was also done in New Aberdeen, and likewise done or to be done through all the parish kirks of Scotland, and to be sworn and subscribed both by men and women; and such as could not subscribe of the men, to be subscribed by the readers at ilk parish kirk for them, which should be as sufficient as if subscribed by a notary, there being at the end of ilk copy of the covenant clean paper bound to that effect; and the women to hold up their hands in ilk kirk after sermon, signifying their oath, but their subscriptions were not craved.

About this time, word came that there was a cessation of war concluded by the king's command betwixt the English and Irishes in Ireland, to endure for a year, and that his majesty had made the marquis of Ormond deputy of Ireland.

Upon the 26th of October, the tolbooth of Aberdeen was broken on the night, by a miller called Copland, whereby himself escaped; also William Gordon in Malynghside, and Alexander Lesly, son to George Lesly at Birsack's Mill, who was under trust treacherously taken out of the house of Bogheads, by virtue of letters raised against him and his father, for troubling of Mr. James Clerk, as ye have heard before. The gentleman winning at liberty, addrest himself unwisely to his father's house at Birsacks Mill, who was made welcome. Tolquhon (who had now taken the protection of Mr. James Clerk) hearing how he had broken ward, was highly offended, and hastily conveens the lairds of Echt, Skene, and diverse friends and gentlemen, with whom the said Mr. James Clerk himself was also, about the number of thirty persons, and upon the 28th of October, about the breaking of the sky in the morning, came to the said George Lesly's dwelling-house at Birsack's Mill, where himself and his son were, without any friend or good-fellow beside them, and cruelly beset the house round about, having warrant to raise fire and sword against them, while they were tane or slain. The poor single gentlemen having some shots, defended themselves courageously, and would on nowise be tane, whereupon Tolquhon sets fire to the house, and forced them to come out, with his wife and bairns. They shot two horse to him worth four hundred merks, and burnt to powder his hail insight plenishing, godds, and gear of good worth, and in end, after some debate, they hurt the said Mr. George Lesly with a shot athwart the ribs, and hurt him in the head. His wife also got a sore stroke in the head. They defended themselves, being only two persons, from about the breaking of the sky till three afternoon, against about thirty persons; at last, when their powder and

lead was spent, they could do no more, but were both taken together per fores, for upon no condition they would yield or come in will, and thus were both had to Tolquhon, where they remained, while upon Thursday the 28d of November, that Mr. George was cured of his wounds; whilk day Tolquhon caused about fourteen of his friends and servants to transport them both south to Edinburgh, where they were shortly accused before the justice upon sundry articles, concerning the abusing Mr. James Clerk forswaid, and taking of his goods, and were in no less danger than their life; however, by the old lady Marischall's advice, who was the said Mr. George's landlady, the laird of Panmuir had purchast a remission past through the seals, for all the friendship and moyas Tolquhon could make in Edinburgh, having his brother, Mr. William Forbes, advocate in Edinburgh, a violent agent in the said cause; yet he wan this point, that they should both remain in ward in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, while they set sufficient caution and lawburrows to Tolquhon and his complices, and to the said Mr. James Clerk, that they should be harmless and skaithless, under great pains; whilk caution they were unable to set, and so remained still in ward to their utter overthrow; for his wife cast up all labouring, he having five ploughs under labouring, and shortly after his wife deceases; but he and his son were both set at liberty, and safely was home.

Upon Sunday the 29th of October, our covenant was again read out of the pulpit in Old Aberdeen, by Mr. William Strachan, minister. He expounded the samen not to be against the king, but against the malignant prelates and papists of England; he first himself sware, and subscribed the samen to be lawful and just with God; his reader right.sua; syne Dr. Guild, principal, Mr. Alexander Middleton, sub-principal, Mr. Alexander Garden, Mr. Patrick Gordon, and Mr. George Middleton, regents, came down from the left where they were sitting, to a table set before the pulpit for that purpose, and sware and subscribed the covenant. Mr. John Forbes, Mr. William Rait, and Mr. John Lundia, Oldtown bailies, came next, with the elders and deacons, as they were called upon, and for the most part sware and subscribed, except William Gordon of Gordon's Mill, and Mr. Thomas Gordon at Kettock's Mill, who took to be advised; at last, they on another day came in, sware and subscribed; others, crafts and commons, sware and subscribed that day; and, in a word, such was our minister's care and diligence, that he made the hail parish swear and subscribe, and the women to hold up their hands, very few excepted. This was our order for the parish of Old Machar, and such as could not subscribe of the men, Alexander Wildgoose, reader, subscribed for them; but all was done after sermon; and, in like manner, Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. John Rue, after sermon in New Aberdeen, first read, sware, and subscribed the covenant, and next their readers caus-

ed the women hold up their hands, and ordained the men to come in quarterly, as the town is divided in four quarters, upon Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, to swear and subscribe the covenant within the session-house, whilk was obeyed, and as said is, upon the foressaid Sunday, and thereafter the covenant was subscribed and sworn in form foressaid.

It is said, the laird of Haddo, at his parish kirk at Methlick, protested against the minister and subscribants, and declared it was against the king's will, and read his majesty's letter which ye have before, which bred such a fear in the parishioners, that they knew not whom to obey.

Upon the last of October, the earl Marischall came frae Inverurie to Aberdeen with about fifty horse, and lodged in skipper Anderson's house. The lord Gordon, upon the morn, came frae Edinburgh; he wrote for some friends to meet him at the bridge of Dee; he came into the town about one hundred horse, and lodged in Mr. Alexander Reid's house. They met in the laigh council-house, go to a committee, where the lord Forbes is born by his colonel's place; then it falls in question anent the division of the shires of the Mearns, Aberdeen, and Banff, betwixt the earl Marischall and the lord Gordon, (because, by Marischall's moyan, as was thought, the lord Forbes was put by his regiment) who could not agree thereupon. They met again upon the morn, having diverse barons with them at their committee, where they could not agree about their division. It was thought fit to acquaint the committee of estates herewith, and so all was continued to another committee, to be holden at Aberdeen the 22d of November. In the meantime, some ministers came in with the rolls of the fencible men of their parishes, and such as came not in were desired to come in the foressaid 22d of November, with a perfect roll of their men. Thus this meeting dissolved; Marischall rode back to Inverurie, and the lord Gordon stayed in the town. It is said the lord Forbes and his friends were highly offended at the committee of estates for not giving him a regiment with the other two, which bred, as was said, a band of combination betwixt the marquis of Huntly and him, and some of his friends, as ye may see hereafter. It is true the marquis is informed that the committee of estates was using all means possible to take him and bring him in per force to the town of Edinburgh; such as the earl Marischall, and sheriffs of Aberdeen and Banff. He sent to Marischall, demanding him if he was upon such course, who absolutely refused; nevertheless he began to look about him, and make as many friends as he could get. The lord Gordon came over to the Oldtown upon Sunday, heard devotion, stayed in George Middleton's house all night; he rode to Straloch upon the morn, returned back upon Wednesday to the samen house; he desired the lairds of Drum, Straloch, Udny, and Kemnay, to go speak to the marquis, and see if he would receive his son, and make him welcome; whilk he simpliciter refused,

except he would send a note under his hand, quitting and disclaiming the covenant, and such service he had undertaken, which the young lord could not creditably do, because he had sworn and subscribed the covenant already in Edinburgh before he came here. However, the most the marquis could be moved to do, was to give him his house in Old Aberdeen to dwell in, and burn the peats led and standing in the close, and let himself provide for plenishing and his own maintainance for his sustentation as pleased him best to do; and albeit the said young lord thought hard of this order, yet he is forced and compelled to accept of his father's offer, and dwell in his father's house, as ye shall hereafter hear. It was this last covenant the marquis was offended at, whilk his son had subscribed. Upon the 1st of November our sovereign lord's session sat down for administration of justice, as all other inferior judicatories did, but the session, by sound of trumpet, was ordained to rise upon the 28th of December, to the effect men might be more easily levied and raised, and to sit down again the 17th of January, 1644, but no process against such as happened to be with the army, whilk day it sat down again, and was prorogued to the 2d of February, as ye shall hear hereafter.

Upon Saturday the 11th of November, James Conn, in Knockie Miln, was brought in to Aberdeen by the sheriff of Banff, called the laird of Birkenbog. He had been taken and warded in the tolbooth of Banff nine weeks before, for his religion only, being an excommunicate papist, and that day was convoyed to Aberdeen, where he was warded in the tolbooth, and delivered to Mr. William Davidson, sheriff-depute. He remained there till the 17th of November, and then was transported by the sheriff-depute to the shire of the Mearns, and so forth frae shire to shire till he came to Edinburgh, where he was received and warded.

Upon the 16th of November, there came to Aberdeen a baillie of Edinburgh, with a deacen, who caused publish an edict at the kirk door of Old Aberdeen, upon Sunday the 19th of November, summoning our elders and parishioners to compear before the committee of the general assembly, at Edinburgh, the 6th day of December next, to hear and see Mr. William Strachan, our minister, transplanted frae this kirk to Edinburgh, to serve in the ministry there; and himself was also summoned to that day, to whom they gave also letters directed to him from the committee of the general assembly. Thir commissioners heard him preach the foresaid Sunday, and without more ado with session and presbytery, rode south to Edinburgh, where Mr. Thomas Gordon at Kettock's Mill, an elder, and Mr. James Sandilands, common procurator for the King's College (because our minister was a stipendiary minister, put in by the said college, to serve at our kirk, out of the deanry of Aberdeen, annexed to the samen university) were sent south to the committee of the general assembly at Edinburgh, with an ample commission, subscribed by



the parish and members of the college, and laboured so as our minister get liberty to bide at home, to the contentment of himself and of his flock; for he had written a plain refusal to go to Edinburgh, and sent an ample commission to appeal from the committee of the kirk to the general assembly ensuing. So they did not prevail, as they thought to have done.

Ye heard before how the earl of Antrim was treacherously taken by Monro in Ireland. He was straitly warded, or kept by tour, or night and day by his captains. Now it fell captain Wallace, a great puritan, to keep him, who was as great a papist. He had one ——— Gordon to his lieutenant, who was son to sir Alexander Gordon, and uncle to the now earl of Sutherland. This captain Wallace, with his lieutenant, had also a strong guard about the earl of Antrim, in a strong castle; but this lieutenant Gordon craftily convoyed up unsusped, in his breeches, certain tows, by the whilk the earl escaped and wan freely away, to Wallace's great grief; and the lieutenant followed and fled also. His escape was wrought in October, whereat major-Monro laugh not a word.

About the 18th of November, diverse news came to Aberdeen; such as, the king's admiral, sir John Pennington, upon the 25th of September, had six rich prizes of the parliament's ships coming from the Indies; that there came out of France to the king, six thousand arms, with store of good pistols; that the king of Denmark had sent sixty thousand pounds sterling; that the lords and others called the Banders had subscribed the last covenant with limitation, to maintain religion and the king's royal authority.

Followed amongst them, a meeting at Peebles, about forty nobles, knights, and barons; amongst whom was the marquis of Hamilton. It was there reasoned, that since the country was upon raising an army, whether or no they should go to arms, to impede their rising, or going into England against the king. Hamilton reasoned against their rising at all; it goes to voicing, and, by plurality of voices, found, that no man should be raised against the country. The earl of Traquair being there with the rest, asked Hamilton whether or not he had given assurance to the king that Scotland should not raise arms? he answered, he had given assurance to his majesty but for the last summer; however, this meeting dissolved without more ado, and the earl of Traquair, with another lord, past therefrae to the king.

About this time, this marquis, by the king's patent, was created duke of Hamilton, and set himself to follow the earl of Traquair to court, as ye may hereafter see, who had bidden frae the king in Scotland, whilst he was in great distress in England, as ye may see before.

In this month of November, there came to Aberdeen one doctor Pont, who had some stage plays, whilk drew the people to behold the sport; syne upon the stage sells certain balms,

oils, and other physical ointments, whereof he made great gain. Thereafter he went north to other burrows, and did the like.

Upon the 22d of November, the lord Gordon came out of Drum, (where he had been lodged the night before), to the Cruives, where certain friends met him, whom he had written for, and were about one hundred horse. He came riding through the Oldtown to New Aberdeen, to hold the committee, according to the last act; he went in at the Justice-Port, and rode up threw the street, and lighted at Mr. Alexander Reid's house in the Gallowgate. The earl Marischall come not to this meeting, as was expected; the lord Gordon, after his lighting, went down to the laigh council-house, and had some conference with the lairds of Drum, Fedret, Kermuck, Kemnay, and some others of the committee; the provost was there also. In the meantime, Mr. Andrew Cant, minister, came up to the council-house, and presented to the lord Gordon the covenant to be subscribed, and to all the rest, whilk willingly they did, except the lairds of Drum and Fedret, who said, it was sufficient to subscribe at their own parish churches, and not in Aberdeen at their committees. Mr. Andrew went to the door with this answer; but the lord Gordon and some others stayed holding their meetings, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. Sunday he heard devotion, Monday and Tuesday held their committees, and all was continued while a new committee to be holden the 20th of December; and upon Wednesday the 29th of November, the lord Gordon rode up to Lesmoir, where his father's sister, the lady Strathbrane, was for the time remaining, to salute and visit her; she was his father's sister, as said is.

Upon the 26th of November, the committee of estates sets out an imprinted act anent the raising men and arms, whilk copied is thus:—

*“ Act of the Committee of Estates for contriving the several Troops, appointed to come out of the shires, into Regiments.*

“ The Committee of Estates considering that, for the present service of the country, there are diverse troops appointed to be levied and brought forth of the several shires of this kingdom, which are not as yet formed into regiments, nor designed for any colonels to have command over them; therefore, and for the better ordering and making their troops serviceable, the committee of estates hath ordained them to be divided into seven regiments, each regiment consisting of eight troops, and each troop of sixty troopers, besides the officers. And of the said regiments, one to be commanded by the lord-general's excellency; for making up whereof, two troops to be brought out of Ireland, viz. the troops of major Bannantyne and sir Robert Adair, for that end; as also the two hundred and forty horse appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles, which will make up four troops.

“ One to be commanded by general Lesly, to consist of the three troops already

levied, the laird of Polmaise's troop appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Stirling, and four troops to be levied, and levy money to be granted.

"One to be commanded by the earl of Eglington, and to consist of two hundred and forty horse, appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Air and Renfrew, which will make up four troops; the two hundred appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Lanerk, which will make up three troops, and twenty horse to be levied.

"One to be commanded by the earl of Dalhousie, and to consist of one hundred and twenty, appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Berwick, which will make two troops; the one hundred and twenty appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Haddington, to make up other two; the one hundred and twenty appointed to come from the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, to make up other two; one of the troops appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Stirling, viz. that whereof sir William Bruce is rout master, and the troop appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Linlithgow.

"One to be commanded by the lord Gordon, and to consist of the two hundred and forty horse, appointed to come out of Aberdeen and Banff, which will make up four troops; the one hundred and twenty appointed to come out of Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness, on this side of the Ness, which will make up two; and (in regard there are one hundred and forty appointed to come out of the sheriffdom of Forfar,) of one hundred and twenty thereof, which will make two troops.

"One to be commanded by the lord Kircudbright, and to consist of the six score appointed to come out of Wigtown and Kircudbright; the one hundred and twenty appointed to come out of Dumfries; and the two hundred and forty appointed to come out of Perth, all which will make eight troops.

"One to be commanded by the lord Balcarras, and to consist of the two hundred and forty appointed to come out of Fife; of two troops to be levied, the two hundred horse appointed to come out of Kincardine, and the earl Marischall's part of Aberdeen, and the two hundred horse out of Forfar, before reserved from the lord Gordon."

(*Sic sub.*)

"ARCH. PRYMROSE, Cler. Com."

This uncouth act, scarce understandable, bred great fear and perturbation amongst the king's loyal subjects; but howsoever thir troops were levied in other shires, they got small obedience here, as after does appear, partly by the earl Marischall's discontentment anent the division, alledging the lord Gordon to have gotten more than he got, and partly because he kept not the committee with the lord Gordon and the rest, and partly by the marquis of Huntly's rising; as ye shall see hereafter.

Now, ye heard before of the marquis, or rather duke of Hamilton, how he was to follow the earl of Traquair to court; there was a pretty slight devised, to make him to be the more welcome to the king; which was, the estates resolved to have this covenant sworn and subscribed through all Scotland; among the rest, they desire the duke and his brother the earl of Lanerk, secretary

of Scotland, and of the Scots council in England, to swear and subscribe the covenant, whilk they both simulatly refused; whereupon the committee of estates as deceitfully gave order to their own good-brother, the earl of Lindsay, presently to meddle with the duke's estates, land, and livings, for his disobedience, and to meddle with the dues and commodities of the signet pertaining to his brother, as secretary foresaid, and that without horning, forfeiture, process, or other summons, as was used against other non-subscribers, to the effect they might shew the king how they were handled for refusing to subscribe the covenant, as his majesty had expressly forbidden his good subjects to do; thereby to insinuate them more and more in his highness' favour. But this was a short cloak in the eyes of the beholders; for their mother was drawing and drilling soldiers in the duke's absence upon his estates and rents, as busily as if she had been a man, notwithstanding the samen had been appointed to be ingathered by the foresaid earl of Lindsay. But the duke and his brother's doings are more and more discovered; in the meantime they are getting this cloak of excuse, to shew the king how the committee of estates had bereft them of their rents, as is formerly said; and thus the duke and his brother, well convoyed, having store of monies, take journey about the last of November, and to England go they; of whom ye shall hear hereafter.

About the 27th of November, letters of intercommuning were published at the mercat cross of Aberdeen, at the instance of Mr. Alexander Jaffray, Alexander and John Jaffrays, his sons, against the laird of Haddo, and published at the kirks of Methlick, Fyvie, Tarves, and Bellie, the marquis of Huntly's own parish-kirk of the Bog; likeas, the said marquis was charged by a messenger, by virtue of the said letters, not to intercommune with Haddo, help nor supply him; whereat the marquis was discontent, and thir charges did no good, as after ye shall hear. The laird of Haddo could get no peace, except he paid the foresaid fine of twenty thousand merks. He, seeing the rigorous dealing, and that he heard the estates were to send forces to uplift the samen per force, went about legally to defend himself, and made an assignation of his hail goods and gear, sums of money, debts, and others pertaining to him, to his cousin, Gilbert Gordon of Knaven.

Ye heard before how the lord Gordon rode to Lesmoir, to visit his father's sister; he past therefrae to Strathboggie, but the marquis was flitted to the Bog, making preparation for the marriage of his daughter, lady Mary, to Alexander Irvine, young laird of Drum; and in the meantime was furnishing the place of Auchindown with all necessaries. The lord Gordon lodged in Tulliesoul, and staid no longer there, only exhorting the Strathboggie men to be ready upon their own peril, and so rode his way, being in malgrace with his father, and returned to Aberdeen.

Upon Thursday the 7th of December, the young laird of Drumforesaid was married to the foresaid lady Mary Gordon, with a great solemnity; mirth and merriness enough in the Bog at their bridal, but the lord Gordon was not at his sister's bridal, through discontentment betwixt his father and him.

Upon Wednesday the 6th of December, Gilbert Breck, one of the town's officers, caused bring a bairn, born to him of his wife, called — Silver, to the lecture lesson, where Mr. John Rue, the minister, had taught, to be baptized; but because this bairn was not brought to him when he was baptizing some other bairns, he would not give baptism to this young infant, whereupon the simple man was forced to bring back his child unbaptized frae the kirk to his own house. The wife lying in childbed, hearing her child was not baptized, was so angry, that she turned her face to the wall, and deceased immediately, through plain displeasure; and the bairn also ere the morn; and the mother and her bairn in her oxters were both buried together. Lamentable to see how the people are thus abused!

Thir lecture lessons were brought in by Mr. Andrew Cant, upon Wednesday and Friday weekly, in place of evening prayers, which many people thought no warr nor thir lessons.

Thir lectures had no prayer, but a psalm sung at the beginning, and a prayer at the ending. This form was brought in for to make their stipend better; likeas, ilk minister had five hundred merks yearly of augmentation. Thus is this novelty brought in upon the town's expences, where the evening prayers were used before, and better service done by the minister then nor now.

The estates are busy to cause every nobleman swear and subscribe the covenant; and such as refused were summoned to compare before the next parliament, or before the committee of estates of parliament, under the pain of forfeiture. Strange to see forfeiture without authority of a king!

About the 1st of December, word came to Aberdeen that the earl of Lothian was taken in England, at the king's command, for going to France, and negotiating with the protestants there, for help and support of our Covenanters, and other unlawful causes, as was reported, for the whilk he was committed to strait prison.

Upon Sunday the 10th of December, the women of our parish of St. Machar, after sermon, were caused hold up their hands, and swear to the maintenance of religion presently professed in Scotland, and to abide by the covenant; likeas, at the samen kirk-door, letters of intercommuning were published against the laird of Haddo, at the Jaffrays' instance, to make him odious, which did little good, as does appear.

Now the lord-general Lesly is fast growing to an head, and has conveyened about two thousand foot and three thousand horse, well armed with field pieces and all engines of war necessary, and about the — day of December, began his march towards

Newcastle; and, in the meantime, soldiers are daily raised and sent after the army, for the better strengthening thereof. He had the marquis of Argyll, president of the army, the earl of Lindsay, the lord Balmerinoch, with diverse other nobles, captains, and commanders in his army; yet the truth is, he had but fifteen regiments of horse and foot into England, and five regiments shortly followed him, amounting to about ten thousand men, besides such as was raised thereafter.

Ye heard before of the lord Gordon; he comes to Aberdeen, and upon Tuesday the 19th of December, there was a committee of war holden in the laigh council-house of the tolbooth, by the earl Marischall, the said lord Gordon, and the laird of Drum, sheriff, the lairds of Kermuck, Glenkindy, and diverse other barons, with the provost and baillies of Aberdeen. David Gordon of Knaven compeared before this committee, and produced an assignation made to him by the laird of Haddo, of his hail moveable goods, gear, debts, sums of money; and made intimation to them thereof, and took instruments thereupon in two notars' hands. In the meantime, the foresaid laird of Drum, sheriff, (as he had gotten order frae the estates) caused a messenger charge the foresaid earl Marischall, lord Gordon, and hail persons of the committee, personally conveened, to rise, concur, and assist him as sheriff of Aberdeen, to search, seek, take, and apprehend the said laird of Haddo; and failing thereof, to meddle and intromit with his lands, rents, and goods and gear, conform to the letters raised thereanent. At this charge the committee goes to a consultation, and resolves to send over to the committee of estates the copy of the foresaid assignation, with the intimation following thereupon, and to take their advice what was best to be done thereanent. Thus this committee sat Tuesday and Wednesday; they considered the roll of fencible men of the parishes, given by such ministers as came, and were found not given up orderly; wherefore they were commanded to give a perfect roll of all manner of men within their parishes, betwixt sixty and sixteen; continued their committee of war to the 2d of January next, 1644, and ordained the hail ministers to be charged, under the pain of one hundred pound, to keep this committee, and bring in perfect rolls within this diocese or province, in form foresaid.

It was also ordered by the committee of estates, that ilk minister should furnish out a man to this service, whilk would draw to one thousand men, because there is one thousand ministers; whilk some here did furnish, others were overlooked; and so they dissolved.

The estates, seeing the laird of Haddo's assignation, took it to be plain scorn and delusion, and therefore raised new charges against the laird of Drum, sheriff, and others, to go upon Haddo, as ye shall hear hereafter.

Now, as this committee of war dissolved, there sat down ano-

ther committee of valuation, for uptaking the rents of the lands, for levying of the soldiers within this sherifffdom. Thus, day and night the poor country people is opprest and vext, without authority of the king !

Upon the 18th of December, a proclamation was made at the cross of Aberdeen, charging the commissioners of the late parliament within the shire of Aberdeen, to be at Edinburgh the 3d day of January, 1644, as well nobles and barons as burrows, to sit and cognosce upon such matters as belong to a parliament, in the interim betwixt parliaments, conform to the act of parliament.

Ye heard before how duke Hamilton, with his brother, took journey towards court, with store of monies, about twelve horse-load as was reported. Now, by the way, it is said, the earl of Lanerk, his brother, went to Newcastle, where he had some dealing with sir John Morral, governour of Newcastle, to betray the town to our general Lesly. This treason is discovered ; he is removed and warded, and another governour put in his place. Upon this dealing, and other reasons, it is said the duke and his brother were convoyed to Oxford politiquely. At his lighting he intended to see the king, but he was stayed by sir Jacob Ashly, appointed to take him and his brother both ; and, upon the morn, he (without sight of the king) was had to a strong hold, and committed to close prison in the castle of Woodstock, and therefrae transported to Cornwall. It is said his brother also was warded, but wan away by a slight, and to the parliament of England (wanting a king) goes he for his refuge—a sign, surely, of a guilty conscience ! Thus was our royal king served by Hamilton and his brother, who was his secretary ; from England he came thereafter to Scotland, is made welcome, and goes on in service with the rest of the Covenanters (hard for the king, he being his secretary, as said is) with all his might ; but duke Hamilton is transported to Bristol.

Upon the 19th and 20th days of December, Dr. Guild goes on most maliciously, and causes cast down the stately wall standing within the bishop's close, curiously builded with hewn stone, and took the stones down to the college, for such vain uses as he thought most expedient, (such was the iniquity of the times !) and brake down the ashlar work about the turrets, raised the pavement of the hall, and caused lead them down, to lay the floor of the common school.

About this time, sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfoddels leaves the country, and goes to France, fearing the troubles to come. He purchased letters patent frae the committee of estates at Edinburgh, to go, upon condition his men, tenants, and servants, should rise with the publick, and his grounds and rents liable to loan and taxation, and other levy money. His lady shortly follows him.

Upon Thursday, 21st of December, Mr. William Douglas,

minister at Forgue, who was chosen professor at the last provincial assembly, gave in theses in the college kirk of Old Aberdeen; he defended the samen against all opposition of the brethren there convened, such as Mr. David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, moderator to the next general assembly, doctor Guild, Mr. John Rue, Mr. John Logie, Mr. Robert Cheyne, and some others; for the eight presbyteries of Aberdeen were warned to send in two or three commissioners out of ilk presbytery, to have kept this day, whereof some came, others came not; in respect whereof Mr. William Douglas is ordained to come again upon the 24th of January, 1644, to abide his last trial, and the commissioners of ilk presbytery ordained to be present, whilk was done, and he admitted professor, in a more worthy man's place, unjustly put therefrae by the tyranny of this church; whereat he never was offended, but gladly began to repair his dwelling-house, whilk he had mortified to the professor, and removed therefrae, as ye shall hereafter hear, to the great grief and grudge of the town of Old Aberdeen, among the poor of which he was most charitable.

Monday the 25th of December, and good Yool-day, no work wrought in Old Aberdeen, nor yet upon St. James's day, nor Stephen's day, for all the thundering of the ministers could do against it; and upon the 27th of December, the Oldtown collegioners got eight days' play, whether the masters would or not.

Upon Sunday the 24th of December, the communion was given here in Old Aberdeen, to the collegioners who were absent frae the communion before, and to such persons as were sick and unable to come; they were about a boardful of such people.

Ye heard before of the down-sitting of our sovereign lord's session upon Thursday the 21st of December; it was raised by sound of trumpet at the cross of Edinburgh, and ordained to sit down the 16th of January next, to the effect men might be hastily lifted, and had to the bowl-road; but inferior judicatories sat still, administering justice; likeas, upon the 16th of January it sat down again, and was prorogate to the 2d of February, and sat down that day.

Upon Sunday the 31st of December, it was declared out of pulpit, that the committee of the kirk at Edinburgh had ordained a fast to be kept on Sunday the 7th of January, 1644, and upon Wednesday thereafter, throughout all the parish kirks of Scotland, for a happy success to our army. 2d, The danger of religion. 3d, The sins of the land. 4th, For a blessing upon our commissioners' travails, lying in England; whilk fast was solemnly kept the foresaid days, and the covenant read out upon the Sunday.

Upon Tuesday the 26th of December, Mr. James Guthrie, minister at Urquhart; Mr. Alexander Spence, parson of Birnie; and Mr. Alexander Symmer, parson of Duffus, came to the Bog, (by direction of the presbytery of Elgin,) and in name of



the committee of the general assembly at Edinburgh, desired the marquis of Huntly to swear and subscribe the late covenant. He answered, he would not subscribe any such covenant without the king's command, for he had once subscribed a covenant at his majesty's command before, and he would subscribe no more without his authority; whereupon the three ministers took their leave, and wrote back his answer to the foresaid committee. Thus this nobleman is daily pointed at, and cannot get rest, whilk bred trouble, as after ye shall hear.

About this time, word came to Aberdeen that Mr. Pym, that arch-traitor in the lower house, was departed this life in London, which was to be lamented that he had died before he was hanged to the death!

Many news was daily coming to Aberdeen of the king's victories over his English enemies, himself being at Oxford, wintering the cold season, where all winter he bade still: that he had indicted a parliament to be holden at Oxford in January, 1644; and to that effect had sent out proclamations to the nobles and peers of parliament to come to their own places, to whom he granted full and free remission for all bygones, except some arch-traitors, specially denominated, whom his majesty could nowise remit. Upon this gracious proclamation, many nobles and peers came in to the king, and were well received.

Great diligence and expedition made through all the shires of Scotland for raising of men to send after our army, which is now lying at Morpeth, having sundry noblemen, such as the marquis of Argyll, president of the army, the earl of Lindsay, the lord Balmerinoch, the earl of Eglington, the viscount of Dudhope, and diverse other colonels and captains.

There was lifted out of the town of Edinburgh one thousand two hundred men; out of Dundee, one hundred and eighty men; out of Brechin and Montrose, one hundred and ten men; and out of Aberdeen, there was appointed to be raised one hundred and twenty men, with their officers.

There came out a printed paper, dated the 12th of June, 1643, bearing an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, to be consulted with by the parliament, for the settling of the government and liturgy of the church of England; declaring also the present church government by archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon that hierarchy, an evil, and justly offensive and burthensome to the kingdom, &c. and that therefore they are resolved the samen shall be taken away, and that such a church government shall be settled in the church as shall be most agreeable with God's holy word, and most apt to preserve and procure the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, &c.

## ANNO 1644.

Ye heard before of the committee of war holden at Aberdeen. The earl Marischall rode to Dunotter, and from that to Inverurie. The lord Gordon rode out of Aberdeen likewise, but returned back upon the 1st of January to his lodging at Mr. Alexander Reid's house, where he stayed till the 11th of January.

Upon the 3d of January, he held a committee of war, with some barons, but the earl Marischall came not to this committee. It sat still while the 11th of January; the ministry came in, and produced under their hands, and by virtue of their oaths, the rolls of the fencible men betwixt sixty and sixteen in their parishes. There was before this committee sundry other matters agitated, and so dissolved upon the foresaid 11th of January. It was said, the earl Marischall miskent thir committees, because he had no contentment in the division.

Upon the 4th of January, a committee was holden upon the valuations of the shire of Aberdeen, for lifting of men. The sheriffdom of Aberdeen was valued at one hundred thousand merks, whereof Aberdeen should pay eighteen thousand four hundred merks.

Upon Sunday the 7th of January, a fast precisely kept, as ye have before; and upon Wednesday thereafter, the minister went not out of pulpit till the people re-convened to the afternoon's sermon, at the ringing of the hindmost bell allenarly, and no blessing was said after the forenoon's sermon upon Sunday, till first the afternoon's preaching was done, and so one blessing served for both sermons. The covenant was read out upon Sunday, declaring and exposing the samen to be nowise against the king, but against the papists about him. Thus the minister seemed to persuade the people to believe this exposition, but they would never in their hearts be persuaded thereof.

In new Aberdeen, such merchants as were at sea, and now come home, subscribed the said covenant upon Sunday, on their knees, with uplifted hands.

The laird of Drum, sheriff-principal of Aberdeen, is charged with letters direct out in the king's name (but God knows if they were with his majesty's will), to charge the barons of the shire to convene, and the town of Aberdeen to raise forty-eight horsemen for the most part, and two commanders, to go search, seek, take, and apprehend the laird of Haddo, or to take his house, and meddle with his rents. Conform to the whilk charges, the laird of Drum causes charge the town of Aberdeen to raise their men, and wrote to sundry barons to meet him; and so upon the 17th day of January, the laird of Drum marches out of Aberdeen, having with him the said company of men and commanders, with Mr. Alexander Jaffray, John and Alexander Jaffrays, his sons, well armed altogether, with swords, pistols, carabines;

and muskets, being for the most part all horsemen; and, at the green of Udney, there meets the sheriff, the lairds of Pittodrie, Monymusk, Echt, Federet, Udney, Skene, and diverse other barons, with whom was Mr. William Davidson, sheriff-depute. They go to consultation, and send before them the said sheriff-depute, with John Spence; Rothsay, herauld; David Kemp, messenger; and two notars, with commission to charge such as were within, to render the house in the king's name, and the sheriff followed with his company. Conform to the whilk commission they went forward, and charged them within, being about forty men, to render the house, being but laigh bigging, wherein Haddo dwelt. It was answered, this house pertained not to Haddo, but his son, to whom he had disposed the samen, and so could not with reason render the son's house for the father's fault; and for his rents, goods, and gear, they were assigned to David Gordon, and lawfully intimate. Then they charged them to make open gates, whereby they might seek, search, take, and apprehend that rebel the laird of Haddo. They answered, he was not within, and for their better assurance keist open the gates and doors, and suffered none to enter but the foresaid sheriff-depute, Rothsay, herauld, David Kemp, messenger, and the two notars. They made a business of searching the house, but missing him, they took instruments in the notars' hands of their diligence. Thereafter, they drank kindly, and parted in peace, and came to the sheriff and his complices, standing hard beside, and told what they had done. In the meantime, there was shot frae the place of Kelly, hard at their heels, ten or twelve hagbutts, whilk fleyed all this people, and scattered them, so that ilk man took the gate, returning home, but more ado. It is said, Haddo himself, with about forty horse, was lying near hand at the back of a know, beholding the sport, but appeared not that day.

The Jaffrays paid for meat and drink coming and going to Aberdeen, for the townsmen only, and got little service. The sheriff seeing thir men break ranks at the shot of thir hagbutts, resolved to go no farther on, but to write to the estates, and shew his diligence, as indeed he did, and so this matter ceased.

It was said, the marquis of Huntly sent William Gordon of Arradoul, John Gordon of Colpnay, Sheils, and Peter Lesly, a notar, to the Jaffrays and people of Aberdeen, desiring them not to come out against Haddo after such a violent manner; but he got no contented answer. Strange in this country, to see the marquis of Huntly's desire so vilipened with such people! but sorrow hastily followed upon this pride, as ye have hereafter, bred through the ambition of the burgesses.

Upon Wednesday the foresaid 17th of January, David Kemp, messenger, charged the said laird of Drum, sheriff-principal of Aberdeen, to convocate the king's leiges, and go search, seek, take, and apprehend the marquis of Huntly for his disobedience

to the estates; likeas, the sheriff of Banff was charged to take him also, if he was dwelling within that sheriffdom, of whom ye may see hereafter. But the sheriff of Aberdeen had a good excuse, because the marquis dwelt in the Bog, out of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, and so made no search or seeking for this noble and most loyal subject in Scotland, as ye may perceive by his own declarations; but he is so abused by the tyranny of thir newcome estates, as he could get neither peace nor rest, but charges daily threatning him to come in their wills and follow their councils, contrary to his own conscience, or otherwise to lose his liberty, his lands and rents, and all that he had; for thir charges bore no less than to meddle with his estate, if they mist himself, because the estates thought he was not able to stand out against their power, and that he would be forced to flee and leave the samen; whilk being considered by the marquis, contrary to their expectation, he uses a mean for his own preservation, as after ye shall hear, and would not suffer the lord Gordon to lift a man within his ground.

Upon Friday the 19th of January, a committee was holden in Aberdeen, by the lord Gordon and some barons (but Marischall was not there), for lifting of money to raise soldiers. There was an ordinance made that none of the committee should remove out of Aberdeen, while matters were settled, and so they sat still while the 1st of March.

Ye heard before how his majesty was lying all winter at Oxford. It is said, upon the 20th day of January he indicted a parliament. Strange! to see the king to have a parliament, and the country to have another parliament, both sitting in England! Our army now being in England, a missive letter was written frae general Lesly, the marquis of Argyll, earl of Lindsay, and remanent of the committee of our Scotch army encamped at Morpeth, twelve miles distant from Newcastle, dated the 25th of January, 1644, and directed to sir Thomas Glenham, now governour of Newcastle, in the place of the deposed traitor, sir John Morrall, with another letter written from them to the gentry; the which letters, nor copies thereof, I did not see; but the copy of the answer thereto made, comprehending the substance of the said letters, written frae our camp, may fully inform the grounds of their unlawful desires and unreasonable demands. The copy of the governour of Newcastle's letter, and gentry under-subscribing, and now copied, is this:—

“ My Lords,

“ I have this day received yours, together with one to the gentlemen of the country; and having communicated with them, we return you this answer, that, without the sight of that letter, we could not have been induced, by any flying rumour, to believe that the Scottish nation, or a prevalent party for the present in that nation, would have attempted an invasion of England, so con-

trary to the law of God, of nations of both kingdoms, and especially to the late act of pacification ; so opposite to your allegiance and gratitude to his majesty, to that neighbourly love which you pretend, to that discreet care which you should have of your own safety.

“ We could not have imagined that they who through his majesty's goodness enjoy a settlement of their church and state according to their own desires, should needlessly and ungratefully embroil themselves in a business that concerns them not, forfeit their rights and disoblige his authority, and hazard the loss of their present happiness. No order of any committee or committees whatsoever of men or angels can give them power to march into the bowels of another kingdom, to make offensive war against their natural sovereign, upon the empty pretence of evil counsellors that could never yet be named ; and for the English agents, we can never believe them to be any commissioners lawfully authorised either by the parliament, nor by the two houses, nor by the house of commons, whence so many members are expelled by partial votes, so many banished by seditious tumults, so many voluntarily absent, or absent themselves out of conscience ; when desperation or the want of opportunity to depart, or fear of certain plundering, are the chiefest bands which hold the little remnant together, from discovering where the venerable name of parliament is made a state to countenance pernicious counsel, and also of a close committee for subjects to make foreign confederacies without their sovereign's consent, to invade the territories of their undoubted king. To go about by force to change the religion and laws established, is gross treason without all contradiction, and in this case it argues strongly who have been the fomenters and contrivers of all our troubles ; no covenant whatsoever, or with whomsoever, can justify these proceedings, or oblige a subject to run such disloyal courses. If any man out of ignorance, fear, or incredulity, hath entered into such a covenant, it binds him not, except it be to repentance, neither is there any necessity, as is pretended, of your present posture. Yourselves cannot alledge that you are anywise provoked by us, nor are we conscious to ourselves of the least intention to molest you. The ends which you propose are plausible indeed to them that do not understand them ; the blackest designs did never want the same pretences. If by the protestant religion you intend our articles, which are the public confession of our church, and Book of Common Prayer established by act of parliament, you need not trouble yourselves, we be ready to defend them with our blood. If it be otherwise, it is plain to all the world that it is not the preservation but the innovation of religion which you seek, howsoever stiled by you reformation ; and what calling have you to reform us with the sword ? We don't remember that ever the like indignity was offered by one nation to another, the less to the greater, that those men who hitherto have pleaded so vehemently for liberty of conscience against all oaths and subscriptions, should now assume a power to themselves by arms to impose a law upon the consciences of their fellow-subjects. A vanquished nation would scarce endure such terms from their conquerors : but this we are sure of, that it is the way to make the protestant religion odious to all monarchs, christians, and pagans. Your other two ends, that is, the honour and happiness of the king, and the public peace and liberty of his dominions, are so manifestly contrary to your practice, that there needs no other motive to withdraw you from such a course, as tends so directly to

make his majesty contemptible at home and abroad, and fill his dominions with rapine, blood, and murder. In any army all have not the same intentions; we have seen the articles agreed upon, and vast sums and conditions contained in them, as if your countrymen thought indeed that England was a well that never could be drawn dry, and therefore you decline all disputation about it. It is an easy thing to pretend the cause of God, as the Jews did the temple of the Lord; but this is far from the evident demonstrations ye often offer, but never make. Consider, that there must be an account given to the Lord of all that blood that shall be shed in this quarrel. The way to prevent it is not by such innovations, but to return before the sword be unsheathed, and the breach be made too wide. You cannot think that we are grown so feeble creatures as to desert our religion, our laws, our estates, upon the command of foreigners, and to suffer ourselves and our posterity to be made beggars and slaves without any opposition. If any of us should join with you in this action, we cannot look upon them otherwise than as traitors to their king, vipers to their country, and such as have been plotters and promoters of this design from the beginning. But if information or fear has drawn any of yours ignorantly or unwillingly into this course, we desire them to withdraw themselves at last, and not make themselves accessory to that deluge of mischief which that second voyage is like to bring upon both kingdoms.

"Your servants,

( <i>Sic Sub.</i> )	"JACOB MUNDAY.	"FRANCIS CARNEGIE.
	"ROBERT BOSWELL.	"FRANCIS ANDERSON.
	"EDWARD POLEN.	"THOMAS GLENHAM.
	"FRANCIS KER.	"EDWARD GRAY.
	"RALPH MILLOT.	"GEORGE MUSHANS.
	"ROBERT CLAVERING.	"THOMAS TWIDALE.
	"RICHARD TEMPEST.	"ALEX. WIDDERMILL."
	"CHARLES BRADLING.	

There was also at the end of this letter a postscript, saying,

"My lords, we have sent you here inclosed his majesty's declaration."

But the copy had no date. Now, I refer the consideration of this answer to all godly and loyal subjects, whether our army had sound reason to go on in so deplorable a course, upon the pretended reasons which are chiefly pointed at in the letter: 1st, For the religion. 2d, For the honour and happiness of the king. 3d, For the publick peace and liberty of his dominions; which three reasons are punctually and pithily answered unto, as their letter bears, and subscribed by the hand of sir Thomas Glenham, governour of Newcastle, and fourteen others of the gentry, as you see before; but oh, for pity! our army would not hear this wise counsel, but go forward in their rebellion.

Upon Tuesday the 30th of January, the magistrates of Aberdeen pressed and violently took upon the night, about twenty-eight persons of the crafts, apprentices and servants, to make up

their number of one hundred and twenty soldiers, with a captain and officers.

About this time there came to Aberdeen a copy of a letter from certain English peers, written to our Scots army, whilk copied is thus :—

“ Our very good Lords,

“ If for no other reason, yet that posterity may know we have done our duties, and not sit still while our brethren of Scotland were transported with a dangerous and fatal understanding, that the resolution now taken amongst you for an expedition into England, is agreeable to your obligation by the late treaty, and to the wishes and desires of this kingdom, expressed by the two houses of parliament, we have thought it necessary to let your lordships know, that if we had dissented from that act it would never have been made a law ; and when you have considered and examined the names of us who have subscribed this letter, who, as we hope, are too well known to your lordships, and to both kingdoms, to be suspected to want affection to religion, or to the laws of the country, or liberties of the subject ; and when you are informed, that the earls of Arundel and Thanet, the lords Stanhope, Stafford, and Coventry, Goring and Craven, are in the parts beyond the seas, and the earls of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, and the lords Montague and Broughton, under restraint at London, for their loyalty and duty to their sovereign and the kingdom, your lordships will easily conclude how very few now make up the peers of Westminster, there being in truth not above twenty-five lords present, or privy to these counsellors, or being absent, concurring or consenting with them ; whereas the house of peers consisteth of an hundred, besides minors and recusant lords, neither of which keep us company in this address to your lordships. How we and the major part of the house of commons come to be absent from thence, it is so notorious to all the world, that we believe your lordships cannot be strangers to it, how several times during our sitting there, multitudes of the meanest sort of people, with weapons not agreeing to their condition or custom, in a manner very contrary and destructive to the privilege of parliament, filled up the way betwixt both houses, offering injury both by words and actions, laying violent hands on several members, and crying out many hours together in a most tumultuous and menacing way ; how no remedy would be submitted to for preventing those tumults ; after which, and other unlawful and unparliamentary actions, many things received and settled (upon solemn debate of the house of peers), were again, after many threats and menaces, refused and determined, contrary to the law of parliament, and so many of us withdrew ourselves from thence, where we could not sit, speak, and vote with honour, freedom, and safety, and are now put from thence for our duty and loyalty to his majesty ; and must therefore protest against any invitation which hath been made to our brethren in the kingdom of Scotland to enter into this kingdom with any army, the same being as much against the desires as against the duties of the lords and commons in England ; and we do conjure your lordships, by our common allegiance and subjection under our gracious sovereign, by the amity and affection betwixt the two nations, by the treaty of pacification (which by any such act is absolutely abolished) and by all obligations both divine and hu-

man, which can preserve peace upon earth, to use your utmost endeavour to prevent the effusion of so much christian blood, and the confusion and desolation which must follow the unjust invasion of this kingdom ; which we are confident all true Englishmen may interpret as a design of conquest, and to impose upon us new laws ; and therefore your lordships may be assured, we shall not so forget our old interest and honour of our nation, as not to expose our lives and fortunes in the just and necessary defence of the kingdom ; but if your lordships, in truth, have any doubts or apprehensions that there is now or hereafter may be a purpose to infringe your laws or liberties, by any attempt of this kingdom, we do engage our honours to your lordships, to be ourselves most religious observers of the act of pacification ; and if the breach and violation do not first begin within that kingdom, we are confident you shall never have cause to complain of us ; and having thus far expressed ourselves unto your lordships, we hope to receive such an answer from you as may be a mean to preserve a right understanding betwixt the two nations, and lay an obligation upon us to continue your lordships' affectionate humble servants,

( <i>Et sub.</i> )	" Lord MOHUN.	" Earl HUNTINGTON.
	" Lord RICH.	" Earl NORTHAMPTON.
	" Lord COBHAM.	" Earl DORSET.
	" Lord RIVERS.	" Earl WORCESTER.
	" Lord SAVIL.	" Earl BATH.
	" Lord DUNSMORE.	" Earl BERKSHIRE.
	" Lord DERNETT.	" Earl BRISTOL.
	" Lord DARLEY.	" Earl KINGSTON.
	" Lord COGNIERS.	" Earl CLEVELAND.
	" Lord HERBERT.	" Earl PETERBURROW.
	" Lord WENTWORTH.	" Earl PORTLAND.
	" Lord PAULLET.	" Earl NEWPORT.
	" Lord PAGET.	" Earl MOUBRAY.
	" Lord PERCY.	" Lord HATTOUN.
	" Lord CAPEL.	" Lord LOVELACE.
	" Lord CARBELLIE.	" Lord WILMOT.
	" Lord HOPETOUN.	" Lord BYRON.
	" Lord WIDDRINGTON.	" Lord LANGBURROW.
	" Lord LEIGH.	" Lord CROMWELL.
	" Lord KEEPER.	" Lord MARLEBURROW.
	" Lord TREASURER.	" Visct. FALCONBRIDGE.
	" Duke of RICHMOND.	" Lord MALTRAVERS.
	" Marquis of HARTFORD.	" Lord HOWARD.
	" Earl LINDSAY.	" Lord SEYMORE.
	" Earl SOUTHAMPTON.	" Lord DIGBY."

This letter had no date, but it appears it had been sent by thir noblemen to our committee of the army, before the shedding of blood. What answer was sent I do not know ; but it appears, by the remaining of our army in England thereafter, we were not to follow the good and godly council of this witty letter, but follow our own designs, notwithstanding of the king's royal



power backed with thir his powerful subjects, as with many others, and at Newcastle also.

There was an act and ordinance of the convention of estates of the kingdom of Scotland for the speedy raising of monies by way of excise, for supplying the forces raised in this kingdom for the defence of religion, crown and kingdoms, and payment of the debts which the publick faith shall be engaged to that end, dated at Edinburgh, the last of January, 1644.

	s.	d.
On every pint of ale and small beer to be sold, to be paid by the brewer or maker thereof, and to be allowed to him in the payment of the price, or which any house-keeper breweth for his own spending, to be paid by every such house-keeper,	-	0 4
Beer or ale exported for provision of ships is to pay no excise.		
On foreign imported beer, every pint,	-	1 0
On every pint of strong beer, to be payed sicklike by the brewer or house-keeper,	-	0 6
On every pint of French wine already imported, or to be imported, to be paid by the first buyer thereof (the buyer being a vintner), after the sale of the samen, providing it sell before Lammas next, or by the buyer for private use,	-	1 4
On every pint of Spanish wine, in like manner,	-	2 8
On every pint of aquavite, or strong waters, sold in the country,	-	2 8
On every pound of tobacco,	-	0 6
On every slaughtered ox, bull, or cow, of sixteen pound price, or above, to be paid by the buyer or slayer,	-	20 0
And of every one under that price,	-	13 4
On all oxen, bulls, or kine, transported, to be paid by the transporter for the piece,	-	4 0
On all sheep slaughtered or transported, at or above forty shillings price, to be paid by the transporter or slayer,	-	4 0
And under that price,	-	2 0
On all slaughtered stirks of eight pound price, or above,	-	6 4
On every such stirk beneath that price,	-	4 0
On all calves or goats, of forty shillings price per piece, or above, sold, or for private use,	-	4 0
On each of them under that price,	-	2 0
On all swine,	-	0 6
On all lambs and kids,	-	2 0
On the merchandize of ilk ell of silk stuff, from five merks value to ten, to be paid by the buyer,	-	6 4
And every ell thereof above ten merks,	-	10 0
On every ell of plush or pan velvet,	-	20 0
On every ell of satin,	-	13 4
On every ounce of silk or gold lace,	-	13 4
On every ell of silver or gold cloth,	-	60 0
On every beaver hat,	-	12 0
On every pair of silk stockings,	-	13 4

On every ell of broad cloth, not exceeding seven pound, retailed,	s. d.
On every ell of cloth exceeding that price, - - -	6 0
On ilk ell of narrow cloth, serges, and other worstet or hair stuffs imported, at or above forty shillings the ell, - - -	12 0
On the ell of baize or freezes at or above thirty shillings the ell, - - -	2 0
On all cambrick, lawn, or Holland cloth, for the value of every twenty shillings, - - - - -	1 0
On every ell of imported pearling, made of thread or silk, betwixt three and six pound, - - - - -	12 0
On the ells betwixt six and twelve pound, and so forth proportionally, - - -	24 0
On coal transported on Scots or English bottoms, to the value of twelve pounds, - - - - -	6 0
On all coal of the samen value, exported in foreign bottoms, - - -	12 0
On every twelve pound value of made work, brought home, of whatsoever kind, - - - - -	13 4

All manner of made work within the kingdom to be free of excise.

There was some opposition made by some town's people of Edinburgh against this ungodly, unlawful, and unusual act of excise; but all for nought: the estates carried it. It was also enacted, that this excise should begin the 10th of February next to come, and to endure so long as the necessity of the army should require, and at the farthest but for an year; and if the parliament at their next meeting shall in place hereof find out and appoint a better and more expedite way, to provide money for supplying the armies, and paying the provision made to them in the interim, then this way of excise is to cease. And it is hereby declared, that the remainder of the brotherly assistance, the arrears due to the army in Ireland, and what shall be due for maintenance of this army, and all other sums addebted to the kingdom of England, being paid, and therewith all publick debts and burdens of this kingdom, with what shall be due to the armies being defrayed, the remainder thereof, over and above this defrayment, shall be employed for repayment of the excise in manner following, viz. Whatever shall be the proportion of the excise gotten within the town of Edinburgh and liberties thereof, the equal half thereof shall be paid to the magistrates and town council for the behoof of the town; and every burrow shall have repetition of the two part of the proportion of excise furnished by them; and the remainder, not allowed to the burrows in manner foresaid, shall be given proportionably for the publick use of the several shires, according to the quantity of excise paid by them.

Thir acts, with the excise, I copied truly from the print that was sent here to Aberdeen. The goodly device whereof, laid out for an ease to the people both of burrow and land, I scorn to the judicious reader, seeming rather to delude and scorne the country, than to do them any good. Thus is this miserable

country outburthened with grievous taxations, following the footsteps of Holland in their excises, whilk this land was unable to bear, nor durst the country people complain, neither knew they to whom they should complain for redress, because their king was in no better case than openly rebelled against, whose authority should have wisely ruled all; and surely the people murmured mightily against thir orders.

Upon the back of this excise, followed an act of the convention of estates, made at Edinburgh the 1st of February, 1644, for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, for strengthening the army, and providing arms and ammunition to the kingdom.

That colonels and committees of war be appointed in each shire to muster all the fencible persons within the shire upon one day; that a list be taken up of the fencible persons armed and unarmed, and how many and what sort of arms are wanting, and to be provided for every shire.

The musters of these besouth Dee to be betwixt and the last of February next, and the report thereof to the committee of estates betwixt and the 15th day of March thereafter; and the musters benorth Dee, to be betwixt and the 10th of March, and the report to the committee betwixt and the last of the said month; that burrows make their musters and reports accordingly.

That there shall be as many arms furnished as is sent forth with the army; that the colonels and committees send some persons to the committee of estates, with money or surety for providing as many muskets, swords, pikes, and pistols, as is sent forth in this present expedition, together with three pound weight of powder, three pound weight of ball, and six pound weight of match, for every musket, or else give assurance at the said day of report that they shall provide the samen themselves betwixt and a competent day to be assigned by the committee of estates. That there be a sufficient number of trained men, who can exercise their arms in each shire or burrow for the ends foresaid.

The colonels, committees, and magistrates of burrows, are ordained to reduce their hail fencible men within their bounds into regiments, foot companies, and horse troops, for putting the kingdoms in a posture of defence; and that sic as are appointed to come out in the present expedition, be drilled up in handling of their arms, ilk regiment once in the month, ilk troop and company once in the week, at the places to be appointed by the said colonels, and committees, and magistrates of burrows; and that every shire and burrow shall entertain an able and expert soldier, who shall have the care and inspection of exercising the regiments and companies of that shire or burrow, and that they take course for inferior officers to exercise the men.

Ilk captain to be provided with colours, drums, rick-masters,

with trumpets and cornets, who are to be in readiness, upon orders from the committee of estates, to bring forth such number and proportion of their regiments, with sufficient furniture, arms, and provisions, as they shall be required.

And whereas the army is now marched into England, it is ordained that these in the northern parts, who have not gone forth in this present expedition, shall be presently put forth, on horse and foot, provided with arms, ammunition, and baggage, and all sorts of furniture, as follows, viz. : Out of Banffshire, and that part of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen that is not under the earl Marischall's command, one thousand six hundred foot, and two hundred and forty horse, whereof the lord Gordon is colonel ; together also with an hundred and twenty horse out of the sheriffdoms of Elgin, Nairn, and that part of Inverness on this side of the Ness ; and one hundred and twenty horse out of the earl of Seaforth's division of Inverness ; and one hundred and twenty of the earl of Sutherland's part in Inverness and Caithness, which are also under the command of the said lord Gordon ; and out of that part of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen in the earl Marischall's division, the proportion of men laid upon the samen to come out under the said earl, their colonel ; and out of the said sheriffdoms of Elgin, Nairn, and part of Inverness on this side of the Ness, one thousand five hundred foot, under the command of the earl of Murray, their colonel ; out of the earldom of lord Seaforth and lord Lovat's division of Inverness, one thousand foot, under the command of Thomas M'Kenzie of Pluscardine, their colonel ; out of the earl of Sutherland's part of Inverness and Caithness, one thousand six hundred foot, under the command of the earl of Sutherland, their colonel ; and out of the sheriffdom of Orkney, one thousand foot, under the command of —.

The committee of war and colonels, with all speed to bring forth the numbers of men, horse and foot, armed and furnished with bag and baggage, and all provision necessary, and to have their rendezvous at Berwick, upon the 10th of March, where they shall have further directions from the lord general, &c.

It is ordained, that the number formerly appointed to come out of the shires, burrows, and divisions thereof, in this present expedition, shall now be brought out of the samen, sufficiently provided, horse and foot, with baggage horses, ammunition horses, and all other furniture, and to be in readiness to march upon four days warning, and to be levied and transported upon the tax and loan within each shire, if the samen be not exhausted upon the former levies, and where there is none of the loan, that they be levied and transported as the committee of estates shall direct, to be an auxiliary supply to the army.

Item, orders anent the choosing of colonels and officers, and committees to have power to choose sub-committees in the several presbyteries, and to punish all transgressors of their orders,

and to fine those who have not or shall not thereafter put out their footmen, in an hundred pound, and their horsemen, baggage horse, and ammunition horses, in four hundred merks, and to direct their precepts to messengers-at-arms, to poind and distrinzie for the samen.

Their articles, with diverse other orders, were contained in this act; but I omitted sundry, and set down such as is above-written, as most fitting to be copied. This piece was also subscribed by Archibald Prymrose, their clerk.

Follows a third act of the convention of estates of Scotland, for raising of monies for a present supply to the armies sent into England and Ireland, made at Edinburgh the 2d of February, 1644, copied frae the print, under the subscription of the said Archibald Prymrose, their clerk.

It is ordained, that all persons having money within this kingdom, or by their credit and surety, can best and soonest raise money, to lend the samen to the estates, or their committees, for the relief of the army sent into England, and of the Scots army in Ireland, who shall have assurance of repayment from the publick, out of the monies due to them by the kingdom of England to the army, according to the proportion to be advanced to either of them respectively, or that shall be raised upon this excise, which the collector and his depute shall be bound to pay to them out of the first of his intromissions thereof, or by any other manner of security, private or publick, they shall desire; and in case any shall desire private security, it is hereby ordained, that the persons whom the lenders shall desire to be bound to them, shall either oblige themselves to the lenders, or furnish the money themselves; and in either case shall have publick security foresaid for their relief; and the parties thus obliged to the lenders in a private security, shall have such others that have any estate in town or shire, where the money is to be borrowed, joined with them, as they shall desire; and for the better prosecuting hereof, the estates gives power to their committee, in such exigency, and upon warrandice of repayment foresaid, to call before them all such persons as are known to be able, by themselves or their credit, to lend or raise money; and to require and ordain them to lend and give such security as will presently raise the sums of money the committee shall require frae them, upon the assurance above-written; and if any shall refuse, with power to the committee to take such course with them as in a time of so pressing necessity they shall think fitting, to make them advance monies, as said is. But if any will be pleased, upon this security, willingly to offer money, it shall be esteemed and embraced as a real testimony of their affection to religion, and the cause in hand; and further, the estates gives hereby power and command to the committee of war in the shires, to take such course within their several bounds for procuring of money in manner foresaid, as above-written, or from time to time

shall be directed from the committee of estates to them, and to report. See subsc. Arch. Prymrose.

This was the substance of thir three several acts, one for excise, another for men and arms, and a third for levying monies.

Followed after this a band devised by the estates, commonly called the *Blind Band*, which every wealthy honest man within Edinburgh, or coming to Edinburgh, were urged to subscribe, and ordained by the estates to be subscribed through all Scotland, whereby ilk man was compelled to subscribe the samen, obliging him to contribute to the good cause such a certain sum of money equivalent to his estate, and to the contentment of these persons, the presenters of this blind band, and no otherwise, at such days and places as was therein contained.

Thus is this poor country daily more and more opprest with tyrannical orders, set down by the estates without warrant of the king.

Ye have heard before how Mr. William Douglas, minister at Fergue, was chosen professor in that learned reverend man's place, Dr. Forbes of Corse; and because he had mortified his house in the chaplainry to his successor, without reservation of his own life-rent, he causes remove his plenishing and books, whereof he sold part, delivered the keys, and came upon the 1st of February to John Forbes his cousin's house, where he remained; syne went over to Torrie, where he stayed while a ship should be clear, and about the 4th of April to the sea goes he for Holland, there to remain in thir dolorous days. Surely this was an excellent religious man, who feared God, charitable to the poor, and a singular scholar, yet was put frae his calling, country, friends, and all, for not subscribing the covenant, to the grudge and grief of the best.

The earl Marischall, for his own reasons, rides south to the estates or committee of estates, and mis kent all our committees of war, and valuation holden here in Aberdeen by the lord Gordon and other barons, where he stayed while the 2d of March, that he came to Aberdeen.

Upon Friday the 3d of February, Thomas Nicolson, burges of Aberdeen, having letters of caption against some of the laird of Cluny's tenants, for his own debts, sent out David Kemp, messenger, with a file of musketeers, eighteen in number, with William Scot, their captain, then lying in Aberdeen, to be sent to the army of the townsmen. The messenger went forward, accompanied as said is, and took a tenant called John Brown. He is rescued by some of the laird's servants, but unhappily is shot through the thigh in his rescue, of the whilk he instantly died. The laird being then in Cluny, hearing of this slaughter, comes in upon the morn, being Saturday, to Aberdeen, and takes three of the soldiers, who had been at the deed doing, and brings them over to his own house in the Oldtown, and keeps them while Wednesday, syne rode and delivered thir three men

to Mr. Robert Reid, sheriff-depute of Aberdeen. The lord Gordon went first to the town, Cluny rode in the back of the town with about twenty-four horse, came in at the Justice Port, and met the lord Gordon at the tolbooth, went up to the tolbooth, delivered the men, and took instrument thereupon; and at his incoming and outgoing the Newtown soldiers were standing besouth the cross, with their captain, John Strachan, with cocked guns, in good order; and if the lord Gordon had not been there, it might have fared worse with Cluny, because the town took his doings in evil part, and caused deprive John Forbes and his son, James Innes, and Mr. Thomas Gordon, of their burger-ship, because they convoyed the laird of Cluny for that errand, being provost of Old Aberdeen, which the gentlemen counted little for their burgership or freedom, being all present in presence of the council, when they were deprived without great reason. Thomas Nicolson, seeing thir men warded, rides hastily to Edinburgh, and returns back to Aberdeen upon the 23d of February, with warrant to put the men to liberty, which was so done; so they followed the rest of the army without satisfaction or punishing the deed and slaughter committed. However, Thomas Nicolson had caused summon the laird of Cluny to compare before the convention of estates, for taking of thir three men in the king's service; and upon Friday the 10th of February he rode south; but how soon he came to Edinburgh he was arraigned by a baillie, and charged to ward at the instance of sir Thomas Nicolson, advocate, for payment of two thousand merks. Cluny produced a protection with a suspension; the baillie lets him go; sir Thomas means himself to the chancellor, and declared he was an incendiary and main informer of the marquis of Huntly to stand out; whereupon he is warded at sir Thomas Nicolson's instance, done by instigation of Thomas Nicolson foresaid, whereat sundry of Cluny's friends took offence, and he remained in ward for all he could do, till he was relieved by his excellency the lord marquis of Montrose.

Ye heard before of the ingoing of our army into England; they march fairly on towards Morpeth under general Lesly, his excellency, with a well ordered army, horse and foot of the best sort he could get through all the kingdom. The marquis of Argyll was president of the army; the earl of Lindsay, the lord Balmerinock, with diverse other brave captains and commanders, went also with him; he had many field-pieces, ball and arms in abundance, with baggage and other provision necessary, having an army of horse and foot of twenty thousand men, dragoons, bag and baggage, some saying less, some saying more, and went into Morpeth, within twelve miles of Newcastle, where there was a letter written and answered of the 25th of January, as ye have heard before. The town of Newcastle burnt up the suburbs, lest the enemy should take advantage thereof; and, as was reported, our army had gotten the worst once or twice, and

so many hurt that chyrurgions were sent out of Edinburgh to cure them, by and attour the surgeons of the camp.

Ye heard before how the sheriffs of Aberdeen and Banff had gotten charges from the estates to go search, seek, take, and apprehend the marquis of Huntly, by virtue of letters of caption, directed out in the king's name (sore against his will, and without his highness' knowledge, such was the policy of this time of iniquity), upon letters of horning used and execute against him, as a traitor to his country, for not subscribing this last covenant, and adhering to the estates, which the marquis thought was both against his conscience and his master the king. By virtue of this forged caption, the foresaid sheriffs were charged to take him, as I have said. Whereupon the sheriff of Banff, called — Abercrombie, upon the 6th day of February, lap on with some few horse, came to the Bog, sent in his depute, Robert Wilson, to the marquis, to shew his commission; but the marquis vilipended the samen, and commanded him and the sheriff both to be gone, for he was not to be tane. The sheriff rode back without more ado, and wrote over his diligence to the estates. Thus you may see how this noble marquis is vexed daily with his fellow-subjects, without authority of a king, and whilk compelled him to draw to an head for defence of himself and his kin, as ye may see hereafter; and in the meantime straitly commanded none of his ground, friends nor followers, men, tenants, and servants, that they should not answer nor obey men or arms, taxations or loans, siller excises, or any other impositions whatsoever.

Upon Friday the 16th of February, captain Strachan marched out of Aberdeen with one hundred and thirty soldiers, captains, and commanders, furnished out by the said burrow, upon their own charges and expences. Ilk soldier was furnished with twa sarks, coat, breeks, hose, and bonnet, bands and shoone, a sword and musket, powder and ball, for so many; and other some, a sword and pike, according to order; and ilk soldier to have six shilling every day for the space of forty days, of loan silver; ilk twelve of them had a baggage-horse, worth fifty pound, a stoup, a pan, a pot for their meat and drink, together also with their hire or levy or loan money, ilk soldier estimate to ten dollars, in furnishing and all to one hundred merks, whilk stood to Aberdeen for their expences, by and attour their captains' and commanders' furniture, above ten thousand pound Scots, whilk, with eighteen thousand four hundred merks of taxation, was no small burden to the burrow of Aberdeen. The three warded soldiers followed this captain.

The poor Oldtown of Aberdeen was forced to furnish out twelve soldiers after the samen manner, under the lord Gordon's division, and sent under captain Knab, with a company of about sixty men, to the army, as captain Strachan also went for the town of Aberdeen. Sore was the poor people of the Oldtown



plucked and poulded to make up thir twelve soldiers' charges, whereas some of them had not to buy a loaf. And as New Aberdeen was pressed and wrecked, first in finding the men, and next their maintenance, so the landward was not free of the like persecution; for ilk heritor was compelled to furnish out a man, or two or three, according to his rent. He came upon the tenant of the ground, who were forced for his relief to go himself, or contribute with his master for furnishing a man, because the master or heritor alledged the tenant out of his means should contribute with him, in respect the master was liable for the fifth part of his estate to the taxation, by and attour furnishing men. Thus is this land, rich and poor, pitifully plagued, without authority of a king! See before how Aberdeen's men are pressed. The soldiers of both Aberdeens had two part muskets, and third part pikes. Old Aberdeen was stented in eight hundred merks, for rigging out of twelve soldiers, so that neither herd nor hireman was left untaxed, and upon the 24th of February, captain Knab marched forward to the army with his company, and our Oldtown men, under the lord Gordon's division, as said is. Then followed the rigging out of horsemen; ilk horseman's horse, furniture, and expences, estimate at one hundred and eighty pound, and there was two hundred and forty horse laid upon the shires of Aberdeen and Banff.

Upon Wednesday the 21st of February, the drum went through, charging all heritors, liferenters, &c. in the name of William earl Marischall, and George lord Gordon, and the rest of the committee of Aberdeen, to present their soldiers under ilk ane of their divisions in the lands, there to be received by their captains. Sundry came in, whereof captain Knab's company, with the twelve Oldtown soldiers, being sixty footmen, was made up under the lord Gordon's division, as said is.

Upon the 23d of February, lieutenant James Forbes, second son to — Forbes of Campfield, under the earl Marischall's division, had orders from the committee of Aberdeen (Marischall being absent himself) to go with about forty musketeers upon the laird of Tibbertie's lands, Mr. William Seaton of Randistoun's lands, as two outstanders, and not subscribers of the covenant; and upon the goodwife of Artrochie's lands, as she that is an excommunicate papist, and to plunder the samen. But the young laird of Gight, the young laird of Haddo, the laird of Shethin, the laird of Tibbertie himself, Ardlogie, and Nathaniel Gordon, with about eighty horse, came to the bounds of Tartie, pertaining to Dr. Dun in Aberdeen, which they were also plundering, but they were shamefully dung back, their arms tane frae them, and routed pitifully, except the captain, who was there, called Forbes, and his brother also, the lieutenant, whose arms they took not. And so thir soldiers returned in twos, in threes, and fours, and not in a body, shamefully back again to Aberdeen, with their captains and officers, who were spared and

not disarmed. Whereat our committee of Aberdeen, and the earl Marischall, when he heard of it, was highly offended, and bred some fear to the burrow of Aberdeen.

Ye heard before anent the excise; the samen was proclaimed at the cross of Aberdeen upon the 24th of February, to the great grief both of burrow and land.

The town of Aberdeen begins to think that this perturbation made at Tartie was upon some ground, and that the Gordons should grow to an head; and therefore, upon Thursday the last of February, began to watch their town, close their ports, and make up their catbands upon all adventures, for their own security; but this did little good, as ye may see hereafter. However, they drill daily in the links, about one hundred and twenty men, and the Covenanters began to hide their goods.

Upon the 1st of March, the earl Marischall returns back from Edinburgh to Aberdeen, and upon the morn, being Saturday, he comes over to the Oldtown, confers with the lord Gordon, who conveys the earl to the bridge of Don, being going to Inverugy; but before he came out of Aberdeen, there came about two hundred and fifty soldiers that samen night he came to Aberdeen, on horse and foot, without any arms, because they were informed that the Gordons were set to plunder them by the way. The earl directs them to march to Dunotter the same Saturday, and their arms were brought about frae Buchan by sea. Their soldiers came from Buchan out of the earl's own grounds, to Aberdeen.

Upon the foressaid 1st of March, provost Lealy returned back frae the convention of estates to Aberdeen. The convention being dissolved, it is said he had got a commission for lifting of this excise for his own profit, and for payment of certain sums of money therefor.

The lord Fraser also, being under fear, caused cast his oats upon unlaboured ground, thereafter to till the samen, rather than to have them in barns or stacks, for fear of plundering. He causes translate his victual of the barony of Stonywood out of the girnels of Watertown by night to Muchalla. He sends and brings his children frae the schools in Aberdeen, and down to Cairnbulg goes he out of the gate, leaving some men to keep the place of Muchalls, with all furnishing necessary.

How soon the earl Marischall comes to Inverugy, he takes his haill insight, plenishing, goods and gear forth thereof, and sends them about by sea to Dunotter, and he sends his children, with some of his servants, before him to Aberdeen, upon the 15th of March, to go before him unto that place; and himself, with his lady and about twenty-four horse, came to Aberdeen upon Wednesday the 20th of March, from Inverugy. He staid all night with his lady in skipper Anderson's house, heard devotion upon the morn, and so to Dunotter, leaving any more taking up of soldiers in this country, or holding of committees in Aberdeen at

this time. The lord Gordon spake with him in the town before he went, and he returned back again home to the Oldtown.

Upon the 7th of March, the earl of Murray rode through the Oldtown home to Murray, who had come frae the south. He staid short while, but returned back again, and left direction and orders with the laird of Grant, his own good-brother, to raise the haill men under two divisions, as ye have before, who conveened at Elgin, as was said, about one thousand foot and horse. Some alledged that this town and county of Elgin was fearing the rising of the Gordons.

Ye heard before of the excise, and an act set out for men and arms, and another act for raising monies. Thir three acts, upon Sunday the 10th of March, after sermon, were read out by Mr. Alexander Wildgoose, reader, at Machar kirk-door. Likeas, Mr. William Strachan, our minister, declared a fast to be kept there, and at all other parish churches, upon Wednesday thereafter, the 13th of March, whilk was solemnly kept in both Aberdeens, fore and afternoon, and no blessing given while after the afternoon's sermon, for both preachings. The cause of this first was, for craving pardon for our sins, and a happy success to our army gone into England; and albeit no means was left unessayed, both Sunday and work-day, for lifting and raising of men and monies; yet betwixt the earl of Marischall, the lord Gordon, and the burrow of Aberdeen, there was but five companies for the shire thereof and shire of Banff at this time. There was a committee holden at Aberdeen the 14th of March, where order was given out to raise the eighth man to send to the army, but there was no more committees holden here thereafter, upon the incoming of the Gordons.

The town of Aberdeen is under great fear, watch day and night, and the ports closed at ten hours, and in the morning opened at six. The provost Lesly causes masterfully take from John Anderson, skipper, his ship, four iron pieces of ordnance, and set them upon the causey, for defence of their town, but they were not long kept there: for he got back his ordnance about the 25th of March, and it was thereafter plundered frae him by the Gordons.

Upon Tuesday the 19th of March, the young laird of Drum, Robert Irvine, his brother, the lairds of Haddo, Gight, Tibbertie, Shethin, the Goodman of Ardlogie, major Nathaniel Gordon, his brother, the Goodman of Iden, with some others, about the number of sixty horse, about seven hours in the morning, came galloping through the Oldtown to New Aberdeen, and suddenly took provost Lesly, Mr. Robert Farquhar, and Alexander Jaffray, late baillies, and John Jaffray, dean of guild, his brother, out of their houses, and had them to skipper Anderson's house. It was said there was plundered out of Alexander Jaffray's house some gold rings and chains, but gat little money; they mist Mr. Alexander Jaffray, for he was not in town. They plundered

the laird of Pittodrie's saddle horse, another from rickmaster Murray, servitor to the lord Gordon, and four other horses. Thereafter they go to horse shortly, and comes back through the Oldtown about ten hours in the morning, with their four captives, and but sixty to their blanket. They rode down through the Gallowgate, and came back up through the Gallowgate, none daring to say it was evil done. Surely it is to be marked, the like seldom has been seen, that so few men so pertly and publicly should have disgraced such a brave burrow, by taking away their provost and the rest, men of note, without any kind of contradiction or obstacle! However, they are brought through the Oldtown, where the laird of Haddo takes his young bairns at the school home, behind some of his servants, and sent them home upon the morn, except his eldest son. They rode through the Lochwynd, drink in Kintore, and lodges all night at Legatsden, and upon the morn, being Wednesday, they were had to Strathboggie. In the meantime, Mr. William Moir, one of the present baillies, was sent away to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, to complain upon this abuse, and crave redress, who went and returned back to Dunotter, for he durst not come to Aberdeen. Mr. Thomas Mercer, Walter Cochran, Alexander Burnet, Mr. Alexander Jaffray, Thomas Montgomery, Thomas Mowat, William Blackburn, and his eldest son, Leonard Lesly, Alexander Lesly, son to provost Lesly, James Collison, and diverse other Covenanters, about forty-eight persons first and last, fled frae the town, and hid their goods the best way they could; some went to Dunotter, some to Stonehaven, some to Montrose, some to Dundee, here and there, through Mearns and Angus. It is said this provost Patrick Lesly, being a commissioner for one of the principal burrows of Scotland, was an evil statesman for the commonweal; for he consented (amongst other evils) to the excise foresaid, for the whilk he got the collection thereof for payment of a certain sum to the estates, greatly tending to his own particular interest; but that he should not be seen herein, he causes draw up a list of burgesses within the town, out of the whilk one man should take up this excise, where Alexander Ramsay, Walter Cochran, and Adam Gordon, were found meetest, three of his own wyling and choice; and out of this three one to be nominate for collecting of this excise, which the provost most politiquely would not take upon himself, as seeming to have no interest thereintil; but sent over to the estates the three men's names, that they might choose out one, and give him orders thereanent; but he was well enough seen, and also interrupted by an unlooked-for stratagem, as ye have heard before. Now, at the taking of our townsmen, the lord Gordon was in the Oldtown, caused draw out his horse out of the stables into the transe, and beheld all.

There came word to Aberdeen of a bloody fight betwixt the

king's men at Newcastle and our army lying there, upon the 14th of March, where our men had the worse.

It is said the earls of Crawford, Montrose, Nithsdale, Traquair, Kinnoul, the viscount of Abeyn, lord Ogilvie, and some others, gave in a remonstrance to both houses of the king's parliament where himself was sitting, at Oxford, whereof the tenor follows :

“ As it cannot be but all good men and loyal subjects are much afflicted with the present lamentable and distracted state of all his majesty's dominions, so we that are his majesty's subjects of the kingdom of Scotland have great reason above all others to be grieved thereat ; for, besides the common resentment that every one born under his majesty ought to have of his undeserved sufferings, and the evils wherewith his kingdoms are so long afflicted, we must be more particularly touched for the honour and reputation of that our native country, that is so deeply wounded by the perfidious treachery of her unnatural brood, whose base and disloyal proceedings reflect upon the whole, as if all were alike guilty of the same ; and no marvel that some be mistaken in this point, when they consider, that all their most treasonable actions are countenanced with publick authority, and so may seem to carry along with them approbation to all. To take off this prejudice, which in the opinion of some (who are strangers to our affairs) may ly upon the general body of our kingdom, so many of us his majesty's faithful servants as are here present, think ourselves bound, for satisfying the world, but especially the honourable members of both houses convened here at this time, of whose justice and wisdom we may expect that they will distinguish faction and nation, and in all results make it appear, to emit a declaration of our judgments concerning the proceedings of that pretended convention of estates in Scotland ; and that, since it may be seen how much we loath and abhor the same, and are resolved never to aver any thing that hath issued from them as an act of any lawful or warrantable judicatory, we do therefore, for ourselves, and in name of all his majesty's faithful subjects of Scotland, that have an hatred and detestation of the said traitorous convention, with all that has followed thereupon, utterly renounce and disclaim the said pretended meeting, as presumptuous and illegal, and called for no other end but sedition and rebellion in that kingdom, with all committees, general and particular, flowing from the same, and all acts, ordinances and decrees, made and given therein ; and especially that act concerning that traitorous and damnable covenant, drawn up and taken betwixt them and the rebels here, which we most heartily detest, and shall never enter therein by force, persuasion, or any other respect whatsoever ; as also all acts and orders authorizing the levying of armies, under colour whereof the present rebellious army is gathered together, which we esteem an act of high treason, and hold ourselves obliged, by virtue of our allegiance and act of pacification, to oppose and withstand. Likewise, we faithfully promise upon our honour, every one of us, to leave no means unattempted to suppress the said rebels, now in arms against his majesty and crown of England, from all the faithful subjects whereof, but especially the honourable members of the two houses here convened, we will expect such countenance, encouragement, and assistance, as will better enable

us thereby, to prevail against their and our enemies; and thereby it may be seen, that they will not suffer those rebels on both sides to go before them, in this present, and leave nothing undone in so bad a cause, to strengthen one another; and because we will take all such of our countrymen who will not join with us in this declaration, and in the course to be taken for the prosecution thereof, for enemies both to his majesty and us; for such of them as are here, it were expedient how to esteem of them, the honourable members of both the houses may be pleased to take into their consideration. Our desire is, that the honourable members of both houses here convened should join with us in a request to his majesty, that what Scotsman soever shall refuse to set his hand to this declaration subscribed by us, may not be permitted to live under his majesty's protection, but be chased from among his majesty's subjects, as partaker, in affection at least, with the odious rebellion of both the kingdoms."

This paper was graciously received by both houses, and the king himself; whereupon followed the raising of arms, to come with their distressed noblemen; (who durst not keep their own country, but fled unto his majesty in England, for aid and support,) against the Covenanters in Scotland, who had their own friends and followers there ready also to assist them; and upon hope of this the king's assistance, surely signified unto the marquis of Huntly, made him and his friends to rise here in the north, as ye shall hereafter hear.

Upon Wednesday the 20th of March, albeit provost Lesly and the rest were taken and had to Strathboggie, as ye have heard, yet the town of Aberdeen kept a strait watch, day and night, and drilled their men in the links; their ports were closed and kept, and their cannons removed off the causeway to the tolbooth. Thus the town is straitly watched to little effect.

It is said the marquis of Huntly had sent to the earl of Findlater for five hundred stand of arms, which he rescued of the king's arms, upon a convenient price, but the earl sent not the arms but money, as was said, to the marquis for them.

Saturday the 23d of March, captain John Forbes, of the family of Blacktown, went out of Aberdeen south to the army, with about sixty soldiers, under the lord Gordon's division.

It is said the lord Gordon, hearing the marquis his father was growing to an head, and coming to Aberdeen, he sent to him the lairds of Strathloch, Federet, and Cultur, with some commission, but it appears got no good answer, and therefore, upon Monday the 25th of March, after dinner in the Oldtown, he lap on about five or six horse, rode to Blackhall, and from that to Murray, leaving his master of household, George Abercrombie, with some servants here behind him in Old Aberdeen, and by the way he compelled William Gordon of Muirake, one of the four collectors of the taxation for the shire of Banff, to give him two thousand merks. He took also from George Geddes, another of the said collectors, one thousand pounds, or thereby, of

taxation and loan money, whereunto he alledged he had good right, for lifting of men under his division in the shire of Banff. Indeed he was put to live upon his purchase, because he would not follow his father's course. Thus he travelled to Banff, to Murray, here and there, while his father lay here in Aberdeen.

About this time, word came to Aberdeen that our army was lying at Sunderland, partly over Tyne, and partly on this side the river; that they were destroyed with great hunger and famine among them, and that they were dying daily.

About this samen time, and 23d of March, the marquis of Argyll came from the army to Scotland, and sitting daily in Edinburgh with the committee of estates, who came to Dunotter, as ye shall hear, to the great sorrow and oppression of thir north parts.

Upon Tuesday the 26th of March, the marquis came frae Strathboggie to Kintore, where his friends and followers meet him; from that he came in the samen night to Aberdeen, with sound of trumpet. About two hundred and forty horse partly came in with him, and partly rode the over gate about forty horse. Himself comes with about an hundred and sixty horse through the Oldtown; there was also about two hundred and fifty footmen in his company. The young laird of Drum, lately married to the marquis' daughter, and Robert Irvine, his brother, were with him; but the old laird of Drum bade still at home, and miskent all. The lairds of Gight, elder and younger, the laird of Haddo, the lairds of Foveran, elder and younger, the laird of Abergeldie, the laird of Newtown, elder, the young laird, with his second son, the laird of Balvenie, the laird of Shethin, the laird of Invermarkie, the laird of Tibbertie, the laird of Fetterneir, younger, and diverse other landed gentlemen, such as the goodman of Cairnburrow, Letterfurie, Arradoul, Ardloggie, and Nathaniel Gordon, his brother, Iden, Harthill, Mr. Thomas Gordon of Pittendrieck, and some of the earl Marischall's men, came out of Kintore also with him to Aberdeen, where he had his entrance peaceably; the ports made open, and the catbands casten loose. He entered in at the Justice Port; rode up through the streets to the Gallowgate, and lighted at Mr. Alexander Reid's house. It is true, the town of Aberdeen was not able to hold him out; albeit he had some friends, yet he had many foes; and it was marked, that first and last there fled out of the town about forty-eight Covenanters, such as Mr. Alexander Jaffray, late provost; Mr. William Moir, present baillie; Alexander Burnet, elder; Walter Cochran, and Alexander Lesly, son to provost Lesly, and Leonard Lesly, son to Gilbert Lesly.

The marquis left the four captives at Strathboggie, who were transported therefrae to Auchindown upon the 2d of April, viz. provost Lesly, Mr. Robert Farquhar, Alexander and John Jaffrays. The old goodman of Birkenburn was captain, who with

sixteen soldiers kept the house and captives both upon their own expences, so that they not only sustained themselves, but this captain also, sixteen soldiers, porters, cooks, and other inferior officers, upon their own charges and expences, right after the samen order as the marquis himself was used in the castle of Edinburgh, as ye may read before; and so he could not be blamed justly to do as himself was done to. The marquis gave strict orders that no wrong should be done within the Newtown or Oldtown, but live upon their own expences and wages.

Wednesday the 27th of March, he goes to a council of war in the lower council-house of the town, where it was concluded that he should go through the north with a flying army of horse and foot, and make the country people to rise and follow him, or otherwise to plunder their goods, and live upon their estates. He also took notice of the barons and gentry, how many men they would furnish, and upon their own expences sustain them so long as he remained in Aberdeen. He sent the laird of Feveran commissioner to Dunotter to the earl Marischall, to see what would be his part, as was thought; who answered, he minded not to stir unless he was compelled thereto.

Upon Thursday the 28th of March he goes to council again; sends for the townsmen, and desires them to bring their arms, whilk (suppose some were well willed to do) for plain fear of the Covenanters they refused; whereupon the marquis directed to search and seek houses, and plunder all such arms as they could get, whilk they did, and got sundry good arms, muskets, hagbutts, swords, carabines, pistols, spears, jacks, coralets, powder, ball, and the like. Then he permitted the town's people to go home to their houses. He directed also the laird of Haddo and James Gordon of Letterfurie to go to Torry, with a rate of musketeers, and bring back John Anderson's four pieces of ordnance off of his ship lying in the water, with such other arms as they could get. Thereafter, the marquis goes to horse with about twelve horse, leaving behind the young laird of Drum, Gight, Haddo, and diverse others, to keep the town; where for a time I will continue this progress, whilk I make manifest the marquis of Huntly's reasons of his thus rising and procedure, as is contained in his own declarations set out to that effect; whilk copied is this:—

*“16th March, 1644.*

“I, George Marquis of Huntly: Whereas the Committee of Estates hath (without his majesty's approbation) directed the sheriffs of Aberdeen and Banff for seizing upon my person, houses, rents, and goods, contrary not only to the established order of law, which requireth all men to be legally accused before they be condemned, and to be criminally condemned ere any such commission be directed against them; but also reflecting upon his majesty's subjects their lawful privileges of this kingdom, no less than the late published act for the collecting of an unusual excise, and for enforcing a general loan of monies



throughout the country, and finding some stop in the execution of this commission by those who were entrusted therewith, have now prepared some forces from the south, whereby to press their designs against me, for no other cause but that I refuse to concur with them in the levy of men and money; for assisting the present invasion of England, contrary to my conscience, incompatible with my humble loyalty to our gracious sovereign, and so destructive to the late pacification, solemnly ratified by his majesty, and parliaments of both kingdoms, as no honest Christian (being of this my opinion) can willingly condescend to be contained in it. Therefore I, the said George Marquis of Huntly, do hereby declare and protest, that (if in that just defence of myself and friends from these unlawful violences, or in the repairing of them according to our weak abilities) any acts of hostility shall be committed by us against our invaders, and their confederates and abettors, they may not be imputed unto us, otherwise than as payment of the debts we owe to nature, loyalty, and honour, and to which no lower interest could enforce us; which being, as I hope, a sufficient evidence to all the world of my fair intentions for rendering the sincere and humble duties I owe to religion, his majesty's honour and safety, and to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, I humbly entreat and expect approbation from all good men in this so equitable and so necessitate a case; withal imploring (upon my bended knees) such heavenly assistance from God Almighty, and such earthly protection from the king's majesty, against all enemies of peace and loyalty, as in their mercy and justice may seem fit."

Follows another declaration of the said marquis of Huntly, 20th March, 1644:—

"I, George Marquis of Huntly: Whereas since my declaration of the 16th of this month, the seizing upon the persons of Patrick Lenly, provost of Aberdeen, Mr. Robert Farquhar, collector for the north parishes of this kingdom of the present taxation, imposed upon his majesty's subjects by the Committee of Estates, Alexander Jaffray, baillie, and John Jaffray, dean of guild, hath fallen out; and that the intentions of me, the said Marquis of Huntly, and of my friends who have been actors therein, may perhaps be misconceived by some who knew them not, or misinterpreted by others who are disaffected to them, find myself obliged, in my own name and theirs who have been actors, as said is, hereby to declare, that it hath been done so far from any private end, that neither particular spleen against the parties, nor any vanity in ourselves, hath moved us to it; but only in regard that the foresaid persons are too well known to have been sedulous fomenters of a dangerous distraction amongst us, by countenancing and assisting some men unhappily diverted, in their neglect of the duties they owe both to conscience, loyalty, and nature, and by menacing others under their jurisdiction from rendering those lawful civilities which ought to be expected from them, and all for making us obnoxious to the rigours of other men, to whose ends they concur, whilk if they should be effectuated, could not but ruin us, and perhaps leave no great safety to themselves. For preventing of which, we have been necessitate to endeavour the removal of such obstacles as ly in our proposed way for maintaining our conscience toward God, our loyalty towards our gracious sovereign, and our particular lives and

fortunes from destruction. And for verifying that our intentions are only for peace, I the said George Marquis of Huntly, and my friends above-specified, do further declare, that upon assurance given of no violence to be used against us and our adherents, in our persons nor fortunes, for not rendering obedience unto any new act, until such time as it shall be ratified in parliament, not only shall the fonsaid persons seised be restored to their liberties, but we shall likewise be ready and willing to give such security for legal and peaceable carriage as the laws of the kingdom do require."

Here may be seen the reasons of his rising and taking our townsmen. Besides, he was now confident of the assistance of sundry noblemen; such as the earls of Airly, Southesk, Athol, Seaforth, and diverse others south and north, frae he came to an head; and likewise had the assurance of the incoming out of England of the earls of Montrose, Crawford, Kinnoul, Nithsdale, the viscount of Aboyn, the lord Ogilvie, and some others, with forces; and they to have gone on upon the south and west parts of Scotland, with their own friends that they could raise, and he being up was able to subdue the north with his own power and friends, and stand out, looking surely that no power from the south should come against him, because they should have their hands full at home, as I have said.

Now, upon thir grounds and assurances, before all, of the king's favour, and letters patent, for raising of fire and sword, and daily looking for them, this noble marquis draws to an head, as I have said, makes a band disclaiming the last covenant, obliging ilk man by his sworn oath to serve the king in this expedition, to the hazard of life, land, and goods, against all opposers of the samen, and to follow his majesty's deputes and lieutenants, whom he would appoint to have charge. This band himself and his friends sware and subscribed first, and such as came in to him daily did the like, the success whereof hereafter may appear; where I will cease for a time, and begin where I left off, at the taking of the ordnance off of John Anderson's ship and arms out of Torry, and how the marquis rode out of Aberdeen. Upon Thursday the 28th of March, he lighted by the gate at Kintore, and took a drink; syne went to horse, but unhappily a brave gentleman, called Patrick Dalgarno, biding behind him at Kintore, riding the water, happened to perish; to the great grief of the marquis and all his company. The marquis rides forward to Strathboggie.

The earl Marischall, contrary to the marquis' expectation, upon Friday the 29th of March, had a meeting with the committee of Angus and Mearns, where Mr. William Moir also was, after he had returned from the committee of estates at Edinburgh, as ye have before, from whom he had received orders, after he had given in his complaint, how the Gordons had taken their provost and other townsmen, and that himself with many others were forced to flee the town; and surely the committee of

estates began quickly to drill up an army for repressing thir up-roars, who came to Aberdeen, as ye shall hear. Mr. William Moir comes back frae Edinburgh to Dunotter, and was at this meeting in the Mearns, but durst not come to Aberdeen.

About this time, the country of Murray began to be feared at the rising of the Gordons, and therefore they held their committees daily at Elgin, and began to draw up forces.

Likewise, about this time, Lewis Gordon, the marquis' third son, happened to come to Edinburgh, where he met with his sister the lady Haddington, but he was apprehended, and forced to set caution not to go out of the town, while the marquis of Argyll came to the town of Edinburgh; but when the marquis of Huntly heard this, he took little thought of him, for he had not seen him since he went away with his jewels. He remained in free ward within the town of Edinburgh for a while, and when Argyll came he was put to liberty, of whom ye have sundry passages hereafter noted.

Now, while as the marquis rode from Aberdeen, the drum went through both Aberdeens, desiring all gentlemen and soldiers that was willing to serve in defence of our religion, and oath of allegiance to our king, and liberties of our country, that they should come to the laird of Drum younger, and receive good pay; whereupon diversæ daily took on.

The lairds of Haddo, Shethin, and Tibberty, rode from Aberdeen with about twenty horse, and eighty musketeers. They plundered some arms out of Turriff, Towie Barclay, and took the laird of Meldrum and his horse, with many others. Young Drum rode out and plundered his own cousin, John Irvine of Kincausie's arms out of Aquorthies, and James Burnett of Craigmyle's arms out of Blackhills. There was likewise plundered from some honest men about the town, work nags to be baggage horse, and sundry other gentlemen's horse and arms plundered in the country. Mr. Thomas Mitchell, parson of Turriff's horse was plundered; they took the laird of Meldrum upon Sunday, at the kirk of Bethelnie, and brought him in to the marquis, where, upon conditions, he gat liberty home, for he was a precise puritan, and would not follow the marquis.

Upon Thursday the 4th of April, there was a singular combat betwixt the lairds of Haddo and Elsieck, both cousins-german, upon the hill of Tulliegrig; where they fought for the first blood, whilk Haddo lost, and Elsieck was victor; and so they parted.

Ye heard before how the marquis rode out of Aberdeen. He returned upon Wednesday the 3d of April to the town, and lighted at Mr. Alexander Reid's house, his own lodging; and at his lighting there came four commissioners to him, two from the committee of Angus, viz. William Durham of Grange of Monyfeith, and Francis Ogilvie of Newgrange; and two from the committee of the Mearns, viz. the lord Halkertown and

James Barnet of Craigmyle. The occasion of the coming of thir commissioners proceeded thus: The marquis of Huntly hearing there was a gathering both in Mearns and Angus, he thought it meet to send to thir committees John Gordon of Invermarkie, to signify unto them the cause of his rising was for defence of his person and of his friends, their goods and gear, from the invasion of the estates, who were to raise arms against him, as they had given before commission to the sheriffs of Banff and Aberdeen to take him unjustly and illegally, and abuse his friends; that he had no intention to offend or injure any man, but only seeking peace and security; so that Mearns nor Angus need not be offended nor afraid, since, if he were necessitate to ride through their country, he should do no wrong, unless he was forced thereto. Now the committees of Angus and Mearns (where the earl Marischall sat daily) hearing this commission, they sent back with the said John Gordon of Invermarkie the four commissioners above-written, to deliver their answer to the said marquis; whilk was, desiring him to disband his forces, and to make no more gatherings, and they should do the like, that the countries might rest in peace. To whom the marquis answered, he was compelled for his own defence to draw to an head, and had no reason at their desire to leave off, at his own seeing prejudice and peril, but it was more fitting for them, who were in no danger, to dissolve their gatherings, and let the country be in quiet, because he had no mind to molest any within their countries, and said he should send sir Walter Innes of Balveny, knight, and William Gordon of Arradoul, with them to the said committees, to declare his mind further.

Thus the four commissioners took their leave, lodged in Old Aberdeen, and upon Friday the 5th of April, rode with the other two altogether to Cowie, where the committees of Angus and Mearns both held at this time, with about eight hundred men of both shires, where the earls of Marischall and Kinghorn, the lord Arbuthnot, with many other barons, were there convened also; the commissioners declared the marquis' mind, which contented not their minds, nor did good to the marquis, for the earl Marischall did nothing but by advice of the committee of estates, who directed him and the committees both of Angus and Mearns, to hold the marquis under trysting, while they should raise up forces to go upon him, whilk surely came to pass, and so his unhappy trusting them stayed him from going upon Angus and Mearns, and to have driven them from drawing to an head, while he had looked better about him; and surely was sore against the will and liking of his hail friends, who loved not such fruitless delays, and feared the thing that came to pass; but the marquis would hear no good council of his true friends, but followed his own opinion, which did him no good.

It was reasoned by diverse, that the marquis unhappily and

unwisely brake loose, without any farther friendship in the country; for the Forbeses and the Frasers, with many barons in Buchan, Mar, and Garioch, were against him, at least would not rise with him; and that he wanted monies, arms, ammunition, powder and ball, without which in abundance he could not long subsist against the power of the contrary party; others said, as for monies, the marquis had an hundred thousand pounds to sustain such soldiers as he wanted; and as for the barons, ilk baron should sustain his own men, and ilk gentleman should sustain himself; and as for arms, powder, and ball, there was enough to be got in burrow and land; and if any want were, there was victual girmelled in store, to help to find the soldiers, by way of plundering; and further, that the marquis might well defend himself, seeing there was an army coming out of England, with the earls of Montrose, Crawford, and Nithe-dale, and whilk would give the southland men enough ado, and stop their coming here; besides this, the marquis had assurance of diverse earls, lords, and barons, to rise and assist him; but all thir arguments misgave this noble marquis; for the earls came in, and were dung back again, and such as he trusted in deceived him, and fled the cause, and left him in the mire, as ye shall hear; others say they were not dung back, but recalled.

Ye heard how the marquis lighted at Mr. Alexander Reid's house; he came from Aboyn, where he had many highlandmen and footmen there, and in the country about, attending his service, and came into Aberdeen about two hundred horse and about eight hundred foot, which were reckoned in the links when they were drilled, but they came not all in with himself at this time. He had few commanders beside himself, crowner King and major Nathaniel Gordon. James Grant was also one, and major Hay; he caused quarter his soldiers upon their own charges, and began to exercise them in drilling them in the links daily; he went out and caused ding down some houses besouth the bridge of Dee, and made safeguards upon the one and the other.

Upon Saturday the 6th of April, Robert Irvine causes take the place of Durvis, pertaining to the lord Fraser, and set soldiers to keep the girmels untransported. They lived upon his molt and sheep, and other commodities; but the girmels were not broken upon, whereof there was eighteen score bolls in girmels, and at last they shamefully left the samen at the incoming of the army, as ye may see hereafter.

Sunday the 7th of April the marquis came over to the Oldtown, and heard Mr. William Strachan our minister teach; dined in George Middleton's house; syne after the afternoon's sermon he returned to his own lodging in Aberdeen.

Now nothing but plundering of horse and arms of such as stand out, to the great grief of the country, following the footsteps and oppression of major Monro, as ye have before. The

lord Forbes flees with Glenkindy and other friends to Kildrummie; the lord Fraser goes to Cairnbulg; the laird of Craigievar takes to Craigievar, and transports his hail victuals of Fintray to the place, there to be kept from plundering; the lairds of Beht and Skene take in Skene; the laird of Talquhon takes in Talquhon; the laird of Watertown takes in Watertown; and the laird of Kermuck keeps his house of Kermuck; the tutor of Pitsligo keeps Pitsligo; the laird of Philorth keeps Philorth; and the laird of Monymusk keeps Monymusk; but how soon the army came in, they took the fields and left their houses. Thus the name of Forbes closes up themselves in strengths, to save their persons and houses from plundering by the Gordons, for they would on nowise rise with them.

Upon Friday the 5th of April, the marquis sent over to the laird of Cluny's house, and took fifty pikes out thereof to this service; likewise the laird of Drum younger sent over for Dr. Guild's saddle-horses, whilk he durst not refuse.

This samen Friday, Nathaniel Gordon went to the road of Aberdeen, with about twenty musketeers, and took a hark loaded with herrings, pertaining to the kingdom of Denmark; the hark was taken by an English pirate, with another hark also of that samen nation, by virtue of a letter of marque given out to some of their ships, to take such ships as pertained to Denmark and to Ireland also. Now this hark loaded with herrings being thus taken, the Englishman has the one following her, causes take off some men off her, and put in the ship as many of their men, (as seafaring fashion is) that she should not go from her. This hark, I say, comes through change of wind to the road of Aberdeen, whom the said Nathaniel, or major Nathaniel Gordon took, and brings into the harbour of Aberdeen, and after trial takes the Englishmen, and wards them in Aberdeen. The pirate who had taken this prize, missing her, came to the road of Aberdeen, and set ashore the pilot and skipper, to try if she came to the harbour; but upon the 6th of April, they were taken and warded with the rest; but rather more truly, it was not the men of the pirate, but two men of another parliamentary warrior ship of England, who came on land as said is, having nothing ado with the herring prize. This ship seeing their skipper and pilot not come aboard, they apprehended they were taken, whereupon they hoisted sail and go about the nook; but upon Monday the 8th of April she returns to this road, took three of our fisher's boats with twenty-four men, chased other two in at Don-mouth with her cock boat, and another north. She landed also at Belhelvie, and took two bolls of malt from the countrymen, carrying it to the town, and had the samen aboard their ship. The marquis was very angry, because he had commanded the fishers that they should not go to sea, lest they should be taken, and he should sustain them lying upon land; but foolishly they went on, whereby the marquis' expectation

was disappointed, thinking, for setting thir two men to liberty, to have gotten some cast pieces out of their ship. Always she lies still at anchor, and shot all day diverse great shots on land, but did no skaith. The fisher-wives wanting their men, ran crying upon the marquis, who in end sent James Brown, skipper in Aberdeen, with a letter frae their skipper and pilot, desiring them to set ashore the fishermen, and the malt, and keep this skipper Brown while they came to their ship, whilk was done; and ilk ane got their own, set up sails, and to the sea goes she without more trouble. In the meantime the English pirate, who had taken the herring bark, hearing that she was taken and had into Aberdeen, she unhappily lights upon skipper Walker his bark, one of our town's sailors, anent Peterhead, upon the 11th of April, coming from Caithness to Aberdeen, loadened with salt beef, tallow, skin hides, and such commodities pertaining to Caithness merchants. They tirred skipper Walker out of his cloaths, and clad him in rags, and set him on shore, who in a pitiful manner comes to Aberdeen, and told the marquis, shewing he could not get his ship nor goods again, while his prize of herring was restored, being his lawful prize taken from the Danes, by virtue of a letter of marque, as said is; whereat the marquis was highly offended for the honest man's loss, but could not help him. Upon the back of this, comes to the road, upon the 16th of April, this samen pirate, and chases our haill fisher boats, and sets ashore two of their own men, declaring, since their prize of herring was taken, they would content themselves with skipper Walker's ship (which was valued at twenty thousand merks, and far above the herring prize) and keep her, and let Aberdeen keep the herring bark, and go their way, without more offence, providing they would send their men aboard whilk they had warded in Aberdeen, and receive their herring men, which they had taken from their ship; which was agreed upon; ilk ship received her own men, and to the sea goes he, having still skipper Walker's ship fast, to the great grief and overthrow of the honest man. The Danes get back their own bark, with such herrings as major Nathaniel Gordon had left unsold, and the marquis reproved the said Nathaniel very bitterly for taking of the said herring without his command, breeding also sic great fear and skaith to our coastside. Whereat this Nathaniel Gordon was so angry, that he hastily took his leave, and left the marquis' service, as ye shall hereafter hear.

Sunday the 7th of April, the marquis heard devotion before and after noon here in Old Aberdeen; Mr. William Strachan preached; syne dined 'in George Middleton's house, and returned back to his lodging in New Aberdeen.

Monday the 8th of April, our town's people were commanded to muster in the links. The marquis viewed them, and saw them a silly weak people, wanting arms; albeit he resolved to take thirty-five persons and arm them himself, but yet he took

not one man out of the Oldtown. Thereafter he went out to the bridge of Dee, and caused big up safeguards at ilk end of the said bridge, to no purpose.

Upon Tuesday the 9th of April, James Grant, with his highlandmen, and diverse companies of lowlandmen, were sent out to plunder and spoilzie the place of Kemnay, pertaining sometime to umquhile sir Thomas Crombie, a faithful servant to the house of Huntly, and to his name, where they brake up gates and doors, gat six thousand merks of money, spoilzied and destroyed the haill plenishing, plundering his girnells and ground rigorously. They did the like to Pittodrie, plundering sheep off Bennochie, and the grounds and lands of Mounie, pertaining to Mr. Robert Farquhar, and through the country they went, plundering likewise arms and horse wheresoever they could be gotten, to the wreck and hairship of the land ; following the Covenanters' footsteps, that began the plundering in Scotland.

About this time, there was found swimming upon the loch of Aberdeen, powder rolled in balls, which had been casten there, lest the marquis should have got the samen. Great trial was made, but none of the persons found.

Word came also of a bloody battle foughten upon the 14th of March, betwixt the king's men and our Scots army, where we had the worst, and that the marquis of Argyll had left the army, and come by sea to Edinburgh.

There were parties sent down to Banff and Buchan, where Auchnagatt, pertaining to the laird of Glenkindy, his girnells, goods, and grounds, were pitifully plundered ; his brother, Patrick Strachan of Kinaldie, was plundered and spoilzied in his bigging, victual, and all ; syne took himself prisoner, and had him to Kelly, where he remained upon his own expences. There went down to Banff, the lairds of Gight, Newtown, and Ardlogie, with a party of forty horse and musketeers, brave gentlemen. They took in the town without contradiction, meddled with the keys of the tolbooth, took free quarters, and plundered all the arms they could get, buff coats, pikes, swords, carabines, pistols, yea, and money also. They took frae Alexander Winchester, one of the baillies, seven hundred merks, whilk he had as one of the collectors of the taxations and loan-silver of Banff ; and siclike took frae him four hundred merks of his own gear ; and frae — Shand in Down, they plundered some monies. They caused their baillies (for Dr. Douglas their provost had fled) and townsmen subscribe and swear the band, denying the last covenant, and obliging them to follow the king and his deputes in his service, as ye have before. They took also frae George Geddes, another of the said four collectors, five hundred merks of taxation and loan-silver ; and Gight kept all the monies.

Thereafter they rode to Muireask, pursued the place, and being rendered, they took the laird with them, syne returned to Inver-



erie, where they met with the marquis, as ye have hereafter. They plundered nothing out of the earl Marischall's ground in Buchan.

Upon the 10th of April, the marquis craves the roll of taxation of eighteen thousand four hundred merks imposed by the estates upon the town of Aberdeen, from Mr. Patrick Chalmers, their town-clerk, who was loath to give the samen without command of the council, but the marquis alledged he had as good right to lift the samen as the estates, and took order therewith, as ye shall hear.

Upon the 11th of April, he lap on with eighty horse, and rode from Aberdeen to Strathboggia. Upon Saturday, he returned to Inverurie, where many of his friends met him, footmen and highlandmen; the lairds of Gight, Newtown, and their companies came there, and were estimate to about two thousand five hundred men, whereof there was four hundred horse. He missed some of the Strathboggie men uncome there, whereupon he directed M'Ronald to go plunder and bring them in. At this meeting the tutor of Struan came out of Athol with about sixty footmen to the marquis; he stayed at Inverurie Saturday and Sunday, and lodged in unquhile William Fergusson's house, and his men were quartered within and about the town.

Upon Monday the 15th of April, he returned, about six hours at even, to Aberdeen; he caused make some ensigns, where upon ilk side was drawn a red rampant lion, having a crown of gold, above his head a C. R. for Charles Rex, having the motto, "For God, the king, and against all traitors;" and beneath, "God save the king." There were diverse others made for the barons. The marquis and his followers wore a black taffata about their craig, whilk was a sign to fight to the death; but it proved otherwise.

Upon Sunday the 14th of April (by ordinance of the committee of the kirk or general assembly at Edinburgh) the marquis of Huntly, the laird of Drum, younger, Robert Irvine, his brother, the laird of Haddo, the laird of Shethin, the laird of Tibbertie, Thomas Hay, servitor to Haddo, and Mr. James Kennedy, secretary to the marquis, were all excommunicate at St. Giles' kirk in Edinburgh, and ordained the next ensuing Sunday to be excommunicate (although Pasch-day) throughout all the rest of the kirks of Scotland.

This is to be noted, that this committee of the kirk, without citation, probation, process, or sentence, according to their own discipline of kirk, went on most maliciously to excommunicate this nobleman and some of his friends without lawful process or any reason, but for his loyalty to his master the king, doing all they could to make him odious in the sight of the people; but the marquis wisely beheld all. See the very act of the committee of the general assembly made thereanent.

Upon Tuesday the 16th of April, the marquis caused carry to

Strathboggie two of John Anderson's ship cart-pieces to stock, as was said, and that samen day convened the council of Aberdeen and hail inhabitants, commanding them against Saturday next to provide their taxation of fourteen thousand four hundred marks. The baillies answered, the people would in nowise pay the samen, except they themselves gave their hand to the town's people to warrant them from paying of the samen over again, which they said they could not do, as a matter tending to their wreck, if the town were put at again by the estates. The marquis answered, if the town would receive two hundred and fifty soldiers, and further as necessity required, upon free quarters, and they to be paid out of the common good for their entertainment, he would hold them; whereunto the town condescended, thinking it the best way, rather than to pay out the taxation altogether. So they gat, upon the 18th of April, two hundred and forty soldiers on free quarters, and thereafter, upon the 24th of April, two hundred and eighty more, making in the hail, five hundred and twenty soldiers, whilk the treasurer of Aberdeen gat compt of, to sustain upon free quarters. The said treasurer of Aberdeen was commanded to pay the charges of thir soldiers to the town's people who entertained them, besides the marquis entertaining upon his own expences his own men of Strathboggie, Strathaven, and Enzie. Likewise the burrows sustained their own men whom they had brought in, and ilk gentleman freeholder did the like as long as their monies lasted; and when they wanted, they were forced to take free quarters with the rest in Aberdeen. The marquis himself debursed above five hundred marks daily upon his own soldiers, which drew to much money, whereof it is said he had about one hundred thousand pounds when he began, lying beside him in ready money, which shortly was consumed.

The town of Aberdeen began to repent them of their bargain, thinking it better to have paid the taxation than to sustain soldiers daily as they came in upon free quarters, if they continued long.

However, the marquis was forced to take Aberdeen as the fittest part for his rendezvous, and for their better ease, daily sent out parties to plunder girnels of those who would not come in to him; amongst whom, the laird of Lesly's girnels in Banchory, and the laird of Udney's girnels, such as was left uncarried to Urie was plundered out of Banchory, and this was done upon the 16th of April.

There was found yearded in Mr. Robert Farquhar's close, two fine brazen pieces, pertaining to the lord Sinclair, whilk the marquis meddled with about this time in Aberdeen, and was glad of the getting thereof.

Tuesday the 16th of April was the day of the provincial assembly at Aberdeen; but the ministers in thir troublesome times durst not keep the samen, for fear of plundering their horse; but

such of the brethren as convened continued this assembly to Tuesday the 14th of May, whilk was kept, as ye may see after.

There came word to Aberdeen upon Wednesday the 17th of April, that the lord Elcho was come to Dundee, with eight hundred Fifemen; that the earls of Kinghorn and Southesk and others had raised eight hundred men; that the marquis of Argyll had raised out of Perthshire eight hundred men; and that there was coming out of Argyll one thousand men; by and attour eight hundred men coming out of Ireland, and of the earl of Lothian and laird of Lauder's regiments; and that the earl Marischall and viscount Arbuthnot had raised out of the Mearns five hundred men, and were drawing hastily to an head against the marquis of Huntly, his friends and followers; and that there were committees daily at Forfar for Angus, and at Fordoun for the Mearns, whilk over truly came to pass; but the marquis seemed to take little heed thereof, albeit his kin was more forwardly set, whereupon followed sorrow, shame, and skaith.

Now the marquis being informed of this preparation, caused warn by sound of trumpet at the cross of Aberdeen, all such as had gotten his protection to meet him at Inverurie the 18th of April; with certification his protection should be null. He appointed major Hay, with some troops and foot, to keep Aberdeen, and upon the foresaid 17th of April rides from Aberdeen to Inverurie; his goodson, Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, with about forty horse, followed him in the afternoon. He rode through the Oldtown, having two colours, one having the king's arms, the other having the Irvine's arms; the marquis at his lighting caused quarter his men there convened at Inverurie, Kintore, and Muchalls. Himself stayed Wednesday and Thursday at umquhile William Fergusson's house in Inverurie; he directed out Donald Farquharson, M'Ronald the tutor of Struan, with their followers and some lowland footmen, and about two hundred and forty persons, to attend some horse troops going upon an expedition into Angus, and so left Inverurie and came back again to Aberdeen upon Friday the 19th of April.

Upon Saturday, he caused drill up in the links such men as he had within the town, estimate to about an hundred and sixty horse, and betwixt seven and eight hundred foot; and about four afternoon, the marquis returned from the links to the town, and immediately thereafter, Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, Robert Irvine, his brother (who had engaged themselves in this business against their father's will, as was said), — Gordon of Gight, younger; John Gordon, his father's brother; John Gordon of Ardloggie; major Nathaniel Gordon; — Urquhart of Craighouse; William Innes of Tibbertie; Alexander Irvine of Kincausie, and some others, rode that samen night out of Aberdeen up Dee-side, about seventy-two horse, commanders and all. They gave orders to the footmen foresaid, and upon Monday the 22d of April, they past all over Dee, intending only to go to

Montrose, and take the two brazen cartows lying there, whilk was most dangerous and desperate in respect of a gathering of Fordoun and another at Forfar, and others before specified. However, forward they went, being of all foot and horse about three hundred men, and upon Wednesday the 24th of April, by two hours in the morning, with sound of trumpet they came to the town, who had set on fires in their steeple, to waken the country, and were in arms themselves, and rang the common bell; but all for nought. They boldly entered Montrose, dang the town's people from the causey to their houses, who out of their forestairs shot desperately, but they were forced to yield by many fearful shots shot against them, where unhappily Alexander Paterson, one of their baillies, was slain, some say by Nathaniel Gordon, others hold by a highlandman, whom the baillie also slew. Thereafter, it was said, they intended to ship thir cartows in a ship lying in Montrose water, pertaining to Alexander Burnett, his son, who happened to be there, and had promised no less, being an Anti-covenanter; but, by this Burnett's knowledge, James Scot, now provost of Montrose, with certain of his neighbours, had quietly convoyed themselves, with their best goods, into the said ship. When she began to float, she draws near the shore, where young Drum and his men were thinking to ship thir cartows, according to Alexander Burnett's promise foresaid, and to have had them about by sea to Aberdeen; but far by their expectation this ship shot five or six pieces of ordnance desperately amongst them, with about forty muskets, where, by the great providence of God, there was but only two men killed, and some hurt. Drum seeing this, they retired themselves, brake the wheels of the cartows, for more they could not do; yet break them they might, and throw them over the shore to make them unserviceable; but they were brought to Aberdeen, as ye have hereafter.

Drum returns to the town and begins to break up merchants' booths, plunder and cruelly spoilzie rich merchandize, cloaths, silks, velvets, and other costly wares, silver, gold, and silver work, arms, and other things, whereat the highlandmen were not slow. They brake up a pipe of Spanish wine, and drank heartily; they took Patrick Leighton, late provost, and Andrew Gray, prisoners; they left Montrose in a woful case about afternoon, and that samen night went to Cortachie, to meet with the earl of Airly, who hearing of the marquis of Argyll's coming, would not give them entry, contrary to their expectation. They returned therefrae to Aberdeen; but by the way there was taken thirty-two highlandmen, some say fifty-two, who had unwisely bidden behind the rest, plundering the Montrose goods, and were taken and shackled and sent to Edinburgh, to pay for their faults. Major Gordon came back to Aberdeen upon Sunday the 28th of April, and young Drum went to the place thereof, to see his lady. Patrick Leighton and Andrew Gray came in with ma-

jer Gordon, who declared the great forces that was gathering, and that the marquis of Argyll was come to Dunotter quietly, whilk was over true. It is here to be noted, that notwithstanding the many shots shot within the town and out of the ship, yet it pleased God that few was killed of Drum's side, except two or three persons; marvellous to see!—and as few to the other side, except Alexander Paterson, baillie, who was shot by Nathaniel Gordon. Their intention was to have shipped the cartows within the fore-said ship, to be brought about when she came with her loading to Aberdeen, but they got a cruel assault, and were mightily disappointed. The tutor of Struan, with some highlandmen, did brave service with their short guns. It is said that Drum caused raise fire two several times in Montrose, yet major Gordon still quenched and put out the samen.

After this ungodly and grievous oppression, the young laird of Drum returned, as I have said, not with the body of a well-governed army, as he went on, but ilk ane after another straggling; and upon Saturday the 27th of April he came to Aberdeen, where the marquis was lying still, to his great unhap, shame, and disgrace.

Ye heard of the marquis of Argyll's coming to Dunotter. He came quietly, with about thirty-two horse, upon the 26th of April, attending there the coming of the Perthshire men, and of the earl of Lothian and laird of Lare's regiment coming out of Ireland, of whom ye shall hear more shortly. The lord Forbes and the master of Forbes, his son, sir William Forbes of Craigievar, Alexander Strachan of Glenkindy, Forbes of Echt, Skene of that ilk, Forbes of Lesly, Calder of Asloun, Forbes of Tolquhen, Forbes of Watertown, John Kennedy of Kermuck, Forbes, tutor of Pitligo, and sundry others, such as Andrew lord Fraser, Fraser of Philorth, and sir William Forbes of Monymusk, who had tane themselves to strengths, come now to the fields; but the lord Forbes, master of Forbes, Craigievar, Glenkindy, Echt, Skene, and some others, went to the committees of Angus and Mearns before the coming of Argyll, and the rest kept their houses.

Upon Sunday the 21st of April, the marquis heard sermon in Old Aberdeen before and after noon, dined in George Middleton's. There came over a guard out of the town, about sixty musketeers, with prisoners, and two colours, a drum and a bagpipe. They attended the marquis' lodging, syne returned back, and the marquis following upon horseback to Aberdeen.

John Kennedy of Kermuck, a main Covenanter, was in April first plundered by Robert Irvine, the laird of Drum's son, where his best horse and some arms were taken frae him; thereafter sir John Gordon of Haddo plundered some work-horse frae his poor tenants. He would eat none of Kermuck's meat, but bade with Mr. Andrew Leach, minister, ate at his table, and lay in the place of Kermuck all night. His soldiers lay in Ellon, who

got meat from the place, and cast in a little stack of bear for their horsemen. They stayed there twenty-four hours, syne rode their ways.

Patrick Strachan of Kinaldie at this samen time was plundered and tane captive, syne had to Kelly, because he would not pay the said sir John Gordon a fine; but frae Kelly he was transported to Towie, where he fairly wan away.

Upon Wednesday the 24th of April, the marquis sent sir John Turing of Foveran quietly to Dunotter, commissioner to the earl Marischall. He upon the morn returned timeously to the marquis, with an answer not to his contentment, whilk bred a sudden alteration.

Now nothing but plundering of poor men's work-horses, and forced to redeem their own beasts back again by payment of money, and glad to get them so. There was a naig plundered frae the parson of Belhelvie, and another frae the chamberlain.

Alexander Gordon of Prasmuir leaves the marquis' service, and goes to the lord Gordon, who had few before of the name of Gordon, except James Gordon of Rothemay and John Gordon of Park, and was about thirty-two horse in all his company. This Alexander Gordon was married to provost Patrick Lesly's daughter, who wrought upon the lord Gordon and some others to get the prisoners out of Auchindown, by whose persuasion he rides and charges — Gordon of Birkenburn, captain of Auchindown, to render him the house, because his father the marquis was fled and away. He answered, he had no warrant from him to render his house, and while he saw himself he would keep it, and shortly shot out some hagbutts, and brake ground before him, but did no more skaith; whereupon the lord Gordon left the house. This happened upon the — day of April.

The earls of Montrose, Crawford, Nithsdale, Traquair, Kin-noul, Carnwarth, the viscount of Aboyn, and lord Ogilvie, came with a company of horse and foot to Dumfries in this samen month of April, but did no vassalage, and upon their own reasons hastened back to Carlisle. In the meantime, James Lesly, son to John Lesly of Pitcaple, — Ruthven, and other three gentlemen sitting carelessly drinking behind the company in Dumfries, were suddenly taken, had to Edinburgh, and straitly warded in the tolbooth thereof, but they were relieved afterwards.

Upon Saturday afternoon the 27th of April, there was forty-four soldiers pertaining to William Seton of Shethin, Mr. James Buchan of Auchmacoy, and James Seton of Pitmedden, who lay in Aberdeen till Wednesday thereafter, upon the charges of the poor Oldtown people.

Sunday the 28th of April, the marquis heard devotion in Old Aberdeen, dined in George Middleton's house, wrote missive letters in the time of the afternoon's sermon. He had a guard

with one colour attending upon him, but neither drum nor pipe, as before. He returned back to Aberdeen to his lodging.

Upon Monday the 29th of April, the marquis' friends begin to grudge and murmur at his delays, seeing his enemies grow to a great number, and his forces daily decreasing and growing fewer and fewer, and desired him hastily to go to Angus and the Mearns, and break their forces, otherwise they were all lost. He heard all, and went to a council of war, where the marquis alledged, if he should leave Aberdeen and go to the Mearns, then he was sure the Forbeses and Frasers, and other Covenanters, should come in and take in the town, and follow him hard at the heels to the Mearns; to his seeing peril and great danger; and he declared he had reason to delay, in respect of his hopes, whilk was now likely to deceive him; for first he was informed most credibly by his own servant, John Gordon (alias John of Berwick), that his majesty should have a commission at him for raising of arms before he should rise. 2d, That his majesty should have an army in Scotland before the last of March, for his farther assurance; whilk the said John Gordon by his great oath told him, because he durst not carry letters out of England to him, lest they should be intercepted. 3d, He had hopes of the lord Forbes and his vassals of that name, and diverse other lords and earls, south and north, to have risen as soon as he rose, whereupon he lay still, attending their rising. 4th, The good opinion of the country people, both in burrow and land, grievously groaning under the tyranny of the estates, lifting men, money, horse, levy-money, arms, excises, and such like cruelties, to their unspeakable sorrow. Upon thir reasons, he said, he had too rashly engaged himself and his friends, whilk he perceived had clearly fallen out, and they had failed him, and he knew well that he and his friends were not able to give battle to the invincible army coming against him, taking God to witness it was sore against his will, and if he could see the least spark of likelihood of outgate, he should hide it to the last man. His friends hearing this discourse (whilk was most true) became sorrowful; however, they fell upon the next best course, whilk was, seeing they were unable to give battle, that the marquis should hold his friends together, go with a fleeing army, wait upon the wings of the enemy's forces, live upon their enemies' country goods, and in the time of need draw to Strathboggie, Auchindown, or the Bog, to the wearying of the enemy, and bide a better fortune, if any help should come from the king for their relief. This council was approved, and because the southland army was at hand, they resolved to meet at Strathboggie with all the forces they could make. But major Nathaniel Gordon, who was rebuked for the herring prize, as ye heard before, miscontented with this course, quits the marquis' service, and goes to the lord Gordon, who would not hear of him, and so he lived by himself, of whom ye may see hereafter.

Upon Tuesday the 30th of April, the marquis of Huntly was informed that his son the lord Gordon was at the town of Banff, growing to an head; therefore he lifts John Anderson's two cart-pieces, and the two brazen pieces found in Mr. Robert Farquhar's close, and sent them to Strathboggie, and immediately goes to horse for Banff; but his son had no such intention as to grow to an head against him.

Upon the 1st of May, Andrew Gray was sent back frae Aberdeen to Montrose, haill and sound; but Patrick Leighton was sent to Auchindown, to bide with our Aberdeen's prisoners; and therewith sir George Gordon of Gight, Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, Robert Irvine, his brother, with about sixty horse, rode through the Oldtown with new white lances in their hands to Strathboggie. The marquis left all his friends in Aberdeen when he rode to Banff, under great fear, as they had cause. From Banff he goes to Strathboggie, where his friends meet him, and was a brave company, about three hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot.

Upon the 8th day of May, sir John Gordon of Haddo, Alexander Irvine of Drum, younger, sir George Gordon of Gight, and the principal of his friends there, deal with the marquis to give orders for his flying army. He changes resolution, seeing he was not able to give battle. It was said, they answered, "We have shewn ourselves foolishly, and will leave the fields shamefully; we thought never better of it." Young Drum staid the marquis once or twice well roughly ungone to horse, whereat he was offended. Now thir gentlemen parts with sore hearts, and whereupon meikle sorrow followed thereafter. The marquis rides in anger upon the morn to Ardcloch, where he was all night. Upon the morn, whilk was the 7th of May, he rides to Auchindown, and immediately sets Patrick Lesly, provost, Mr. Robert Farquhar, Alexander and John Jaffrays, and the said Patrick Leighton, to liberty; who came to Aberdeen with greater credit than they were taken out of it. He seeks about for his own safety, and bides quietly in Auchindown.

Ye heard how the marquis of Huntly had left the town of Aberdeen, contrary to the expectation of many, upon the last of April, leaving his haill friends within the town in great fear and melancholy of a southland army to come shortly, as it did; for upon Thursday thereafter, the 2d of May, there came to Aberdeen the lord Burleigh and lord Elcho with the men of Fife; — with the Perthshire men; the earl Marischall and lord Arbuthnot with the men of the Mearns; the earl of Kinghorn and lord Carnegie with the Angus men. There came out of thir four shires about the number of two thousand foot, and four hundred horse, besides baggage, men and horses; they were well furnished with ammunition, powder, match, ball, muskets, carabines, pikes, swords, colours carrying this motto, "For the covenant, religion, the crown, and the kingdom," with pistols, putterlings,



and other arms; ilk several company had their captains and commanders, with their trumpeters and drums. They came all in good order of battle, terrible to their enemies, and joyful to their friends; they took up their rendezvous in the links, and beyond the water of Torry, and fed upon their own provision, which was carried with them.

The marquis of Argyll, who had come to Dunotter, as ye have heard before, rides therefrae to the place of Drum, with about four hundred horse, and came not into Aberdeen with the rest of the army. The earl Marischall came not in neither with the Mearns men, but was with Argyll, and followed him to Drum. There came also to him the earl of Lothian, and laird of Lare's regiment out of Ireland, about five hundred brave soldiers. Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum was not at home, when Argyll and the rest came, but his lady and his good-daughter, lady Mary Gordon, and sister's daughter to Argyll, were present. He and his company were all made welcome, according to the time; there was other five hundred soldiers coming out of Argyll to him also; by and attour the haill north was at his command. He caused shortly put the ladies to the yetts, their haill men servants and women servants also. The ladies came out with two gray plaids, and gat two work naigs, which bore them into Aberdeen. Their runnagate Irish soldiers thereafter fell to, and pitifully plundered and abused this noble house.

Now, at the incoming of this army to Aberdeen, the Covenanters were no less blyth nor the Anti-covenanters were woe; for the one faction cropped the causey courageously, pridefully, and disdainfully; the other faction was forced to walk humbly, and suffer the pride of their town's neighbours, who rejoiced in their misery. Some fled the town, others conveyed their goods out of the way, and ilk Anti-covenanter did for himself the best way he could. Howsoever, this army, foot and horse, highland and lowlandmen, and Irish regiment, was estimate, bag and baggage, to be about six thousand men; unhappily raised by the unfortunate marquis of Huntly's rising, to the great hurt and wreck of the north parts, as after ye shall hear, and yet nowise the marquis' fault, as ye heard before.

Ye heard of the marquis of Argyll's coming to Drum, and of the earl Marischall's coming to him, and of the Irish regiment, whilk regiment lived upon the laird of Drum's victual and goods. The marquis shortly removed the two ladies, and shut them out at the yetts per force (albeit the young lady was his own sister's daughter) with two gray plaids about their heads. Their haill servants were also put to the yett, but the ladies came in upon twa wark naigs, in a pitiful manner, to New Aberdeen, and took their lodging in the goodwife of Auchluncart's lodging, then dwelling in the town. Then the Irish soldiers fell to and plundered the place of Drum, wherein was store of insight plenishing and timber work; they killed and destroyed the bestial, nolt,

sheep, and kine, for their meat; they brake up girnels, where they had meal and malt. They found yerded in the yard of Drum a trunk filled with silver wark, plate, goldsmith's wark, jewels, chains, rings, and other ornaments of great worth, and estimate about twenty thousand pounds, whereof some was seen in Aberdeen. Thus thir ladies being removed with their servants, and all things plundered by the Irish rogues, then the marquis appointed a captain with fifty musketeers of thir people to keep this house, and left two pieces of ordnance also with them, where they lived upon the laird's girnels and goods while they were removed, and others put in their place. There was following this Irish regiment about fifty-one women, with some young children; thir women were quartered in Old Aberdeen; they got nothing but house-room, for they received weekly out of the girnels of Drum, ilk woman two pecks of meal, whereon they lived, and was punctually brought to the Oldtown and paid. They had a captain over them, to see them weekly paid, and that they did no wrong; so thir women remained in Old Aberdeen as long as the men staid in Drum, and when they removed therefrae, they removed out of the Oldtown without doing any wrong. Thus is this ancient house of Drum opprest, spoilzied, and pitifully plundered, without any fault committed by the old laird thereof, but only for his two sons following the house of Huntly, and as was thought sore against his will also. Always this to be noted for the marquis of Argyll's first piece of service in this play, without love or respect of his sister's daughter, or the innocence of the old laird of Drum; where for a while I will leave him, doubtless in grief and distress.

Upon Saturday the 4th of May, the earl of Kinghorn is established governor in Aberdeen, having a garrison to attend him; and about two afternoon, the army begins to march out of Aberdeen, and both the towns sent out and furnished baggage horse to follow them. They had the viscount of Arbuthnot, the lord Elche, the lord Burleigh, with other captains and commanders of good worth. There was twenty-five coloura, cart-pieces, trumpeters and drums in good order; they marched this night to Christ's Green at Udny, where they lay.

And that same 4th of May, the marquis of Argyll, (having distressed the place of Drum, as ye have heard), with the earl Marischall and the Irish regiment, marches from the said house towards Kintore and Inverurie, where provision was sent out of Aberdeen upon the horses of both the towns, and there they encamped. The innocent old laird of Drum came to thir lords in humble manner, accompanied only with Mr. William Davidson, sheriff-depute of Aberdeen; he had some speeches with them, but found little comfort: at last he took his leave, and gat licence to go to Frendraught, where his daughter was married with the viscount of Frendraught.

It is said, while as this army is lying at Inverurie, the marquis

of Argyll sent a trumpeter with a letter to the marquis of Huntly, being in Strathboggie; but what it was, or what answer it received, I cannot tell; for the young laird of Drum and his brother, with some few others, was with him in Strathboggie, with whom he appeared very joyful all that day; and upon the morn thereafter he went to Auchindown, where I will leave him a little while.

Upon Monday the 6th of May, the army marches frae Udney towards the place of Kelly, whereon there was no roof, but the walls strongly built, standing on a vault; for the laird dwelt in laigh bigging beside the house, and had fortified the walls with feal, whereby one might stand and defend the house. The laird had some friends, tenants, and servants within the house, well furnished with meat, drink, and all other necessary provisions, and store of ammunition, such as hagbutts, muskets, carabines, pikes, swords, pistols, powder, ball, and such like. He caused burn up his own stables, barns, byres, and other laigh bigging, lest the samen should be a sconce or refuge to his enemies, and at their approach shot diverse hagbutts and muskets to keep them off; who was also attending the coming of the marquis of Argyll and earl Marischall, who came from Inverurie to Kelly, accompanied with the lord Gordon, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, and diverse other barons, leaving his regiment of Irishes lying at Inverurie. The marquis seeing this house could not be won but by much effusion of blood, sends a trumpeter, summoning the laird of Haddo to render the house, otherwise such as would willingly come out and yield should have condition of their lives and goods, and they that should stand out should have no mercy. This charge seemed very strange; and withal his cannoneer, Walter Richardson, lap the walls of Kelly, and stole away to the camp, to all their great griefs that were within the house. The laird and the rest goes to council, where his men declared they would bide by him, providing he would shew them a way how to stand out, otherwise they would rather yield now upon conditions, than yield per force without any conditions. The laird of Haddo was now put to great extremity, and could by no means draw them from their opinion, whilk doubtless was their best; seeing a fearful army before them, and no kind of appearance of relief to raise them; neither was it wisdom to take the keeping of a house against an army, except they knew of relief by the coming of another army; otherwise it is not possible for any strength to hold out long, but at last must yield. The laird of Haddo now out of time finds his own folly, and hastily hangs out a sign of parley, and calls for his young chief, the lord Gordon, to whom he offers to render his house, upon condition that himself, his men and soldiers within the samen, should be safe in their lives, lands, and goods, which the lord Gordon could not get granted; then he sent for the earl Marischall, craving their conditions,

whilk was plainly refused, and the most that was granted was that he should render his house, come out himself and his men to the marquis of Argyll, and lords and captains of the army, and humbly submit themselves, lives, lands, and goods, in the will of the estates, and order of the army. This was the most the earl Marischall could work; albeit indeed the haill men wan away safe and sound, except some few. The laird of Haddo yields to the earl Marischall, being his blood-friend, and lately come of his house, upon thir conditions, whereat he took some exception, as was thought. Now the yetts are all casten up, the laird of Haddo comes out, and all his soldiers yields themselves, their lands, lives, and goods, to the marquis of Argyll, and the rest of the nobles and commanders of the army. They kept Haddo in the camp, and immediately sends in to the tolbooth John Logie, son of Mr. Andrew Logie, minister at Rayne; John and Alexander Gordon, sons to — Gordon, at the mill of Kelly; — Chalmers, son to Alexander Chalmers of Drymness; and — Dalgardno, his soldiers, and quitted all the rest to go home in peace. Then they set in about thirty-six soldiers to keep the place of Kelly, which they found well furnished to their hands with meat and drink, whereon they fed lustily, with about an hundred and eighty chalders of victual in his girnels; for he had kept up muckle of three years' rent for a dearth, and now gat nothing for it. Stately was the plenishing within this house, and pleasant yards and planting about the samen. Now the soldiers brake loose and burn the haill tenants' bigging of Meikle Kelly for the most part, the bigging of Overhill, and some part of Thornhill, and other bigging. They tirred and took down the timber, and made hutts thereof, and likewise brake down and cutted the pleasant planting to be hutts, and destroyed the green growing hedges out at the ground. They entered to the haill bestial, nolt, sheep, and kine pertaining to the laird, on his Mains, and his tenants there, wherever they could be found, eat up and destroyed all. The earl Marischall himself meddled with five or six saddle horses of good worth pertaining to the laird of Haddo; his haill arms within the house, whereof there were plenty, were plundered. There was not a lock, key, band, nor window left unbroken down daily to the tenants, cottars, and grassmen, who for fear of their lives had fled here and there through the country frae their dwellings, and conveyed sic gear as they could get out of the way. They break down beds, boards, ambries, and other timber-work, and made fire of the samen. Thus is the country on one hand and the other grievously oppressed, and the people crying daily to God for vengeance upon thir cruel Covenanters for their unrighteous works, without authority of the king. That house of Kelly was rendered upon Wednesday the 8th of May, with little siege and less skaith, there being but two persons slain to the assailants.

The samen night that Kelly was rendered, the camp rode to Gight, both horse and foot; but the samen was also rendered upon the morn, the 9th of May, by the laird of Gight, elder. His son, the young laird, escapes with two or three, and being well horsed, lap the park-dykes, and wan safely away in presence of the soldiers lying about the place, who followed, but came no speed, to their great grief. The old laird is kept beside Haddo, and his soldiers set at liberty. There was a captain with about twenty-four soldiers put in the place of Gight, whilk was well provided with meat and drink and other necessaries, and wherein there was store of ammunition, powder and ball, with victual in givnels abundantly.

Ye heard before how Haddo had plundered and taken Patrick Strachan, a discreet gentleman, and warded him in Kelly. Fifteen days thereafter he sent him to the place of Towie-Barclay; which was taken in by the marquis of Huntly, and Hugh Gordon made captain over sixteen soldiers appointed to be keepers thereof; but this Patrick Strachan made quiet friendship amongst the soldiers, took the captain, and kept the house manfully while the army came, and syne came bravely out, and gat his horse and arms again, whilk Haddo had plundered from him.

Now as the marquis of Argyll is about thir houses, the Irish regiment lies still at Inverurie, of whom ye have heard before.

Upon their back came to Cromar-Braes, Aboyn, Strachan, and the countries about, eight hundred highlandmen of Argyllshire, where they had an allowance ilk day, to be taken off the country, twenty-four bolls meal, an hundred and twenty wedders, and — marts, with sixty dollars of money. Let the wiser sort judge how this poor land is sore oppress, by incoming of thir armies, against the king's authority. But I leave them taking up their rents and monies, and living upon the marquis of Huntly's lands in Cromar, Glenmuck, and Glentanner, and upon the laird of Drum's lands of Cromar, Strachan, and the lands of Birse, frae their coming, whilk was upon the — day of May, while the 3d day of June.

Ye heard before of the marquis of Huntly's going to Auchindown. How soon he came there, he set to liberty Patrick Lesly, provost, Mr. Robert Farquhar, Alexander and John Jaffrays, and Patrick Leighton of Montrose, upon Tuesday the 7th of May, with greater credit than they were taken; and they, blyth of this good luck, came all riding through the Old-town to Aberdeen courageously, and lighted in the town with great joy, upon Thursday the 9th of May, about eight hours at even.

Upon Saturday the 11th of May, the lord Gordon comes in to Old Aberdeen, with his own domesticks, and lodged in George Middleton's house; and upon the morrow, after the afternoon's sermon, he rode out of the town again.

Upon Sunday the 12th of May, Mr. William Strachan, after sermon, read out of the pulpit of Old Aberdeen the two acts following:—

“ Where by virtue of a commission, dated at Edinburgh the 16th day of April, 1644, the Convention of Estates has appointed us, Archibald Marquis of Argyll, &c. chief commander of the hail horse and foot forces, to be levied for the present rebellion in the north, with power also to us to command in chief all other forces in the north during this expedition, and to draw together, with the advice of the Committee of Estates come along with the army, the hail sentible men in the north, as we shall think fitting for the present service: We, therefore, according to that commission, and with advice foresaid, do hereby require all the heritors and freeholders whatsoever (of what superior soever they hold), within the sheriffdom of Aberdeen and Banff, to repair to the town of Turriff against the 16th day of this instant month of May, by ten o'clock in the forenoon, with their best horses and horseman's arms, bringing also with them forty-eight hours' provision, that by common advice the best way may be thought upon for the peace and security of this country: certifying by thir presents, all and every heritors and freeholders foresaid that shall not appear at the day and place foresaid, that they shall be esteemed and used as enemies to religion, king, and country; and that none may pretend ignorance thereof, we ordain that thir presents be read at all the parish kirks of thir shires on Sunday next the 12th of this instant; and that every ministers end to the rendezvous, at the day and place above-named, a roll of the hail heritors' and freeholders' names within their parishes, with a testificate that thir presents were read at their churches; recommending also to the moderator of ilk presbytery within the said sheriffdoms, to direct to the several ministers within their presbyteries an authentic double of this order of ours, with the moderator's testimonial declaring the samen to be such, that this our order may be the better read and published in the several churches; and this we require to be diligently and carefully performed by all having interest, as they will be answerable to the parliament, convention of estates, their committees, or us their commissioners for this effect.

“ Subscribed with our hand at Inverurie, the 6th of May, 1644.

(*Sic Sub.*)

“ ARGYLL.”

Follows the other act also read out of the pulpit:—

“ *Edinburgh, 12th April, 1644.*

“ Forasmickleas George Marquis of Huntly, and his adherents and followers, viz. Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum; Robert Irvine, his brother; Sir John Gordon of Haddo; William Seaton of Shethin; William Innes of Tibbertie; Mr. James Kennedy, servitor to the said Marquis of Huntly; and Thomas Hay, servitor to the said Sir John Gordon, have not only refused to join with this kirk and kingdom in the solemn league and covenant for the reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, the peace and safety of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland; but have now also put themselves in posture of war, and with some forces collected together displayed an open banner against the honourable estates of this kingdom,

joined together by solemn oaths and subscriptions in the said league and covenant, and in this rebellion have already begun to take his majesty's good subjects out of their own houses, detain them in firmance, rob, and spoilsie them of their goods and means of livelihood; by threats, oppressions, and other violent ways to force them to join in this insurrection, invade and possess themselves of free burrows, compel and induce shires to dishonourable and disloyal capitulations and conditions, and by false pretences of authority and ease of the subject, emitted in publick declarations, whilk they cause read in kirks and other publick places, delude and abuse the people, and reproach all the means used by this kirk and kingdom, in pursuance of the said happy covenant, and the ends expressed therein: therefore the commissioners to the General Assembly, taking the premises to their serious consideration, and finding the rebellious conspiracy and insurrection against this kirk and kingdom to be an heinous offence against God, and an high contempt of all ecclesiastical and civil authority, and that the samen agreeing in all the particular circumstances thereof, is publick and notour throughout this kirk, according to the example of former times, in the like cases, ordains the said George Marquis of Huntly, and his adherents in this rebellion particularly above-mentioned, to be excommunicate summarily upon the next Sabbath day, the 14th of this instant month of April, by Mr. John Adamson, in the East Kirk of this burrow of Edinburgh, and that publick intimation be made of the said sentence upon Sabbath-day before noon, after sermon, in all the kirks of this kingdom, so soon as advertisement shall come unto them."

Thir two acts were read out of the kirk of New Aberdeen the samen day also; where, by and attour, intimation was made there of the excommunication of the earls of Montrose, Nithe-dale, Traquair, Carnwath, Kinnoul, the viscount of Aboyn, and the lord Ogilvie. Thir persons had been excommunicate after the samen order, and for the samen cause, that the marquis of Huntly and his followers were excommunicate, some space before thir lords were excommunicate at Edinburgh, but intimation was not made thereof here at our Oldtown church. However, the lord Gordon came not to the forenoon's preaching to hear his father's excommunication intimate, but came afternoon, syne rode out of the town, as is before said.

Upon Monday the 18th of May, the marquis of Argyll, the earl Marischall, the lord Gordon, the viscount of Arbutnot, the lord Burleigh, with diverse other brave gentlemen, about an hundred horse, came frae the camp lying at Kelly, leaving the lord Elcho behind them, and came to Aberdeen through the links; and following in another company there came in sir George Gordon, elder of Gight, John Gordon, his brother-german, and sir John Gordon of Haddo. They stayed in Aberdeen while Wednesday the 15th of May, that they were sent south to Edinburgh, with a troop of horse; likewise was sent with them the goodman of Mill of Kelly's two sons, called John and Alexander Gordons, — Chalmers, son to Alexander Chalmers of Drymness, John Logie, and — Dalgardno.

Upon Tuesday the 14th of May, the provincial assembly sits down in Aberdeen, being prorogate to this day, as ye heard before. The parson of Belhelvie being last moderator, as the custom is, preached this day. The marquis of Argyll, the earl of Kinghorn, with the rest, were there, whilk made up a fair auditory. After sermon the brethren conveyed, and with them the marquis of Argyll. Mr Andrew Cant is chosen moderator to the next provincial assembly. The said marquis had his own instructions, no doubt, to give to this province before the coming of the next general assembly; and withall he began to regret the coldness of some of the ministry, who would not boldly, ilk man out of his own pulpit, declare the odiousness of this rebellion of the Gordons, and what danger, shame and sorrow might follow thereupon; whilk, if ilk minister within his parish had powerfully declared, it might have been a mean to have staid many from rising in such a desperate business; but withall he said, it was to be feared there was some of themselves disaffected to this good cause, and not so sound as appertained. For remedy whereof, he desired the moderator to voice out twelve of their brethren to sit with him and the rest of the nobility at their committee afternoon, and they to receive some order therefrae; whereof one article was, that Mr. Andrew Cant, now moderator, should this samen afternoon take oaths of the hail moderators and ministers within the diocese, in ample form; that they were soundly affected to the good cause, according to the tenor of the covenant. 2d, That ilk moderator should take the oaths of such ministers as were absent within his presbytery. 3d, That ilk minister, upon his sworn oath, in all haste shall condescend and give up a roll, under his subscription, of the malignant ministers within his diocese, or disaffected ministers, according to his knowledge; and ilk minister within his own parish to declare, siclike, the malignant persons who are laicks by roll within his parish. 4th, Ilk minister to give up in roll the names of such persons as rose with the Gordons. 5th, That ilk minister should give up in roll the names of the heritors and freeholders, and also of the papists within his parish; with a testificate, that the act made thereanent before-written was publickly read at their kirks, according to the desire thereof; and ilk minister, before they dissolve, deliver to the saids twelve ministers, called a sub-committee, his own roll, subscribed with his hand, to the effect that they should bring these rolls with them to Turriff the 16th day of May. Their orders bred both fear and fashery to the brethren of this assembly, but no remead; ilk minister began to censure his parishioners upon the points aforesaid, made up and subscribed their rolls, and delivered them to the sub-committee of twelve ministers foresaid, to the effect above-specified, upon Wednesday the 15th of May afternoon, that they might keep Turriff; and so this assembly dissolved this samen day. But



remember they gave up the names of all excommunicate papists within their parishes also in their said rolls.

Upon Tuesday the 14th of May, the two cartows were brought about frae Montrose to Aberdeen by sea, but their wheels were hacked and hewn by the Gordons, as ye have heard. There came also two other iron cart pieces to the shore, where they were all laid on (carried by three boats about); and that samen day there came to Aberdeen out of one of the parliament's ships lying in the road, six fisher boats loaded with muskets, powder, ball, and match, and ilk boat had an hundred and eighty muskets within her, with their materials. Thir wares were sent ashore in one of our fisher boats to the marquis of Argyll, out of the ship, who had order from the said parliament of England so to do. Thir muskets were received and put up in houses to be kept.

This samen Tuesday, and 14th of May, the laird of Drum directed a rate of musketeers to Mr. William Lumsden's house in Old Aberdeen, himself and his wife both being excommunicate papists. They fed upon her expences, because her husband was quietly at home, and escaped. Upon the morn she was compelled to give four hundred merks to be quit of thir soldiers, for a protection to save her house unplundered, and her tenants undistressed, subscribed by the earl of Kinghorn; besides, they plundered out of the house some guns, swords, and other things, and a riding naig or a wark naig out of the stable.

Upon Wednesday the 15th of May, the marquis of Argyll, the earl Marischall, the earl of Kinghorn, the viscount of Arbuthnot, the lord Gordon, and the lord Burleigh, came riding through the Oldtown about twelve hours, with sound of two trumpets, about two hundred horse, and set themselves for Turriff, to keep their meeting the 16th of May; but the day before, thir nobles came over and visited our Oldtown College about six hours at even, syne returned back to New Aberdeen again. So they came from Aberdeen as aforesaid, and upon Thursday the 16th day of May, the marquis of Argyll, the earls of Marischall and Kinghorn, the viscount of Arbuthnot, the lord Gordon, and the lord Burleigh, came to Turriff. The lord Elcho came from the leagure lying at Gight and Kelly, to this meeting; and siclike the earl of Findlater, the viscount of Frendraught, the lords of Forbes, Fraser, and Banff, with many barons, heritors, and freeholders within the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. There came also out of the shire of Murray, the laird of Innes, the laird of Grant, the sheriff of Murray, and diverse other gentlemen. They meet altogether upon the Inch of Turriff, and were estimate about seven hundred horse and one thousand three hundred foot. They had ten colours, ten drums, six trumpeters, with brave captains and commanders, and well armed soldiers. The names of all the freeholders of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff are called by

the sheriff-cloek of Aberdeen, Mr. Patrick Chalmers, off of the rolls. The burrows sent their commissioners whilk were within the two shires; the names of the absents were presently noted; the moderators and ministers of the diocese of Aberdeen were called, and there compeared the twelve ministers of the sub-committee, and in their rolls produced the names of all excommunicate papists, disaffected ministers, all malignant laicks, the names of sic persons as rose with the Gordons, the names of all heritors and freeholders. Now ilk minister had given up under his hand the names of sic persons as is above-written, and ilk presbytery had given up under their hand the names of the disaffected ministry within their presbytery, and delivered the samen to the sub-committee foressaid, to produce in their names, whilk held in their travels frae coming to Turriff to the meeting. Thir rolls being produced, and all men called, and the absents noted, then they went to muster their men upon the foressaid Inch, estimate to about two thousand horae and foot, as said is, which came out of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff alenarly. After muster, they were all charged by sound of trumpet not to depart out of Turriff while upon the morn that they received thir orders; whilk being come, they muster again; then the marquis of Argyll, in name of the publick, gave them all thanks openly for this their obedient meeting out of the three shires of Banff, Aberdeen, and Murray, warning withall those of the two former shires to be at a committee to be holden in Aberdeen upon the 24th of May, for taking order with the horsemen, footmen, and arms to be levied, loan-money, levy-money, and other taxations. He declared likewise that there was a general muster of the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Mearns, to be kept the 4th of June next, within the links of Aberdeen, and charged them all to be there; but few compeared or none at all that day. So, upon Friday the 17th of May, afternoon, this meeting dissolved at Turriff; and the marquis of Argyll sent some troops of horse to Elgin, charging them to arrest the boats on their coasts, that no boats should go to sea while his further pleasure, fearing the marquis should flee by sea, as he did indeed. In the meantime he came frae Turriff to Cullen of Boyne, where he supped with the earl of Findlater, his cousin-german, upon Saturday the 18th of May, where I will leave him while hereafter.

The marquis of Huntly lying quietly at this time at Auchindown, and having his own intelligence how all matters past at Turriff, he takes occasion, and shortly leaves the strength, and quietly conveys himself to the Bog of Gight, having in his company James Gordon of Letterfurrie, John Gordon, son to John Gordon of Auchmunziell, and John Gordon, alias John of Berwick, and takes out of this place some trunks of gold and silver, whereof he had plenty, and some costly rich apparel; thereafter sends the keys to his son the lord Gordon, with his stately saddle

horses; syne rides the water of Spey, being clad in coat and trews, with a black bonnet on his head. He comes to Salterhill, where one Alexander Gordon dwelt; takes a sleep; directed the said James Gordon and John of Berwick, with his trunks to Cowsie, and provide a boat, where they found a Caithness boat by chance, ships the trunks, and takes the sea shortly, and lands in Caithness, leaving the marquis behind them, to his own hazard, with John Gordon of Auchmunziell's son only with him. He leaves one thousand dollars with this Alexander Gordon in his keeping, because he could not get them carried, (whilk he thereafter revealed, and delivered to the lord Gordon), and by moyan of James Gordon, sometime his servitor, gets a boat quickly at Cowsie, ships and lands in Sutherland himself, John Gordon and the said James Gordon. The boat returns with the said James, and he goes to his own house. The marquis with his man spiers for an ale-house, calls for a drink, and sends for — Gordon of Syddra, dwelling hard beside; he comes, and lodged him in his house hard beside all night. Upon the morn he with his man rides to Caithness, stays with his cousin-german, Francis Sinclair, that night, meets with James Gordon of Letterfurrie, and gave him no thanks for leaving of him behind; takes order with his trunks, and dismisses him home, and himself with his man upon the morn horses, and to Strathnaver goes he by sea, where he remained sore against his will, while the 4th of October, 1645. Thir calamities he did patiently suffer for his loyalty to his master the king.

Ye heard on the other side, how the marquis of Argyll came to Cullen upon Sunday. He would not bide after supper to take a bed, but rode all night, and came to the laird of Innes' house in Elgin, where he lodged, and heard devotion upon the morn, being Sunday. The provincial assembly happened at this very time to sit down in Elgin, which Argyll carefully attended, and gave the brethren such instructions to attend the ensuing general assembly, as he did at our provincial assembly here in Aberdeen; but hearing of the marquis of Huntly's escape in an open fisher boat, he was highly offended, sent shortly for the boatmen, James Gordon in Kinedder, and the said Alexander Gordon in Salterhill, and before the committee in Elgin they are severally sworn and examined anent the conveying away of the said marquis. They all confessed the verity of his embarking and landing, and who were with him; they were all called evil countrymen, and so letten go; but the said Alexander Gordon is ordained to compear before the committee at Aberdeen the 24th of May, and bring the one thousand dollars with him, whilk he did, and had orders to deliver the dollars to the lord Gordon, and so was letten go.

In the meantime, Argyll bides in Elgin three days, and shortly directs the Irish regiment to take in Auchindown, there to remain, where they had store of provision, meat and drink enough

in great plenty; syne leaves Elgin, and returns back to Aberdeen upon the 24th of May, where the said Alexander Gordon was ordered, as ye have heard.

A little before this time, there was seen in the town of Gellen, pertaining to the earl Marischall, within the parish of Strachan, a fearful unnatural fire whilk kindled of itself, and burnt the bigging of this town only. When the people saw this fire, they ran to quench and stamp it out, but when it was quenched in one part, it brake out in another part. It burnt up a byre with nolt and oxen, none knowing from whence it came. It seemed to be a prognostick of a far greater fire raised on this earl's lands, as ye shall hear hereafter.

Ye heard before how the places of Gight and Kelly were rendered. There was some bigging burnt to the tenants about Kelly, because the laird for his own defence had burnt up some of his barns and byres. He had six children within the place, which when it was rendered were all put to the gate, safe and sound. Friends took three of them, and the other three were sent into Old Aberdeen for learning at the schools, but had not a penny of their father's estate bestowed upon them; but thir lawless soldiers lived wealthily upon their father's means, and there, and in the place of Gight also, they destroyed up all, as ye have before, and during their residence at thir two places they sat not idle, but plundered them both; and first they took out the stately insight and plenishing, sic as bedding, napery, vessels, cauldrons, chandlers, fire-vessels, whereof there was plenty, kists, coffers, cabinets, trunks, and all other plenishing and armour (whereof there was plenty in both thir houses) whilk they could get carried on horse or foot, and was taken away south, together with the haille horse, mares, oxen, nolt, kine, and sheep, whilk were upon the said Mains of Haddo and Gight, and not a four-footed beast left that they could get. When thir commodities were plundered and spoilzied, then they begin to work upon the timber-work, whilk was fixed; and there they cruelly broke down the wainscot, boards, beds, ambries, timber walls, ceiling, room girnells, and the like, and made fire of all. They took out the iron yetts, iron stenchions of the windows, broke down the glazed windows, and left neither yett, door, nor window unbroken down, and in effect left them desolate before they removed.

Ye heard before of the meeting at Turriff, and of the rolls given up by the sub-committee of the ministrie of all excommunicate papists, disaffected ministers, and malignant laicks. Order was given at Turriff to James Douglas, macer in Edinburgh, attending this service, to summon thir persons, and the marquis of Huntly, the laird of Drum, his brother, and their remanent followers, at the mercat cross of Aberdeen, to compear before the said committee, to be holden there the 24th of May, to answer to sic points as were contained in his letters, dated at Tur-

riff, which the said James Douglas used at the said market cross of Aberdeen upon the 22d of May, which was thought over short and summary a charge.

Now William Seton of Shethin, and William Innes of Tibbertie, as followers of the marquis of Huntly, had both their houses pitifully plundered, and their ground spoiled, nothing left them; and Tibbertie's mill burnt by fire masterfully by the soldiers of the said army.

Word came here of a great overthrow given to our Scotsmen lying at Morpeth, by the king's forces; that the earl of Calendar was lying at Dunse with about four thousand men, attending the making of an army of sixteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, whilk was lifting diligently through all Scotland, to be a recruit to general Lealy's army, now lying at York; to whom came the earl of Fairfax, with three thousand horse and foot, whilk betwixt them made up a strong army, with help of the earl of Manchester, against our royal king; whilk was foughten, prince Rupert routed, and York taken.

Upon the 24th of May, there was a committee holden in the tolbooth of Aberdeen by the earl of Kinghorn, the lord Forbes, the lord Burleigh, the lord Elcho, the lord Fraser, the laird of Drum, elder, and sundry other barons. They caused call in the forenoon the rolls of the excommunicate papists, and such of the marquis' friends as were at the plundering of the towns of Banff and Montrose, as ye heard before; and all such persons as rose and assisted the said marquis of Huntly; all such persons as were non-subscribants, and disaffected to the good cause; such as subscribed, and yet were disaffected; and, lastly, such as were malignant, or reasoned or spoke any thing privately or publickly against this good cause. These six sorts of people were given up, with the disaffected ministers, throughout the parishes and presbyteries of Aberdeen and Banff, by the ministers themselves at Turriff, as ye have heard; and at Aberdeen thir rolls were called. As this was in doing, the marquis of Argyll lights and comes to the tolbooth, where the absents were noted, and such as were present ordained to compare the morn at eight hours. The ports are straitly watched night and day; all men had entry, but none wan out without a pass. Upon Saturday the 25th of May, ilk person compeared, and was compelled to give bond, under the pain of five thousand pounds, to compare before the next parliament, and there to underly the law for their transgressions, and for sic as was to be laid to their charges, and in the mean time to keep the king's peace; and to this effect they set caution by bond. Such as might get caution obeyed, and wan home; others who could not get caution were warded in the tolbooth of Aberdeen. Sunday, they heard devotion; Monday the 27th of May, the earl Marischall came in frae Dunottar to this committee; Tuesday, they are made burgessees of Aberdeen, such as the marquis of Argyll, the lord Burleigh,

the lord Elcho, and got the wine liberally; Wednesday the 29th of May, the town of Aberdeen were warned in the provost and baillies' names, by tack of drum, to convene in the Grayfriar kirk of Aberdeen, where the samen day provost Patrick Lesly made a speech in presence of them all; first, purging himself by his great oath, that he was safe and free of any delation of his neighbours, their wealth, or affection to the marquis of Argyll or any other; but what was done or delated was by the envy and malice of the neighbours amongst themselves. 2d, He declared the marquis of Argyll his good opinion he conceived of the people of Aberdeen, taking them to be worse exponed than they were indeed. 3d, He told the marquis was to use no rigorous dealing against Aberdeen, but that they should bear a like burden with the rest of the burrows, according to their strength, and no otherwise; and conform to the judgment of the next ensuing parliament, whilk they should see; and because the burrow of Dundee had advanced one thousand pounds sterling in this expedition, it was great reason the town of Aberdeen should advance as meikle upon bond. That, if the estates carried this cause, they should be paid with annuals; if otherwise, they should get no payment; yea, and besides, they would be forced to lend ten thousand pounds sterling upon the like sort of bond. This speech ended, the dean of guild with the burgesses of guild went to consultation privately amongst themselves, and presently condescended to lend and advance one thousand pounds sterling, for the whilk ilk man, free and unfree, was soundly taxed.

Now diverse troops are daily coming frae the army lying at Kelly and Gight; the earl Marischall and earl of Kinghorn's regiments were disbanded, and it was appointed that the marquis of Argyll's regiment of Argyll highlandmen should be still in Bree, Cromar, and bounds thereabout; the lord Elcho's regiment of Fife should be still in New Aberdeen, consisting of about seven hundred foot, with a troop of Argyll's horsemen, and that the Irish regiment should also disband.

About this time, and month of May, the earl of Lothian came to Edinburgh from England, where he was warded, as ye may see before. He gat liberty by exchange of another lord of the king's, who was taken prisoner by the parliament of England.

Ye heard before how the laird of Gight, the laird of Haddo, John and Alexander Gordons; sons to — Gordon at Mill of Kelly; — Chalmers, son to Chalmers of Drymness; John Logie, and — Dalgarno, were brought into Aberdeen. Now it is said, the laird of Haddo and the Jaffrays drank together by mediation of some friends, and that they had past from their part of his fine; but the truth is, there was no such agreement between them. Thereafter, upon the 15th of May, they were transported from Aberdeen, with a guard, to Edinburgh, and

there warded most shamefully in the tolbooth, and straitly kept, to their great grief and displeasure; where I will leave them amongst their enemies' hands, abiding trials while hereafter.

The horse troops now daily are coming frae the camp to both Aberdeens, leaving the foot army behind them at Kelly and Gight, who also came upon Thursday the 30th of May from these bounds, and quartered that night upon the laird of Balgownie's bounds, called Thomas Menzies, a papist, and out of the country for his religion. There they lay that night (while the earl of Kinghorn's regiment was removed out of Aberdeen, that they might get their room), plundering the ground and destroying the green growing timber, and corns, at their pleasure. Upon Friday the last of May, they marched into Aberdeen, and were quartered there and in Old Aberdeen. Also there was slain that samen day, by some of Kinghorn's regiment, a man called John Martin, a lax-fisher on Dee, and servitor to Mr. Matthew Lumsden, and another hurt, for the whilk the malefactors were apprehended at the earl of Kinghorn's command, and warded in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, but afterwards wan free; and he and his regiment removed out of Aberdeen upon Saturday the 1st of June, after the town gat good payment for their quarters; and in their places came in the lord Elcho's regiment, consisting of about seven hundred foot, and an horse troop of the marquis of Argyll's, consisting of sixty men, who were ordered to ly in Aberdeen upon all hazard, in case of rising again in this country, whilk did little good, but wrecked the town of Aberdeen with their quartering. Sic men as were put into the place of Drum pertained to the earl of Lothian and the laird of Lare's regiment; they were removed, and as many of the lord Elcho's regiment were put in their places at this time, to keep that house.

Ye heard how the committees were daily holding in Aberdeen. They are curious to try every man's estate, and being fully informed of their means and wealth, both in burrow and land, then they were summoned to compear before their committee in Aberdeen, where the marquis of Argyll daily sat in the tolbooth with the rest; and there they desired of ilk man such a certain sum as they knew they might lift or advance to the estates, upon band of repayment again, whilk if the people disobey, they were enacted for the samen; and if they disobeyed no more but sending out parties to plunder them, at least to put them to the horn. Thus ministers nor laicks were not spared that had any money; and such as were not acted before the committee were urged in Aberdeen to subscribe a band, called *A Blind Band*, where ilk man was obliged to lend the estates sic a sum *blank*, the term of payment *blank*, otherwise to become cautioners for the estates to any other man who had money (if they wanted money of their own to lend) for sic a sum *blank*, the term of payment *blank*, and the estates to be obliged to relieve them of their

cautionary. Thus such as had monies were forced to lend the same, without hope ever to get repayment back again, and such as had no monies upon bank, yet responsal and powerful beside, is compelled to become cautioner for the estates to sic as had monies; and yet they knew not how much they were cautioners for, nor to whom they were obliged, nor what was the term of payment; by which means the king's subjects were brought under such conditions that they knew not what to do nor how to live, seeing their means were daily taken frae them, whilk they had made sere travel for, to the impoverishing of themselves, their wives and bairns, and neither Covenanter nor Anti-covenanter, minister nor countryman, were spared; whilk doubtless was the just judgment of God for beginning sic a covenant with open rebellion against so good and gracious a king; and surely there was many Covenanters wished it had not been begun, and grievously murmured against their proceedings; but they durst not speak nor yet complain.

There were many acts made at this committee, before Argyll departed; amongst which it was enacted, that he should have eighteen thousand merks for inbringing of the marquis of Huntly to the estates, quick or dead, and as meikle for inbringing of the laird of Drum, and such other sums for his brother, young Gight, Nathaniel Gordon, and diverse other persons who followed the said marquis.

Thir things done, the marquis of Argyll, upon Friday the last of May, took his leave of Aberdeen, where all this time he was lodged in provost Patrick Lesly's house, most honourably; and when he went to horse was convoyed with nobles, barons, burgesses, bare-headed for the most part, so highly was he exalted in thir days, little inferior to a king; who promised to return back to Aberdeen, to the great committee to be holden the 24th of July. He went that night to Dunotter, leaving orders behind him for holding of committees for ingathering of men, money, horses, and victuals, to be sent to our army in England, so that sic victual as was left unplundered, eaten, and destroyed, was shipped here and there through all the north parts, so that neither Covenanter nor Anti-covenanter's girnells were spared; but the Covenanters had condition of payment from the general commissary, John Denham, of eight merks for the boll, whereas they kept up their victual, looking for ten pound the boll frae the country people. The just judgment of God upon the Covenanters!

About this time the lord Banff and master of Banff's grounds were plundered, and the master (his father being in Edinburgh) unhappily hurt a serjeant, who was wrongously plundering his father's bounds, whereupon followed that his house of Raittie was pitifully plundered and abused, and his girnells broken up, and victual destroyed. The master himself fled, and durst not be seen in the country, whilk no doubt was grievous to his father,



now summoned over to the parliament, and attending the samen; and seeing his house and ground sore oppressed. This was done by soldiers of the Irish regiment.

Our sovereign lord's session sat not down in Edinburgh upon the 1st of June; but in respect of thir troubles, was continued to the 1st of November, whereby the king's lieges were frustrated of justice in this session; yet inferior courts sat daily after the old manner, and began the 1st of June.

Ye heard before of the incoming of the foot army frae Gight and Kelly, leaving both the houses well-manned for keeping of the samen. They came in with flying colours, trumpeters, and drums, in good order; with their ammunition, cart-pieces, and other arms, but there was no cannons; both burrow and land was plagued to furnish them baggage horse, from the aforesaid bounds to Aberdeen, and from that south.

Now the Irish regiment pertaining to the earl of Lothian and laird of Lares, resolves to come to Aberdeen, to plunder the samen, unless they got good payment of their wages, promised to them before they came out of Ireland, and that whether the Fife regiment lying in Aberdeen would or not. This regiment, by direction, had been at Banff, Turriff, Auchindown, and other parts in the country, and now was come to Drum. The town of Aberdeen, hearing of this resolution of this rascal merciless regiment, went shortly and condescended amongst themselves to lift twenty thousand pounds, to lend the samen to the provost, baillies, and town of Aberdeen's treasurer, who, by their band, in name of the estates, became obliged to repay back again the said sum to the town of Aberdeen, to be divided amongst them ilk ane for their own part. This band being made, and the money lifted, the samen was delivered to Mr. Robert Pasquhar, to be distribute to them according to his order; and first he payed to the Irish regiment, now lying at Drum, upon the 8d day of June, being about eight hundred brave footmen, besides their commanders, four thousand merks; after receipt whereof, they took the highgate south frae Drum. By and attour, the country and town furnished horse to carry their baggage, which came by sea to Aberdeen, and sent their wives out of Old Aberdeen, who had lyen here since the — day of March, to overtake them at Fettercairn; and so Aberdeen was well quit of this regiment with the rest, suppose upon their own expences, and no regiment was left, except the lord Elcho's regiment of Fifemen in Aberdeen, and a regiment of Argyll's highlandmen, called the *Cleaners*, who lay in Birse, Cromar, Glentanner, Glenmuck, Abergeldie, Aboyn, and other places about, where, indeed, they cleansed all frae their coming there, which was upon the — day of May, till the 1st of July, that they departed, leaving only behind them a captain with eighty soldiers. This regiment of Argyll's men was counted eight hundred footmen, with their commanders; they neither spared Covenanter nor Anti-Covenanter, minister nor

laick. The hail country people fled that could flee, and left their houses desolate. They plundered and spoilzied the house of Aboyn and house of Abergeldie, with their ground; they spoilzied and plundered the hail Birse, Cromar, Glentanar, Glensnuck, and left neither horse, sheep, nolt, ky, nor four-footed beast in all these brave countries, nor victuals, eorn, goods, or gear, that they might lay their hands upon; and seeing they could not live longer in these harried bounds, they get orders and removed home over again upon the foresaid 1st of July, leaving only one of the captains with eighty men. But this vengeance which fell on thir countries, upon the Covenanters and ministers, was doubtless the just judgment of God for beginning sic a play against their royal king; for they were compelled to furnish out troops and footmen upon their own expences, as well as Non-covenanters; they behoved to pay their levy-money, loan-money, taxations, and to lend money to the estates, or become cautioners therefor, by and attour this grievous plundering of their goods and gear by merciless soldiers; whilk doubtless thir Covenanters from their hearts lamented, and sore repented the beginning of this covenant, never looking to have suffered the smart thereof as they did, till they were all drawn in an hose-net, frae the whilk they could not fly, nor now durst speak against the samen, nor give any disobedience, under the pain of plundering.

Ye heard of the lifting of twenty thousand pounds out of Aberdeen; whereof there was sent to the Irish regiment, lying at Drum, one thousand dollars, or four thousand merks; and siclike there was paid out thereof to the town's people the quartering of the earl of Kinghorn's soldiers during their residence in Aberdeen, and what was over to ly in Mr. Robert Farquhar's hands. Thus Aberdeen paid first eighteen thousand merks, and now lent twenty thousand pounds, (but the Lord sent them good payment), and this by and attour the vexation and quartering of the marquis of Huntly's friends and followers, as ye have before.

Ye heard before of orders given out at Turriff for a general muster, to be holden in the links of Aberdeen upon the 4th of June, out of the shires of Banff, Aberdeen, Kinordine, or Mearns; but this day was slightly kepted, and very few convened. The cause of this convention was said to be for making up the earl Marischall's and lord Gordon's regiments compleat.

Great preparations south and north for raising a recruit to general Lesly's army in England, and that the earl of Calendar was lying at Kelso with four thousand men, intending there to collect an army of sixteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to march into England, whilk with Lesly's army would be about forty thousand men; for rigging of whilk this poor country was cruelly oppress. Others reported that his army was devised to take in Newcastle, and not to be a recruit.

Upon the — day of June, the general assembly sat down in Edinburgh. Mr. James Bonner, minister of Maybole, in Gallo-way, is chosen moderator. No commissioners comes frae the king; they not the less go on. The ministry of the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Murray, Nairn, and Inverness, had orders to present before this assembly in write all the names of such persons as rose with and assisted the marquis of Huntly, ilk minister within his own parochin; whilk they did. Whereupon an act of the general assembly was made, ordaining ilk minister, within his own parish, to cause thir persons to make publick repentance upon the stool for this their rising with the said marquis, or otherwise to excommunicate them for their disobedience, and this to be done both in burrow and land. There were diverse other acts, and an assembly indicted to be holden at Edinburgh the last Thursday of May, 1645, and so dissolved; but thir acts got no obedience.

Upon the first Tuesday of the month of June, being the 4th day, our parliament sat down in Edinburgh, wanting the king or his viceroy, as depending from the last parliament in anno 1641. The earl of Lauderdale is chosen president of this parliament. Sundry Aberdeen's men were called, such as Mr. Alexander Davidson, Mr. Alexander Reid, Mr. Patrick Chalmers, Mr. John Chalmers, Thomas Nicolson, Richard Alexander, George Gordon, George Morison, and diverse others. But they were all ordained by parliament, with such as had set caution to compear before the parliament, that they should answer before the committee at Aberdeen the 11th of July next, there to abide trial and censure. But this committee was adjourned to the 25th of July, for causes moving the parliament, by preclamation at the cross of Aberdeen; and the samen day, John Denham, general commissary to the collections, rode south to Edinburgh in haste.

Old Aberdeen, with certain heritors lying about the samen, is ordered to furnish out an horseman and arms, called a *trooper*, to the lord Gordon, and the baillies ordained to pay for the town's part of the said trooper, fifty-two pound or thereby; and to collect off the heritors of corn field lands lying about, the sum of —, making up in the hail one hundred and eighty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pennies, and to pay the samen under the pain of plundering; and to that effect, upon the 8th of June, quartered on the poor town a troop of horsemen, while the monies were paid. The Oldtown baillies taxed their own town, and advanced the rest out of their own purses, while they collected the samen, as is formerly said, and so this troop was shortly removed.

None were spared, and who refused thir orders nothing but sending out of parties upon them to live upon their rents and goods, without authority or law from the king.

About this time, there went out of the lord Elcho's regiment

lying in Aberdeen, an horse troop consisting of sixty horse, and sixty foot musketeers, down to Haddo and Gight, living there, and in the country about, idle, without doing of any good service; and spared not to take their meat, as well from Covenanter as Non-covenanter, daily oppressing the king's lieges, and feeding their horses in the pleasant orchards and yards of the said houses.

Upon Sunday the 9th of June, being Whitsunday, an imprinted act of committee, after sermon, was read out at our kirk-door in Old Aberdeen, charging all heritors, feuers, and gentlemen, who had saddle horses within one hundred and sixty pounds of price, to bring them to the links of Aberdeen, the 21st of June next, where they should be appraised by indifferent men, and paid for, to serve the troops within this shire. It was also published through the rest of the parishes within the diocese. Some compared, but little was done this day. Now in this month of June, there is diverse foot companies and horse troops sending south to make up the earl Marischall's and lord Gordon's regiments, and that with great diligence.

The Covenanters, as well as Non-covenanters, are compelled to furnish out foot and horse, loan-money, levy-money, taxations, lending of money, subscribing of the blind band, and so forth, where, if they failed, then parties to be sent out to live upon their estates; which seemed to be the just judgments of God against the Covenanters, beginners of this bargain against their royal king, whereof no doubt they had great repentance, if they could anywise mend it.

There was a fight about Morpeth, where diverse of our Scots foot soldiers were overcome by the banders, stripped out of their cloaths and arms, and sent home naked about this time; and in another skirmish about York, major Bellendine, with about fifteen soldiers, were killed to general Lesly.

The town of Edinburgh, for causes moving them, caused transport eighteen pieces of cannon out of the castle, and planted them upon the causey, in the beginning of June, at the guard-house, betwixt the cross and the tron.

Ye heard before how the marquis of Argyll rode south. It was said he was the worse thought of, for missing the marquis of Huntly untaken prisoner.

Upon the 15th of June, Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, Mary Gordon, his lady; Robert Irvine, his brother; Mr. Alexander Irvine, sent to John Irvine of Artamford; and Robert Irvine, town's officer, with two gentlewomen attending the young lady, shipped at Frasersburgh, and to the sea go they; but the lady was sore troubled with sea-sickness, as the rest was. They unhappily landed in Caithness, within two miles of Wick, where a committee happened to be sitting. They are taken and tried by Francis Sinclair, son to the earl of Caithness, and second

and third of kin with this young lady Drum, and all warded together in the castle of Keish; as likewise he sent word to the general committee of estates and parliament, now sitting at Edinburgh, that he had taken thir persons prisoners, whereat the estates were marvellous blyth for getting such a rich prey, and gave order for their transportation, as ye shall see hereafter. But here it is to be wondered at how unnatural this Francis Sinclair was, to go and take and apprehend his blood-friend, and her husband, with his few followers, who in a manner had tane shelter and protection of him in his country, in the time of their pitiful distress, but rather might have advertised them to have gone again to sea, and do for themselves, which unkindly he did not, albeit it stood to the peril of the gentlemen's lives; because he hoped to get payment of eighteen thousand merks for taking of young Drum, nine thousand for his brother, three thousand for Mr. Alexander Irvine, and one thousand merks for Robert Irvine, as was promised by the estates. Thus this miserable man, looking to this worldly pelf, forgot his honour and his blood, to the great discomfort and great grief of thir honourable persons, as ye may see hereafter.

It is true, the lord Forbes received good payment from the estates, of three thousand merks, for taking — Irvine of Lentruck, and warding him in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, where Alexander Garden, servitor to the laird of Drum, was also warded, all for one cause.

Upon the 11th of June, Lewis Gordon, third son to the marquis, came frae his sister the lady Haddington to Aberdeen, and fell in company with the lord Gordon, his brother, who made him colonel to his foot company. Now diverse companies of horse and foot are sending south under the earl Marischall and lord Gordon's regiments, to compleat their numbers.

The town of Edinburgh is now under great fear, and some tannons taken out of the castle, and planted anent the guard-house, as was said before.

Now parties are setting out daily upon Covenanters as well as Non-covenanters, to furnish out horse and foot, loan-money and levy-money, arms, and all other things, according to the order set down by the committee at Aberdeen, otherwise thir parties to ly feeding upon their estates and goods, both night and day; — the just judgments of God upon the Covenanters, who began thir vexations! and doubtless they sore repented it now, though they durst not shew it.

Upon Monday the 17th of June, the colleginers in Old Aberdeen were laureat, and the Newtown colleginers long before, whilk used not to be laureat while Lammass, for fear of thir troubles.

The lord Gordon was straitly charged by the estates of parliament, not to receive any of such in his regiments as were at

Banff or Montrose, or any landed gentlemen that rose with the marquis his father, except such common people as had no goods to tine.

Upon Sunday the 23d of June, after the forenoon sermon, Mr. William Strachan, minister at Old Aberdeen, made intimation out of pulpit of the excommunication of the earls of Montrose, Crawford, and Nithsdale, the viscount of Aboyn, the lord Kerest, and the lord Ogilvie, for breaking out on our borders in serving the king, and that they were all excommunicate by order of the general assembly through all the kirks of Edinburgh, and that the samen was ordained to be intimate throughout all the kirks of Scotland.

About the last of June, the earl of Calendar marched forward from Kelso, with a goodly army of both horse and foot towards England. Upon the 1st of July, the Argyll soldiers removed out of Glentanner, Cromar, Birse, and the bounds about, which they had altogether spoilzied, and home they go, except only a captain and eighty men, who also shortly followed.

Word came of a great battle fought betwixt prince Rupert, the earl of Manchester, and general Lesly, and the earl of Fairfax, where much blood was shed, the viscount of Dudhope sore bruised, whereof he died, and his corps brought to Scotland. See hereafter. That York was rendered to the English and not to the Scotch, whilk presaged a national quarrel betwixt the two nations; and the samen day the battle was fought, being the 2d of July, there was heard through all thir parts the noise of a cannon shot, terrible to hear, and whilk was thought no shot, but an advertisement from God, as may well be seen hereafter!

There came out a printed paper, declaring the causes of a publick fast, whilk copied, is this:—

*“ Causes of a Solemn Fast and Humiliation, to be kept by ordinance of the late General Assembly, upon the first Sabbath of July next, in this instant year, 1644, and the Thursday next immediately following.*

“ 1st, A not answerable walking to our covenant with God; for, first, former zeal is wanting in the best, and many who seemed forward are now either become neutral, or secret underminers, or avowed adversaries and apostates.

“ 2d, A great guiltiness lieth on this land, that temporising enemies, especially ministers, are received too suddenly into the covenant, who mind nothing but their own ends; although it hath pleased the Lord of his free love to multiply upon this nation unparalleled favours, in the plenty of truth and peace, notwithstanding of all the secret conspiracies and open violences of enemies, both within and without, and that upon so easy a rate; (in comparison of our dear brethren about us, who are swimming in blood for purchasing and attaining unto the like, and the samen precious truth and peace); yet such is our monstrous ingratitude, that the haill land is overflowed with a speat of formality and profanity, as appeareth by our unbelief, manifold oaths, Sabbath-breaking,

oppressions, uncleanness, drunkenness, and all other sorts of sins against the laws of God and our covenant, for the which great wrath is threatened and imminent, and we have just reason to fear a deeper draught of that cup than our brethren or neighbours have tasted of.

“ 3d, We have matter to supplicate the God of heaven, to bless and prosper all means used and intended for the establishing and finishing of this work among ourselves, and advancing thereof in the neighbour kingdoms, such as parliaments and assemblies of divines, and committees from them, and armies already in the fields, and going to the fields.

“ 4th, Because of the unhappy and lamentable division between our king and his kingdoms, begun and fomented by delinquents, malignants, jesuits, and papists, and unnatural countrymen. We have great reason to wrestle with God (who has the hearts of kings in his own hand), that he would deliver our king from their company and counsel, and fill his heart with love of reformation, and thoughts of love and peace towards his loyal subjects.

“ 5th, That our gracious Lord will be pleased to turn the troubles and commotions not only of thir three kingdoms, but elsewhere, to the accomplishing and fulfilling all the desires and wishes of God’s saints concerning the advancement of the kingdom of the Son of God, and the utter ruin of that man of sin and his kingdoms.

(*Sic sub.*)

“ D. KER.”

This fast was appointed to be keeped the first Sunday of July, and Thursday thereafter, as ye have heard. So here in Old Aberdeen, upon the 7th of July, we had a fast, entering the church by nine hours, and continuing praying and preaching while two hours. After sermon the people sat still, hearing reading while afternoon’s sermon began and ended, whilk continued till within half an hour to six; then the prayer bell rang to the evening prayers, and continued till seven. Thus was the people wearied with fasting and praying, under colour of zeal, whilk rather appeared a plain mockery of God. So Thursday thereafter the like was kept here. The king and his posterity prayed for, the queen prayed for, but none prayed to confound the armies raised against him, but rather prayed for their good success. Strange to see sic prayers and fasts!

Upon the back of this humiliation, and about the 12th of July, there came word to Aberdeen that general Lesly, with the assistance of the earl of Fairfax and the earl of Manchester, growing to an army of about thirty-eight thousand foot and horse (whereof Lesly had prest many out of Yorkshire, lying now at the siege thereof, sore against their wills always). Prince Rupert hearing of this, comes with a brave army of horse and foot; nothing inferior to his enemies, to raise the siege; and upon Tuesday the 2d of July, that day a battle was foughten, as ye have heard. The victory with great blood inclined to the parliament’s side, and prince Rupert fearfully routed, as was declared out of our pulpit by Mr. William Strachan, saying, the Lord prevented our fasting, by giving our army the victory be-

fore our humiliation, and that the army the samen day of our fast was giving thanks to God for their victory. Howsoever it was, it was reported that general Lesly was not the occasion of this victory, because he fled the battle to Leeds, eighteen miles frae the army, and none of our Scots army hade, except three regiments, one under the earl of Lindsay, another under sir David Lesly, and the third under colonel Lumsden, who fought it out stoutly. York rendered to the earls of Fairfax and Manchester, upon condition that no Scotaman should enter within the samen, and sir Thomas Fairfax is made governour. There was store of money sent out of the town to the Scots army, whereby they should have some content, and depart. Lesly was evil thought of by the English for this day's service, and some thought they were now beginning to lightly our Scots, tending to a national quarrel; there was much blood on both sides, and prisoners taken, amongst whom the viscount of Dudhope was one, who died, and his corps was brought about by licence to Scotland, to be buried among his honourable ancestors.

It is said, prince Rupert rebuked the earl of Newcastle, then governour of York, and general King both, in whom the king had too much confidence, for their slow service at this fight; and that they were more given for gathering of gear unjustly; than for the king's honour. They feared themselves; shipped at Scarborough quietly, with abundance of monies, and to Hamburgh go they. Prince Rupert departs his own ways, and general Lesly returns to Newcastle, where the earl of Calendar came also, to besiege the samen by land, and ten of the parliament's ships came also into the river, to besiege the samen by sea, so that no men nor provision should come that way.

Our parliament establishes a constant committee of estates to sit in Edinburgh for ruling of the country; prorogues the parliament to the 8th of January, 1645, without warrant of, or commissioner from, the king, and upon the — day of July dissolves, whilk had sitten since the 4th of June, as ye have before.

The committee appointed to be holden at Aberdeen the 11th of July is, by open proclamation at the mercat cross, prorogued to the 25th of July next.

Ye have heard in many places before, how the earl of Montrose was heard with the earl of Argyll, anent some speeches alledged spoken by Mr. John Steuart, for the whilk he was execute; how it followed that Argyll intercepted some letters which Montrose had sent to the king; how himself, with the lord Napier, the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, were warded in Edinburgh; how the lord Sinclair brake up Montrose's trunks, and carried letters to the estates; how he is brought before the committee at Edinburgh; how he is more strictly overwatched; he and Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, are summoned to the parliament as incendiaries and plotters; how he is counted one of the



five incendiaries by act of parliament; how he writes from the castle to the king, being in Edinburgh, a missive of much importance; how he, Traquair, Keir, and Blackhall, were handled before the parliament; how they are set at liberty; how they are troubled as incendiaries before the parliament, and continued; how Montrose rode to the king, but had no presence; how he rode again to the king; and the intimation of his excommunication. Montrose, by thir deeds and diverse others, was grievously vexed by Argyll and the estates, whereof he was the ringleader, and was forced to flee his native country to the king's majesty for redress; and after he had shewn his mind amply to the king, he thought wisely upon the samen, and found thir estates had made the marquis of Huntly flee his native country likewise, and his hail loyal subjects in Scotland oppress pitifully, under the pretext of religion, which his majesty maintained, viz. the true protestant religion, with his just and sacred authority; the fundamental laws and privileges of parliaments; and the peace and freedom of the thrall'd subject; and considered, if the marquis of Huntly had come in to the estates, and joined his power with theirs, he was likely to lose his authority over this nation. The king having thought upon thir and diverse other grounds, made the earl of Montrose marquis, and gives him his letters patent to be lieutenant-general of Scotland, which gladly was accepted by Montrose, and faithfully prosecuted, as in many places hereafter ye may see. The king furnishes him with about one thousand five hundred Irishes, brought up in West Flanders, expert soldiers, with a year's pay, amongst whom Alaster M'Donald was a valiant captain, born in the isles (who had fled Argyll's tyranny, who had warded his father and two brethren, and took their lands and possessions from them), a man resolved to revenge thir injuries against Argyll if he might, and gladly took this occasion to hazard with the marquis of Montrose in this service; who was no less glad of his service and assistance. This mighty Montrose having gotten the king's patent to go upon the covenanting rebels in Scotland with fire and sword, and either bring them under subjection and obedience, or otherwise destroy them all, their lives, lands, and goods; he, I say, gives order to this Alaster M'Donald to ship his soldiers, and land them in Ardnamurchan, an island belonging to Argyll, and destroy his country, and promised to meet him in Scotland; and likewise gave order to this captain of his carriage and travels while they met, being confident that the king had some good subjects in Scotland. M'Donald takes the sea, and the 8th of July, lands in the foresaid Isle of Ardnamurchan, plunders the hail goods and gear, kills the inhabitants, and burns the hail country, takes in a strong castle, and mans the samen with all provision necessary.

Thereafter he takes in another island and castle thereof, burns, kills, and plunders all. Argyll, now in Edinburgh, and hear-

ing and knowing of this business, hastily provides some parliament ships, and some of our own Scots ships, to keep the seas, that he should not escape, and himself came in by land with an army, that he should not win away that gate; but this wise and valiant M'Donald, hearing of this preparation, gives order to keep thir two strong castles for his use, syne suddenly ships and lands in the Isle of Sky, safely marches therefrae into Kintail and Abertarf, wrote to the committee of Murray, then sitting in Auldearn, a charge, with a fiery cross of timber, whereof every point was scamed and burnt with fire, commanding all manner of men within that country to rise and follow the king's lieutenant, the lord marquis of Montrose, under the pain of fire and sword. The burgh of Inverness was under great fear; but he past by, and did no wrong but took their meat, and marched into Badenoch. The committee of Murray hastily writes to the committee of Aberdeen, and sends the samen fiery cross to them, whilk they kept; syne writes to the committee of Edinburgh; who sent orders that Murray, Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland should be in arms, and that proclamation should be made at the parish kirks and mercat crosses within the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, that all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen, horse and foot, should be in their best arms, and at their rendezvous in Aberdeen, upon the 11th day of August, and that the shires of Kincardine, Elgin, and Forres, should have their rendezvous likewise here the 14th of August. This proclamation was printed and published diligently.

Here ye may see the inbringing of thir committees were to hold out the king; for neither he nor none in his majesty's name could light in any part of this country, but advertisements past to raise all manner of men in arms, to maintain their covenant against them that sought their overthrow; where I will cease while hereafter.

In the month of July, queen Mary shipped and passed for France, where she was royally entertained.

Upon the 24th of July, the lord Elcho and the lord Burleigh returned to Aberdeen, to whom came the earl Marishall, the earl of Findlater, the viscount of Arbuthnot, the viscount of Frendraught, the lord Fraser, the lord Carnegie, with sundry barons and gentlemen, who held their committees in Aberdeen their time about; but the lord Burleigh sat constantly as president. Argyll, as he promised, and was expected, came not to this committee. Mr. James Baird, directed by the estates, attended, who gave no good counsel for the country, as was thought.

This samen 24th of July, there came in to their committees out of the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine, certain gentlemen, who had set caution, under great sums, to conspire, for sic causes as was to be laid to their charge; but such as were within the shire of Banff were referred to the committee holden

at Elgin, and such as were within the shire of Aberdeen to the committee thereof, who sat upon them only, and the rest returned home to the committees foresaid.

Ye heard before how the lairds of Gight, Haddo, with some others, were had to Edinburgh. The parliament begins first with Haddo, and John Logie his man; accusing Haddo for helping to take Patrick Lesly, provost, Mr. Robert Farquhar, Alexander and John Jaffrays, out of Aberdeen, as ye have heard before. Haddo answered, he was there indeed, but did no wrong in taking thir men, they being avowed incendiaries against the king, factious and seditious both in burrow and land. 2d, He was accused for rising with the marquis of Huntly in arms against the country; he answered, Not so, but against the king's enemies. 3d, He was accused for the slaughter of Mr. James Stalker at Turriff, as ye have heard before. This he denied simpliciter. 4th, He was accused for killing two men at his house of Kelly, when the samen was besieged at the command of the estates; he answered, what he did was done in his own defence against his enemies, coming without the king's authority to oppress him. He was accused upon sundry other points; such as were true he boldly confessed, and such as were false he stoutly denied.

Then John Logie was accused upon some points; and after much trial and inquisition, the parliament referred them both to underly the law before the justice and his assessors, viz. four nobles, four barons, and four burgesses, who were adjoined to them; where, after much plead of law, they are referred to the trial of an assize, and Haddo is convicted, 1st, For being at the taking of the provost of Aberdeen and the rest. 2d, For raising of arms with the marquis of Huntly against the country. 3d, For killing of two soldiers at his house of Kelly, and for some other points, as was said. In like manner, John Logie was convicted, and both condemned to be beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh, whilk conviction the parliament immediately thereafter approved to be good and lawful, and therewith ordained him to be forfeited as a traitor. It is said the earl Marischall laboured meikle for his life, but came no speed, through the malice of the kirk, the burrows, and some noblemen, which made Marischall the more cold in the good cause, as ye may hereafter hear. Haddo's friends within the town desired licence to convoy him to his death and burial, whilk the parliament refused, except they granted to give up a list of sic friends as they would have, and the parliament to choose out only six of the number, upon condition that there should be no speech betwixt Haddo and them, coming from the tolbooth to the scaffold, nor yet upon the scaffold, whilk was condescended and kept. The estates directs the provost and baillies of Edinburgh to convoy him and John Logie, with a strong guard, to the scaffold, and to attend the execution. Haddo prepared himself nobly for death, and caused make a

syde Holland cloth sark, laced at the head, for his winding sheet. He had on his head a white pearled mutch; he had no coat, but a pair of black breeks, white socks, and a pair of mools on his feet. Thus is he and John Logie brought to the scaffold, with his six friends, from the tolbooth, guarded as said is, upon the 19th of July. Some of the town's ministers came, desiring him to confess his sins before God, and to trust in his mercy. He answered, he did humbly confess he was a grievous sinner before God, and craved him mercy, and was assured to be saved by Jesus Christ. Then one of the ministers cried out to the people, saying, Haddo confessed himself guilty in raising of arms against the country; but he answered, "Not so; I confessed myself a great sinner against God, but never transgressed against the country, but against sic as were disloyal subjects to the king; and what I did I thought good service." Then the haill ministers railed out pitifully against him, whilk he patiently beheld, and desired to be relaxed from excommunication, after confession of his sins, now going to death. The ministers, with some little grudge, granted the samen, and loosed him upon the scaffold from the sentence. Then upon his knees he prayed to God, and one of the ministers prayed for him; and, in the meantime, while he is praying fervently in prayer with God, they in his face caused strike off John Logie's head most cruelly and despitefully. But Haddo was no whit terrified at this sight, but constantly continued in his prayer.

After John Logie's death, immediately there came up to the scaffold two heraulds in their coat of arms, one of them having a paper in his hand, containing some articles, and likewise another paper, wherein his arms were painted and drawn. Then this herauld with a loud voice cried out before the people (whereof there were great multitudes standing about the scaffold) and read these articles: "1st, The parliament has found thee, sir John Gordon of Haddo, worthy of death, and thy head to be stricken from thy shoulders. 2d, The parliament declares thee, John Gordon of Haddo, to be a villain and traitor to the king and to the country, and therefore I here rive thy arms in thy own face;" whilk he did indeed rive and rent, as ye shall hear.

The haill people standing beside, were astonished at this uncouth declaration out of an herauld's mouth, clad in his coat of arms upon the scaffold. None durst say against the parliament's declaration, but most part of the auditors thought it was well done, and Haddo deserved all. Then the herauld said, 3d, "These arms, which thy forebears through their virtue have conquest and won for their honour, I declare, for thy treason, never to be worn hereafter by thy posterity;" and with these words the herauld in Haddo's own face rives his arms, and keist them over the scaffold, whilk he patiently beheld, sitting on his knees all the time. The herauld having ended, then he begins a little short

prayer, and ends, saying, "I recommend my soul to God, and my six children to his majesty's care, for whose sake I die this day." Then he turns to the place of execution. The executioner craved him pardon to do his office; he gives him out of his pocket a double angel, saying, "Do thy office, man!" and shortly with a maiden he was beheaded. The six gentlemen received his head with woeful hearts, which with the corps was shortly put in a kist, as John Logie's head was first kisted, and both together were conveyed to the Grayfriar kirkyard, and buried. Thus ended this worshipful gentleman, born down by the burrows of Scotland, ministers of Edinburgh, and parliament of this land, especially by the marquis of Argyll, the lord Balmerinoch, and the kirk, because he would never subscribe the covenant, but stoutly followed the king in thir troublesome times, and lived and died a good protestant.

It is true, the Jaffrays in Aberdeen, whom as ye heard he fell in odds with, did him no good, but were the ground of his death, as by the progress of that discourse herein set down, does appear; and albeit the beginning of this business was of small value, yet it grew to a great height, and incensed the burrows mightily against Haddo at his death, and bred some fashery to the country before. However, this valiant worshipful knight is done to death after this manner, to the great grief of his kin and friends, and of his six children, now both fatherless and motherless, and but young bairns also. The Jaffrays, through his death, fand not themselves the more secure, but held under continual fear of his friends, as indeed they had just reason. And albeit Haddo was an ancient baron, of a good estate, and still a loyal subject to the king, hardy, stout and bold in all hazards, a friend to his friends, and terrible to his enemies, of a good life and conversation, temperate, moderate, and religious, loath and unwilling still to give offence, and as loath to take offence, and withal a good neighbour, loving and kind to his tenants and friends; yet thus he ended nevertheless, without authority or warrant from the king; his life is taken from him, and his estate forfeited, being about fourscore chalders of yearly rent; his house of Kelly abused, his costly plenishing plundered; his girnels, wherein there was ninescore chalders victual to the fore, for three years' rents, by soldiers taken; his corns, cattle, horses, nolt, sheep, goods, and gear, whereof he had great abundance, altogether plucked and reft frae him by merciless rascals and runnagate soldiers, sent down by the estates of our parliament upon his ground, without the king's authority, and no part of his estate appointed by them to sustain his six fatherless children, but sustained (not according to their birth) with some friends in this country. It is true, his death was pitifully bemoaned and lamented, and some thought it would not go unrevenged.

John and Alexander Gordons, sons to — Gordon, at mill of Kelly, who were had over with him, were set to liberty thereafter.

Shortly after his death, the provost of Dumfries, called sir James Maxwell, was headed likewise at the cross of Edinburgh, for receiving some of the banders within the town; a true king's man, and hater of his enemies, for the which he suffered likewise death, as has been said.

Now the parliament goes on against sir George Gordon of Gight, and John Gordon, his brother, who was also had over with him to Edinburgh. He is accused upon diverse matters, but denies all; he is accused upon the plundering of Banff, whilk he denied, except some monies he received in borrowing, upon promise of restitution. It is referred to his oath; he depones conform, and subscribes his deposition; they craftily summoned over witnesses out of Banff to prove him perjured, and thereby guilty of death; at last his process is continued to the 8th of January, 1645, that the parliament should sit down; through whilk delay he escaped prison, as ye have hereafter.

Nathaniel Gordon, cousin-german to this laird of Gight, seeing him so straitly handled, and Haddo done to the death, looked for no better himself, if he happened to come in hands, for rising with the marquis of Huntly, and being at the abusing of Montrose, as ye have heard; he therefore resolved to stand out and defend himself as long as he could; and waits upon St. James' Fair, yearly holden at Elgin of Murray, the 24th of July, and having his cousin — Leith, younger of Harthill, and some few others of his faction in his company, he waited upon the coming of the merchants of Dundee and Aberdeen to this fair, and reft and spoilzied the harmless merchants of about fourteen thousand merks of money, to their great hurt and skaith. But the spoilzied burgeses of Aberdeen came into the town where the committee was sitting for the time, and made an heavy complaint upon this oppression; whereupon they sent out the lord Gordon, with other parties, to take the said Nathaniel Gordon and his complices; but they returned wanting their prey, and the honest men gat no amends.

About this time, captain Alexander Keith, brother to the earl Marischall, raised an horse troop, and sir William Forbes of Craigievar another horse troop, to attend this country; but sore was Old Aberdeen oppressed with the first troop, which came upon the last of July, had free quarters two days, and cut down the green growing bear to their horses; pitiful to behold!

Ye heard before of the down-sitting of the committee at Aberdeen. They go on grievously fining the marquis of Huntly's friends within the sherifffdom, such as came in; and upon the last of July, they set out a proclamation at the cross of Aberdeen, charging all such as had not yet come, within this shire, to compear yet upon the 8th of August next (whilk time they

had most graciously granted unto them), otherwise they should be declared fugitives. Like order was given to the shire of Banff, to compare before their committee holden at Elgin. In the meantime, they are curious in trying ilk man's estate in Aberdeen, and within the shire. They brought with them blank letters of horning, raised in the king's name, without his knowledge, against his loyal subjects; they fill up their letters with sic responsal men's names as they tried out; directs out messengers, and charges them to compare sic a certain day before their committees, under the pain of horning; both burrow and land who was responsal were charged, and their names well given up in a roll to the officers, besides the letters; such as compared were demanded before the committee what they would willingly lend to the publick; if they offered sic sums as were agreeable to their estate, and found reasonable, then at the receipts of their monies there was a band drawn up in sic debtors' names, lord, baron, or burges, as the creditor thought most responsal, conjunctly and severally, obliging them to pay to the creditor sic a sum (blank and not filled up) whilk they had borrowed frae the creditor, and whilk they had received in name of the publick, and obliged them to pay the samen sum blank to the creditor, at what time the publick received monies frae the parliament of England, or from the malignant papists of Scotland, or from the excise. Now all thir bands are made before-hand blank; and when the money is delivered, then the debtor's name, the creditor's name, and the sum, with annual rent, is filled up; but no term of payment nor date is contained in this band. This is the security that honest men gat for their monies, and they durst not say against, nor refuse the samen. So is his majesty's loyal subjects' goods and gear stolen and taken frae them, upon feigned and fraudulent causes.

2. If they compared, and made not a gracious offer to their contentment, then the committee, by the mouth of the lord Burleigh, their president, ordained them to pay sic sums as they thought good; and caused charge them, under the pain of horning to make payment; syne followed caption.

3. If they compared that were responsal men, and yet had no monies beside them to lend out, then the committee presently furnished them monies upon their band of repayment, with the annualls at Martinmass next, under failzies; syne gat the miller to themselves and the good cause.

4. If they compared not at all, then they were denounced to the horn, by virtue of letters written in Edinburgh, and brought blank to Aberdeen, and filled up and subscribed by Archibald marquis of Argyll, the lord Burleigh, the lord Elcho, and by these letters they are denounced to the horn for not lending such sums to the publick as were insert in the letters, under the hand of the said lord Burleigh; and upon this horning, caption with all rigour followed, by and attour the warding

of their persons in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, while payment was made. It was reported, that this was not extended to those who had a sufficient calling, and were worth six thousand merks of stock allanarly.

There was also brought out of Edinburgh, a number of blank bonds subscribed by Argyll, Burleigh, Elcho, Patrick Lealy, provost of Aberdeen, and other three persons, bound all conjunctly and severally to pay the creditor, lender of money to the good cause, sic sums as should be filled up in the samen by the president's device. Hell never hatched sic pieces for wreck of the country, and that none should escape !

Upon Sunday the 4th of August, a thanksgiving in Old Aberdeen, appointed by the committee of the kirk to be through all Scotland, for general Lesly's victory over prince Rupert, as ye have heard before. Our minister, Mr. William Strachan, declared out of pulpit, that this victory was miraculous, wrought by the finger of God. None of the people durst pray, but follow the minister in their hearts; neither did the minister sit down upon his knees when he came to the pulpit, but directly stood up to his prayer;—new in-come customs ! He prayed for the king, wishing God to give him an heart to take his subjects by the hand, who were the workers of this great work of reformation, and declared openly the goodness of the covenant betwixt us and England, and that we were obliged to help our brethren, lest they being overcome we might be overthrown also.

Our ministers are become prideful, and great railers out of pulpit, without respect of persons; and so rigorous in their discipline, that the people could not bide their prideful behaviour, and none durst find fault with thir disorders.

Upon the 9th of August, proclamation was made at the cross of Aberdeen, by sound of trumpet, declaring the castles and houses of Abergeldie, Aboyn, Drum, Whitehouse of Cromar, Aughtersfoul, Shethin, Tibbertie, and diverse other houses (except Gight, and Kelly, which the estates thought to be their own already), thir houses by the parliament were ordained to be casten down to the ground; nevertheless it was the gracious good-will of the general estates of Edinburgh, that if any of their responsal friends (who wished the said houses to be undemolished) would set caution before the committee at Aberdeen, under great sums, within six days after this proclamation, that none of the country's enemies should be receipt within them in all time coming, that then they should not be casten down; but no friend came in to this effect, thinking verily it was a snare devised to draw gentlemen under faisies, and so beheld this proclamation, and the estates doings both, come what may come; yet it pleased God that the houses were not casten down, but yet stand still; albeit it would appear very strange how subjects, without authority of a king, should set down laws upon their fellow-subjects for destroying the policy of the country.



Upon Sunday the 11th of August, our elders were chosen in the kirk of St. Machar, before the pulpit; but Mr. William Strachan, our minister, by himself, and without our knowledge, had drawn up certain articles in write, which he caused every elder to stand up and swear to with his hand holden up; and, first, he took their oath, that they should have morning and evening prayers in their houses, for example of the parish to do the like. 2d, To rebuke sin in general, and, in particular, profaners of the Sabbath-day, swearing, drinking, whoring, and such like, as occasion offered. 3d, To keep themselves free of such vice, and go before the people in holiness of life. 4th, To attend the session weekly, without a great reason; and some other articles; which the elders and deacons wondered at, never seeing the like before. Yet they were man by man sworn to the samen, suppose against their wills, and that the minister and they baith knew that they were unable to keep the foresaid oath; yet such was the pride of our minister, to charge men's consciences after his fantasy.

Upon the 14th of August, — Forbes, tutor of Pitsligo, brought John and Alexander Gordons, sons to — Gordon, at Mill of Kelly, to Aberdeen, from Edinburgh, who were had there with umquhile sir John Gordon of Haddo, as ye have heard.

Upon the 15th of August, sir William Forbes of Craigievar, rickmaster, went to the place of Harthill, and there cruelly took the goodwife, her bairns and servants, and most inhumanly shot them to the yetts, at command of our committee of Aberdeen, as was thought (her husband lying warded in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, without just reason, these diverse years bygone). Some thought this was done because her son was with Nathaniel Gordon, at the taking of the merchants' money, as ye have heard before; yet she wan to her own house again thereafter.

Upon the 17th of August, the lord Gordon coming to Aberdeen, saw the lord Crichton riding the samen way, who went by and gave not a salutation, which was evil-manners, and rode to Aberdeen. The lord Gordon took some offence, and follows into the town; but the committee takes presently order therewith, and causes ilk ane set caution for keeping the peace, whilk the estates themselves were daily breaking.

About this time, Thomas Boyes' ship, richly laden with Aberdeen's goods, going for Holland, and worth two hundred thousand merks, was taken by an Irish frigate, to the great hurt of Aberdeen.

Upon Saturday the 17th of August, about eleven hours at even, Alexander Irvine of Kingcausie coming quietly to Aberdeen (because he could not ride upon daylight, for being at the robbing of Montrose, as ye have heard), William Forbes, natural son to John Forbes of Lesly, happened to be coming out of Aberdeen, going to Banchory, where his father was dwelling,

and met with him about the Crabestone, who would have taken him and had him per force, to Aberdeen, looking to get for him five thousand merks, conform to an ordinance of the estates, that who should take him should get the samen sum. Kingcausie, being a fine gentleman, scorned to be tane with the like of him, and under speaking, this William Forbes shoots this gentleman dead with a pistol, and therewith strikes him cruelly two strokes on the head. Thus is this brave gentleman misfortunately murdered under silence of night, (never winning to his arms to defend himself), for greed of this gain, set out by the estates, without ground of godliness. Many were sorrowful at his death, being marvellously well beloved both in burrow and land; he left behind him his dolourous wife and five fatherless children. Upon the morn he is taken up and buried within the laird of Drum's Isle, in St. Nicholas church in New Aberdeen, with great mourning and lamentation. This innocent blood is no way punished according to the law of God and man, but is esteemed and publickly approved, as good and loyal service, in manifest contempt of our dreadful God and the king's law; for, upon the 21st of said month of August, four days immediately after the bloody murder, the said William Forbes is avowedly brought in before the committee of Aberdeen, and found to be a volunteer in sir William Forbes of Craigievar's company of troopers, and declared him to have done good service to the publick for murdering of this gentleman, for no other reason but because he was at Montrose with his young chief the laird of Drum, drawn there against his will, as some said. For this fault the taking of his life is approved good service, and absolved therefrae; likeas, the said committee sent a trumpeter to the cross of Aberdeen, and by open proclamation absolved him frae this murder freely, and ordained five thousand merks to be lifted off his estate, being about twelve chalders victual, whereof two thousand merks should be given to the malefactor, and three thousand to Craigievar, rickmaster, conform to an ordinance set out by the general committee of estates; likeas, of new again he was declared thereafter to have done good service, and to get his reward, strictly charging and commanding that no manner of man should speak or say against the samen, but laudably. But the Lord looked to their presumptuous sins and bloodshed; for in August, 1645, the said William Forbes, being keeping his father's house of Licklyhead, shooting a musket, shot his hand frae himself;—a token that the Lord thought not this innocent blood good service!

Upon the 17th of August, the lord Elcho and his lieutenant, Arnot, left his regiment in Aberdeen, and the lord Burleigh daily holding committees, and hastily rode south; he returned not, but Arnot came again.

Upon the 19th of August, Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, his lady, and her two gentlewomen; Robert Irvine, his

brother; Mr. Alexander Irvine, son to John Irvine of Arturford, and Robert Irvine, messengers, came to Aberdeen. They were convoyed out of Caithness from shire to shire, with a strong guard to Aberdeen; with whom came also Francis Sinclair all the way, with sixteen gentlemen in his train. They lodged that night in skipper Anderson's house, with a strong guard, and might not go to see the lady Drum dwelling in the town; they desired to see her, and to stay another night in Aberdeen to get clean linen, which was refused simpliciter. Upon the morn they are all convoyed south, except Robert Irvine, who gat liberty to bide at home, because it was found that he followed them against his will. They were all warded in the tolbooth of Edinburgh; but the said Francis Sinclair bade still in Aberdeen, with his own servants, to get payment of eighteen thousand merks for taking of young Drum, and five thousand merks for his brother; dishonourably acquired, and as evil paid, albeit ordained by the general committee of estates at Edinburgh to have been paid.

Doctor Guild, fully set to destroy the bishop's house, upon the 30th of August, began to raise the pavement of the hall and chamber, and to break down the great joists and stately timber work, hewn doore and windows, with the hail slates, and caned carry them down to the college. With the pavement he laid the floor of the common school. He took down the rigging stones, corner stones, with the rest. Sundry thought that he was not wise in doing the samen.

Ye heard before of the incoming of the Irishes, and proclamations made at kirks and crosses, like thunder; as, upon the 26th of August, all manner of man betwixt sixty and sixteen was charged to be in readiness with their best armour, and who-so wanted armour, to be served in Aberdeen, where there was lying one thousand muskets, powder and ball, brought in before, as ye have heard, upon their band for restitution, or to pay eighteen pound for the piece.

Upon the said 26th of August, the township of Aberdeen was convened within the Grayfriar kirk, where the lord Barleigh made a speech, desiring the lord provost, bailies, and community, to stand constantly to the covenant and work of reformation, and to defend our lives, wives, and children, and goods, against the Irish rebels and vagabond people, who were come to destroy our country. The people heard his speech, whereof some had small pleasure, thinking in their minds that this covenant and work of reformation had bred them great sorrow, travel, and expences, for furnishing out men, money, horses, arms, quartering, and taxations, which they might well been free of, if we had wanted this covenant and work of reformation, and lived as our predecessors had done, and likewise had been free of thir Irishes hanging over their heads. Others, zealous

of the good cause, shewed themselves hardy and stout, albeit they had their own knelling consciences, and did little good. Burleigh having ended, they part all in peace.

Now the committee of Aberdeen made the lord Gordon lieutenant-general of the north, beginning at the burrow of Aberdeen, having under his division betwixt Dee and Don, and the haill shire of Aberdeen, sherifffdom of Banff, and some part of Murray; whereupon the lord Gordon rides to Strathboggie, raises his friends and followers, and appointed his rendezvous to be at Kildrummy the 2d of September, who conveened there about three thousand horse and foot; and there was sent to him out of Aberdeen about three hundred muskets to arm his naked soldiers, with powder, match, and ball.

But lord Forbes, lord Fraser, and lord Crichton, could on no wise, with their friends and followers, condescend to follow the lord Gordon as lieutenant in this business, and came not to this meeting at Kildrummy, as he looked for; but they plainly declared before the committee they would follow no man but the lord Forbes. The lord Gordon having conveened about three thousand men as lieutenant at Kildrummy, and seeing thir lords absent, grudged therewith, and his friends and followers not liking well the cause, went ilk ane a sundry gate, and left him lying at Kildrummy with about four hundred men that durst not go from him at this time.

The committee, loath to want the friendship of the Forbesses, Frasers, and Crichtons, and their followers, chooses the lord Forbes to be crowner, and they to follow him, wherewith they were content; but the lord Gordon was offended, seeing it touched him deeply in his honour, whilk made him also grow cold in the service, as after does appear, and at the last left it simpliciter, and joined with Montrose, as ye shall hear hereafter.

The committee begins to discuss the wealthy widows in Aberdeen, and to borrow money from them upon band, as well as frae the men. As thir matters are in hand, excises, dinging down of castles, borrowing of monies, taxations, and other daily vexations, the committee gat some other labour ado shortly, albeit they were still busy; for, upon the 2d of September, they caused denounce to the horn twenty-three honest resposnal burgesses of Aberdeen, for not lending of sic monies as they themselves set down, whilk the honest men thought hard to obey, and upon this horning, caption was to be raised, and their persons to be taken and warded while payment was made, without law of God or authority of the king. But this committee, givers out of thir laws, gat other labour ado shortly, and the honest men some redress of this oppression, as hereafter does appear.

Upon the 4th of September, there was direct by the committee a proclamation to be made at the cross of Aberdeen, by sound

of trumpet, declaring Francis Sinclair to have made good and faithful service to the publick, in taking of Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum; Robert Irvine, his brother; Mr. Alexander Irvine, and Robert Irvine, messenger; and therefore ordained him to receive from the publick eighteen thousand merks for the said Alexander Irvine, younger, and five thousand merks for the said Robert Irvine, his brother, as a remembrance of his service, conform to an act given out by the general committee at Edinburgh, ordaining such sums to be paid to the takers of thir persons.

And, as ye heard before, William Forbes was of new again declared to be good and loyal, for murdering of Alexander Irvine of Kincausie, and to get his reward as formerly said, strictly charging and commanding that no man should speak or say against thir persons, but laudibly to praise and approve the samen, in all places and conferences, as occasion does offer, under great pain: yet the godly had their own thoughts. Francis Sinclair gat no more at this time but five thousand merks for his unnatural service, whilk was little enough to bear his expences home, with sixteen gentlemen of train. But behold the Lord's doings! This William Forbes, in August, 1645, with shooting a musket, shot his right hand off, for all his good service.

About this time, John lord Loudon, chancellor of Scotland, past to London by sea.

Mr. Andrew Cant got a letter from Nathaniel Gordon, whilk fleyed him to the heart, and caused him remove out of the town, and bide while the marquis of Argyll's coming here.

Mr. William Rait, one of our Oldtown baillies, brought in a drill-master to learn our poor bodies to handle their arms, who had more need to hold the plough, and win their living. The town was evil vexed; it was divided in three quarters, and ilk quarter went out with their baillies time about, and began the 3d of September. This gouked gyee was begun by our baillie, to shew his love to the good cause, being a main Covenanter. The town was forced to pay their drill-master daily twenty-four shillings of fee, wherewith they greatly grudged; but it lasted not long. The baillies brought out of Aberdeen thirty-eight muskets, upon band to restore or pay the value of them, done chiefly by this Mr. William Rait.

Notwithstanding of thir fears and business, our committee sits daily in Aberdeen, Burleigh being president, and following the wicked counsel of provost Lesly, Mr. Alexander Jaffray, Mr. Robert Farquhar, Mr. William Moir, and other prime Covenanters, and mortal enemies to the king's loyal subjects in Aberdeen.

Ye heard before of imprinted proclamations set out. Now our committee of Aberdeen, upon the 6th of September, gives out order to the sherifffdoms of Aberdeen, Kineardine, and Banff,

to have their rendezvous at Aberdeen, horse and foot, in their best arms, upon the 9th and 10th days of September next, and the sheriff of Murray to be in like manner here upon the 12th and 13th days of September; but none came out of Kincardine, nor out of Murray, and few out of Banff. But some principal men out of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff came as follows, viz. the earl of Errol's men in Buchan, under the leading of James Hay of Muirfold, himself being but a bairn; the earl Marischall's men in Buchan (but himself kept Dunotter), under the leading of — Keith of Clachrioch; the earl of Kinghorn's men of Belhelvie, under the leading of John Udny; the lord Forbes, the lord Fraser, the lord Crichton, the tutor of Pitsligo, Alexander Keith (brother to the earl Marischall), with a horse troop; Lewis Gordon, son to the marquis, with a horse troop, (his brother, the lord Gordon, being absent); sir William Forbes of Craigievar, with an horse troop; sir William Forbes of Tolquhon, Thomas Forbes of Watertown, John Kennedy of Kermuck, — Ogilvie of Boyne, John Udny of that ilk, sir William Forbes of Monymusk, John Forbes of Lesly, — Skene of that ilk, — Forbes of Echt, — Forbes of Corsindae, — Forbes of Largie, Alexander Strachan of Glenkindy, Thomas Erskine of Balhaggertie, — Baird of Auchmedden, with their friends and followers; diverse others also out of the burrow of Banff, and countries thereabout, came to this rendezvous, with the laird of Birkenbog. Siclike, the lord Burleigh and lieutenant Arnot was in the town, with about four hundred of the Fife regiment; but the earl Marischall, with his Mearns men, bade at home, and the lord Gordon, with his friends, came not to this rendezvous, alledging he had gotten wrong by the committee at Aberdeen, in choosing the lord Forbes to be colonel over sic persons as were under his division, as ye have heard before.

Ye heard before of M'Donald's taking service with Montrose, his landing and progress with the Irishes, and what order the estates took in setting forth proclamations. As M'Donald marched in through Badenoch, M'Donald of Keppach and his forces came willingly unto him, with diverse others; the tutor of Struan, with his friends and followers, at his coming to Athol, came unto him; and here likewise James marquis of Montrose trysted with this M'Donald and Irishes. He came secretly from England, accompanied only with crowner Hay and crowner Sibbald, as was said; and, clad in coat and trews, upon his foot he came to Athol, where diverse gentlemen of that country met him, especially the Stuarts of Athol, and offered their service to him. The lord Kilpont came there, with some friends. This mighty marquis of Montrose, clad now with the king's commission and authority, calling now to mind the manifold injuries and oppressions done to him by the estates, especially by Argyll, since the beginning of this covenant, and resolving to

revenge the king's quarrel and his own both, against the king's rebels and his mortal enemies, to the utmost of his power, (which indeed he did after a miraculous manner in several battles, as ye shall hear, to the great fear and terror of all Scotland), he marches from Athol above St. Johnstown. The general committee of estates at Edinburgh, hearing of the Irish progress, hastily raises out of the shires of Fife, Perth, and Angus, an army of about six thousand foot and eight hundred horse, with expert officers and commanders, ammunition, powder, ball, and four field-pieces, to go upon thir Irishes. They were well in order, both horse and foot; they march forward, and, upon Sunday the 1st of September, both parties meet under a muir, four miles bewest St. Johnstown, called Tibbermuir; but the lieutenant foresaid Montrose, routed and defeated thir hail forces with great slaughter, killed one thousand three hundred, some say one thousand five hundred, of their men, and took eight hundred prisoners, whom they made to serve in their wars. They gat plenty of arms, powder, ball, their cannon, and some horse, bag and baggage, with little loss for themselves. Lieutenant Montrose atchieved the victory with few men, not exceeding three thousand foot, with few or no horsemen at all, and with loss of some, but not many men, and none of note except the lord Kilpont, who was by one of his own men suddenly and unhappily slain, to the lieutenant's grief. After this conflict, he, upon the morn, being Monday the 2d of September, takes in the burrow of St. Johnstown, with little debate and small blood. They plunder the town for goods, monies, arms, ammunition, and such of their men as they thought meet to serve in the wars, with all the horse they could get, whereof this lieutenant was scarce, as I have said.

After this business, diverse gentlemen who had followed the marquis of Huntly, and had been at Montrose, and durst not be seen for fear of their lives, came to this lieutenant, glad to hazard their lives and fortunes in his service, rather than to live in sic misery; whereof Nathaniel Gordon was one, accompanied with about thirty well-horsed gentlemen, who were well received according to their worths. See hereafter how he stole away.

There came also in to him, James earl of Airly, Alexander lord Spynie, — lord Duplin, sir John Drummond (brother to lord Drummond), the laird of Fintray, Graham, the laird of Inverquharitie, the lord of Ogil, Ramsay, the laird of Drumkilbo, two of the earl of Airly's sons, sir Thomas and sir David Ogilvies, and diverse others; and as they came in, the lieutenant caused them swear and subscribe the king's prerogative and oath of allegiance. Crowner Hay and crowner Sibbald came with Montrose from England.

The committee of Aberdeen, hearing of thir troubles, conveens the Fife regiment, lying in the country and in Aberdeen, and sends for lieutenant Arnot, who came. They sent for the sol-

diers lying in Auchmedden, Gight, Kelly, and Drum, and makes up about five hundred men, and sends the committee-money and best gear to Dunotter.

Upon Sunday the 8th of September, warning made at our Oldtown kirk, after forenoon's sermon, that all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen, within this parish, (excepting sic as is under the lord Gordon's division), to be in readiness the morn, with fifteen days' loan, under the pain of death, according to an ordinance of the committee, and this order to be observed through all the parish churches within the shires of Kincardine, Banff, and Aberdeen; but little obedience was given to thir untimely warnings.

In the meantime, the lieutenant comes through Angus from St. Johnstown, and, upon the 6th of September, encamps near Dundee, where many of the country people fled before his coming, and some regiments came also, whereby the town was strong enough. Nevertheless, the lieutenant summoned it to surrender, but they stood out stoutly; whereupon he lifts his camp, being about three thousand foot and an hundred and sixty horse, besides baggage horse. He marches frae Dundee through the Mearns, writes a letter to the earl Marischall, now lying at Dunotter, and incloses within the samen a letter written frae the king to him; he declared his intention was nowise to disturb the peace of his majesty's loyal subjects, but to be against the traitors of the land, enemies to his royal prerogative; and desired him to rise, concur, and assist with him, his majesty's lieutenant, as he would be answerable upon his own peril. Marischall wrote back no answer, but sent his mind by words, and syne sends in the lieutenant's letters to the committee at Aberdeen, shewing his fidelity to the country; but he lay still in Dunotter when most was ado.

Ye heard before of the incoming of the shires of Banff and Aberdeen; they were reckoned about one thousand five hundred foot and three hundred troopers, and about four hundred Fifemen and other dispersed soldiers; and both the towns of Aberdeen estimate to about five hundred foot. They begin to watch the bridge of Dee, and makes some safeguards and fortifications to little effect. The town of Aberdeen chooses four captains for the four quarters thereof, viz. Patrick Lesly, younger son to the provost, Alexander Lumsden, Alexander Burnett, and Thomas Melvine, with other officers, and major Arthur Forbes to be their chief leader; and thus was our people betwixt sixty and sixteen put to drilling in the links, and carrying of arms, and sent their wealth and committee-monies to Dunotter to be kept. The lieutenant, in the meantime, miskens the bridge of Dee, and, upon Wednesday the 11th of September, he crossed the water at the mills of Drum, and encamped about Crathes; but the lieutenant himself supped with the laird of Leys, together with his guard, after he had summoned him to surrender his



house. He did no harm, but took some arms and horse, and premises of some men. Leya offered him five thousand merks of money, which he nobly refused.

As he is thus lying at Crathes, our army lyes at watch all night in arms, and many town's people and country people steal away for fear; whereupon proclamation was given out, forbidding any to stir frae the camp without order, under the pain of death, and whoso happened to apprehend and kill them in their flight should have five hundred merks for his pains, whilk bred great fear, yet many did hazard, and stole away frae the camp, albeit the ways and bridges of Don and Dee were straitly watched day and night.

Upon Wednesday the 11th of September, our army marched out of the town to the Twa Mile Cross; but upon Thursday they returned back to the town at night.

The enemy marches down Deeside, and comes that samen night to that samen place of Twa Mile Cross, where they set down their camp.

Upon Friday the 13th of September, about eleven hours, our army begins to march out of the town. Lieutenant Montrose writes a letter to the provost and baillies of Aberdeen, sends a drummer to tuck a parley, and a commissioner to deliver the letter, whilk bare a command and charge to render the town to him as lieutenant to his majesty, and in the king's name, whereby he might have peaceable entertainment to use his majesty's proclamations, and sic orders as he thought fit; promising assurance that no more harm or prejudice should be done to the town, but to take their entertainment that night; otherwise if they would disobey, he desired them to remove old aged men, women, and children, out of the gate, and to stand to their peril. This letter was delivered to the provost; he convenes his council at the Bow Bridge, in Alexander Findlater's house, where the lord Burleigh, the lieutenant Arnot, Mr. James Baird, and some others was. They caused the commissioner and drummer drink heartily, and sends an answer (by the way, the drummer was unhappily slain). Montrose fand their answer was to stand out and defend themselves to the uttermost; and finding his drummer, against the law of nations, most inhumanly slain, he grew mad and furious and impatient, our army being upon their march when he was slain, about eleven hours, towards the Justice Mills. At the receipt of whilk answer, the lieutenant comes quickly, marching frae the Twa Mile Cross to meet us, charging his men to kill all, and pardon none.

Our cannon begins the play; our troopers pursue hastily; the enemy shot their cannon, and defend stoutly also with musketeers; the fight continues during the space of two hours; at last we take the flight; our troops upon horseback wan safely away, except sir William Forbes of Craigievar, and John Forbes of Largie, who were taken prisoners. There was little slaughter

in the fight; but horrible was the slaughter in the flight fleeing back to the town, which was our townsmen's destruction; where as if they had fled, and not come near the town, they might have been in better security, but being commanded by Patrick Lesly, provost, to take the town, they were undone. Yet himself and the prime Covenanters being on horseback, wan away safely. The lieutenant follows the chase into Aberdeen, his men hewing and cutting all manner of men they could overtake within the town, upon the streets, or in their houses, or round about the town as our men were flying, with broad swords, without mercy or remead. Thir cruel Irishes, seeing a man well clad, would first turr him, to save his cloaths unspoiled, syne kill the man. We lost three pieces of cannon, with much good armour, besides the plundering of our town, houses, merchants' booths, and all, which was pitiful to see! The lord Burleigh, Mr. Alexander Jaffray and his sons, Mr. Robert Farquhar, Walter Cochran, Mr. James Baird, advocate in Edinburgh, and diverse other Covenanters, wan away. Montrose follows the chase into the town, leaving the body of his army standing close unbroken while his return, excepting such as fought the field. He had promised them the plundering of the town for their good service, but he stayed not, but returned back from Aberdeen to the camp this samen Friday at night, leaving the Irishes killing, robbing, and plundering of this town at their pleasure; and nothing was heard but pitiful howling, crying, and weeping and mourning through all the streets! Thus thir Irishes continued Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. Some women they pressed to deflower, and others they took per force to serve them in the camp. It is lamentable to hear how thir Irishes, who had gotten the spoil of the town, did abuse the samen; the men they killed they would not suffer to be buried, but turred their cloaths off them, syne left the naked bodies lying above the ground. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father, which if they did and were heard, then they were presently slain also.

As thir savage Irishes are at this work, the lieutenant gave orders to the body of the army to march upon Saturday the 14th of September (except sic Irishes as were plundering the town and killing our men, which went not with them), forwards to Kintore, Inverurie, and Garioch. Upon which Saturday, the marquis of Montrose comes in to the town, accompanied with James earl of Airly, the lord Spynie, the lord Duplin, sir John Drummond, son to the earl of Perth, sir Thomas Ogilvie, son to the said earl of Airly, the laird of Fintray, Graham, the laird of Inverquharitie, the laird of Ogil, Ramsay, sir Thomas Tyrie of Drumkilbo, and diverse others. He lodged in skipper Anderson's house, (the army being removed, except sic as bade be hind plundering the town, as said is); and first he caused put to liberty the hail prisoners out of the tolbooth, some of whom

were put up for following the marquis of Huntly, whereof John Gordon of Invermarkie, a brave gentleman, was one, Alexander Irvine of Lenturk, and Robert Irvine, messenger; others for debt, sic as Mr. William Chalmers of Blair, and diverse others; about thirty persons altogether, whereof doubtless thir gentlemen were most glad; and the said John Gordon of Invermarkie, and diverse others went to him, to serve him in his wars.

This being doue, he causes proclaim his majesty's letters patent at the cross, being an ample lieutenantry, made and granted to prince Rupert, general of his forces within the kingdom of Scotland, and to James marquis of Montrose, his lieutenant-general, and to sir Alexander M'Donald, M'Coll M'Kittish, under him, captain of the Irish forces in that service, for taking order with the insurrection in that kingdom, and bringing of the king's subjects to their wonted obedience by fair means, or by fire and sword; the penitent to be pardoned; the malignant out-standers to be punished with all rigour, and so forth. But thir letters patent were not past our Scots seals. This was published, and an imprinted copy affixed upon the cross; thereafter, another proclamation was made in the said lieutenant's own name, commanding and charging his majesty's lieges to come in, swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance under pain of fire and sword, whereof an printed copy was likewise affixed to the said mercat cross; likeas, he intended to cause publish the samen through all the parishes at the parish churches; but he was interrupted by the coming of Argyll hard at his heels, as may be seen hereafter.

Many who loved the king were glad at this news, others of the covenant were no less. Thir things done, the lieutenant stays all night in skipper Anderson's house, the cruel Irishes killing and robbing all this while that he is about this business. Sunday all day he stays, but neither preaching nor prayers was in any of the Aberdeens, because the ministers, through guiltiness of their consciences, had fled. This lieutenant was clad in coat and trews, as the Irishes were clad; ilk ane had in his cap or bonnet a rip of oats, whilk was his sign; our town's people began to wear the like in their bonnets, and to knit them to the knocks of our yetts, but it was little safeguard to us, albeit we used the samen for a protection.

Upon Monday the 16th of September, the soldiers who had bidden behind, rifling and spoiling of both Aberdeens, were now charged by tuck of drum to remove and follow the camp under the pain of death; and thereafter himself began that day to march towards the camp lying about Kintore, Inverurie, Lesly, Liklyhead, and other parts about, wasting and destroying the country. He had his two prisoners, sir William Forbes of Craigievar and John Forbes of Largie, with him, of whom ye shall hear more hereafter. And albeit the lieutenant marched thus away, yet the lord Spynie bade quietly behind in the town, who was thereafter taken, as ye may hear, and many runnagate

Irishes bade behind, rifling and spoiling the Old and New towns pitifully, and none durst bury the dead; yea, and I saw two corps carried to their burial through the Oldtown, with women only, and not a man amongst them, so that the naked corps lay unburied so long as thir limmars were ungone to the camp; albeit the lieutenant himself, the samen Monday before he went out of the town, gave orders to both Aberdeens to bury their dead, whilk they did with great fear of their own lives.

Here it is to be marked, that the night before this field was foughten, our people saw the moon rise as red as blood, two hours before her time! and siclike, at the beginning of this battle, there rose a high and mighty wind out of the west south-west in the back of the enemy, and face of our people, which was to our prejudice; thirdly, our town and country people were all guided and ruled by Covenanters at this time, whilk stayed the town from rendering to the king's lieutenant upon sic fair conditions; but the pride of our magistrates, Covenanters, as said is, would not yield; whereupon followed blood and hardship baith, and many honest men brought to their grave through the evil counsel and wicked governance of thir malignant magistrates. Sic as,

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| 1. Mr. Alexander Reid, advocate.             | 24. Alexander Panton, burgess, there.          |
| 2. Mr. Robert Reid, advocate.                | 25. Thomas Lindsay, taylor, there.             |
| 3. Robert Durward, burgess of Aberdeen.      | 26. William Galloway, cordiner, there.         |
| 4. Robert Ray, burgess, there.               | 27. Thomas Steuart, cordiner, there.           |
| 5. Robert Harrow, maltman, there.            | 28. Thomas Webster, piper, there.              |
| 6. Alexander Findlater, litster, there.      | 29. Peter Schewan, burgess, there.             |
| 7. Alexander Jameson, farmer, there.         | 30. James Brayns, alias Altibra, there.        |
| 8. George Fyfe, laxfisher, there.            | 31. John Douglas, taylor, there.               |
| 9. John Camrell, master of fence, there.     | 32. Andrew Davidson, wright, there.            |
| 10. Robert Anderson, taylor, there.          | 33. James Paterson, wright, there.             |
| 11. Patrick Ker, officer, there.             | 34. Alexander Reid, servitor to Geo. Farquhar. |
| 12. Robert Milne, miller, there.             | 35. Gilbert Adam, cordiner, there.             |
| 13. Gilbert Brock, officer, there.           | 36. Gilbert Wilson, cooper, there.             |
| 14. George Piper, wright, there.             | 37. Andrew Burnet, burgess, there.             |
| 15. Andrew Lealy, webster, there.            | 38. William Morison, burgess, there.           |
| 16. John Warrack, webster, there.            | 39. George Laing, taylor, there.               |
| 17. James Innes in Old Aberdeen.             | 40. William Thomson, taylor, there.            |
| 18. William Barnett, taylor in Old Aberdeen. | 41. John Bonner in Clerkseat.                  |
| 19. John Nicolson, fruitman, there.          | 42. James Hall, maltman in Aberdeen.           |
| 20. John Bodgie, merchant, there.            | 43. William Roust, webster, there.             |
| 21. William Murray, taylor, there.           | 44. Alexander Robertson, webster, there.       |
| 22. James Low, cordiner, there.              | 45. Alexander Robertson, webster, there.       |
| 23. James Ramsay, gunner, there.             | 46. Thomas Fiddes, laxfisher, there.           |

47. Alexander Middleton, burgess, there.
48. William Smith, webster, there.
49. William Christie, cobler, there.
50. George Robertson, smith, there.
51. Alexander Mar, stone-leader, there.
52. James Mar in Robalaw.
53. William Kelman, webster in Aberdeen.
54. George Mar, elder, there.
55. George Mar, younger, there.
56. Charles Stephen, lister, there.
57. Vice Thomson, scholar, there.
58. George Wood, hukster, there.
59. Alexander Davidson, gardener, there.
60. William Cumming, laxfisher, there.
61. Alexander Thomson, maltman, there.
62. Samuel Meason, burgess, there.
63. ——— Meason, his son.
64. Thomas Moir, webster, there.
65. John Strachan, webster, there.
66. George Auchinleck, there.
67. David Milne, post, there.
68. John Calder, kail-seller, there.
69. — Clark, brother to James Clark, slater, there.
70. James Home, smith, there.
71. Robert Gordon, taylor, there.
72. Robert Anderson, taylor, there.
73. Andrew Davidson, tanner, there.
74. James Rob, drummer, there.
75. James Skene, cook, there.
76. — — — servitor to Alexander Willox, there.
77. William May, there.
78. Thomas Steuart, cordiner, there.
79. George Cumming, there.
80. } Three men slain to William
81. } Smith in Gilcomstown.
82. }
83. } Three men slain to James Crook-
84. } shank of Newhills.
85. }
86. William Auld, at the Bridge of Dee.
87. Gilbert Strachan, there.
88. William Freeman, there.
89. James Davidson, webster in Aberdeen.
90. Thomas Fraser, laxfisher, there.
91. James Ord, stabler, there.
92. George Black, taylor, there.
93. Andrew Torrie in Old Aberdeen.
94. William Muir, skinner, there.
95. Thomas Volum, there.
96. John M'Konachie, there.
97. John Glennie in Aberdeen.
98. John Law, webster, there.

Thir persons were not Covenanters, but harled out sore against their wills to fight against the king's lieutenant.

Besides whom, there was also slain of Covenanters diverse and sundry other persons. Sic as,

1. Mr. Matthew Lumsden, baillie in Aberdeen.
2. Thomas Barclay, taylor, there.
3. Peter Burry, burgess, there.
4. William Innes, burgess, there.
5. William Ronald, merchant, there.
6. Thomas Robertson, cordiner, there.
7. James Milne, saddler, there.
8. Thomas Burnett, merchant, there.
9. David Edie, burgess, there.
10. George Maschlet, couper, there.
11. George Burnett, burgess, there.
12. John Burnett, burgess, there.
13. Andrew Rob, causey-maker, there.
14. Thomas Buck, burgess, there.
15. John Downie, wright, there.
16. Robert Lealy, maltman, there.
17. Thomas Thomson, burgess, there.
18. } There were three servants slain
19. } to Andrew Burnet of Shed-
20. } docksley.

Thir people were townsmen, slain in the fight, and in the flight, chiefly the day of the battle, and thereafter without the town, about Justice Mills, Forester Hill, Sheddocksley, and other parts of the freedom, and within the town, in their houses and on the causey, indwellers within the town and freedom thereof. There was also slain some country people, and some of the Fife regiment; but to Montrose there were few killed that came to our knowledge.

It may be clearly seen how our dread sovereign was forced to draw the sword to suppress his disloyal subjects, who, after he had granted our haill desires, was crossed, by sending in armies to England without his licence or authority; yea, and taking part with the enemies of that kingdom against his royal majesty, and without any warrant of his highness, and contrary to monarchical government; whereupon he is forced to draw his sword, as said is, and many of his good and loyal subjects lose their lives, drawn on in service against him by the Covenanters, sore against their wills, as may be seen in doleful Aberdeen, and before at Tibbermuir, at St. Johnstown, and in England and Ireland also.

Ye heard before how lieutenant Montrose marched out of Aberdeen; upon Monday the 16th of September, there came in to him — Gordon of Abergeldie, and Donald Farquharson of Tulliegarmount, with diverse other friends and followers, all gentlemen distressed for favouring and following the house of Huntly; and he marched this Monday towards the camp lying at Inverurie and country about.

In the meantime the marquis of Argyll is come to Brechin, where diverse meet him, such as the earl Marischall, the lord Gordon (who lay quiet before), the lord Forbes, the lord Fraser, the lord Crichton, with diverse other barons, Covenanters. He was about ten troops of horse, having his foot army following him; and he was conveyed from Brechin to the place of Drum upon Tuesday the 17th of September, where he stayed that night.

Now, as sorrowful Aberdeen is lamenting their losses after Montrose left the town, thinking to get no more vexation, there comes in upon the Wednesday, and 18th of September thereafter, certain of Argyll's troops, with sound of trumpet, himself being at Drum; whereupon Patrick Lesly, provost, and Patrick Lesly, his eldest son, Mr. Alexander Jaffray and his sons, Mr. Robert Farquhar, Mr. William Moir, Walter Cochran, Mr. Andrew Cant, minister, and remanent Covenanters of Aberdeen, the lord Burleigh, lieutenant Arnot, Mr. James Baird, and others, who fled the fight, came ilk ane after other in Aberdeen, and crop the causey bravely; but Mr. Andrew Cant came from Edinburgh, as ye have before.

Upon this samen Wednesday, and 18th of September, proclamations were made, by the marquis of Argyll's direction, at the

cross of Aberdeen, declaring the marquis of Montrose, his followers, assisters and partakers, to be traiters to religion, king, and country, and who should bring in Montrose, quick or dead, should have for his reward twenty thousand pounds; and suchlike the town's people, who for fear of Montrose had fled their houses, were charged to return back again, and live in peace; but they gat more troubles. Some thought this proclamation, given out by Argyll's direction against the king's lieutenant-general, clad with his letters patent, was well strange to a subject to do against the king's authority.

Upon Thursday the 19th of September, about three hours afternoon, there came into Aberdeen, three foot regiments out of Argyll, estimate to three thousand men; one foot regiment under the earl of Lothian, another foot regiment under the laird of Lares, and an horse regiment under the earl of Dalhousie, brought by Argyll out of England for this service against Montrose.

This multitude of people lived upon free quarters, a new grief to both towns; whereof there was quartered on poor Old Aberdeen, Argyll's own three regiments. The soldiers had their baggage carried, and craved nothing but house-room and fire; but ilk captain, with twelve gentlemen, had free quarters so long as the town had meat or drink for two ordinaries; but the third ordinary, they furnished themselves out of their own baggage and provision, having store of meat, nolt, and sheep, carried with them; but the first night they drank out all the stale ale in Old Aberdeen, and lived upon wort thereafter. It is said the marquis of Argyll had followed thir Irishes who fled out of his country about ten weeks' time, but could never win within two days and a half's journey towards them, but now his foot army lying at Aberdeen was within half a day's journey of them, lying about Inverurie and the Garioch; and so Argyll himself, with his troops lying now at Drum, was within like distance to them; but little following was there now, ilk party herrying and destroying the country wherever they came, in their bestial, nolt, sheep, ky, victuals, and other goods, and in finding their horse-troops and baggage-horse with corn, whereof the corns about both Aberdeens felt the smart.

Upon Saturday the 21st of September, Old Aberdeen was compelled to furnish twenty baggage-horse to follow Argyll's three foot regiments, quartered in our town, who had lyen since Thursday afternoon till this Saturday, that they began to march towards the place of Drum and the countries about. They had captains and commanders with Argyll's colours, which were black, and a yellow cross going through them, bearing this motto, "For religion, country, king, and covenant." Marvelous to see Argyll, with his horse troops and foot army, so near his enemy, and to ly still without pursuing of them so long time! However, he takes resolution to send half of his Argyll men back

to keep the country, and to keep the other half beside himself, whilk was so done.

Lieutenant Montrose, lying at Kintore and Inverurie, upon Monday the 16th of September, and hearing of Argyll's coming to Drum, just upon the morn he begins to march towards Speyside, but could not win over the water, the boats being drawn on the other side, and Murray convened in arms. Montrose sees it was so; he then draws himself towards the wood of Abernethie, and there lies still. Argyll being at Drum, follows him the length of Strathboggie, and returns without more vassalage; and the samen Saturday that his footmen went out of Aberdeen, being the 21st of September, he comes quietly to Aberdeen upon the night, with a few horse. The earl of Lothian's regiment and laird of Lare's regiment was lying in Aberdeen before him, attending his service, for he had stayed two nights at the place of Drum before he went to Strathboggie, following Montrose, and returned to Aberdeen, as I have said. The earl of Findlater, and diverse country barons, meet him at Aberdeen, contrair to the king's lieutenant; but Argyll was by our estates made governour of Scotland, with power to raise arms against him, whilk was strange to see, under a monarchical king!

Now, here by the way it is to be noted, that upon the samen Saturday that Argyll came to Aberdeen, the lord Spynie, bidding behind Montrose, was taken and warded in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, as ye heard before, and this Saturday had to Edinburgh, where he was there warded again. He was convoyed south with Craigievar's troop; with whom Robert lord Burleigh, Mr. James Baird, advocate, John Denham, commissary-general, and the rest went also, resolving to hold no committee in Aberdeen more at this time.

Sunday the 22d of September, preaching in both Aberdeens by our ministers, who had now returned frae their flight back to Aberdeen. After the forenoon's sermon, Mr. William Strachan read out a paper, charging all manner of men within this parish to bring in their horses of forty pound price and above, against the 26th of September next, and the lord Gordon's regiment under his division to come in the samen day, but no obedience was given to thir charges.

Sunday afternoon, Argyll held a council of war; Monday the 23d of September, he likewise held a council of war; where it is to be noted, that the earl Marischall, the lord Gordon, Forbes, Fraser, nor Crichton, nor none other of the Covenanting barons, drew up their friends and followers within the sheriffdoms of Kincardine, Aberdeen, or Banff, to follow and assist Argyll, as they were wont to rise before, in the beginning of this covenant.

Now, after this council of war, Argyll goes to horse, and begins to march from Aberdeen, with the earl of Lothian and laird of Lare's two regiments, towards Strathboggie; and as he goes out, in comes the samen Monday to Aberdeen, the laird of Buch-



annan's regiment, about eight hundred foot; he stayed all night, and upon the morn marches after Argyll. But pitifully was both Aberdeens, and the country about, plagued in furnishing baggage-horse to thir haill regiments, as they daily came in, so that no horse was left to bring in the shorn corns to the corn-yard, nor to bring in a load of peats to the fire, nor a boll of victual to live upon, but women carried upon their backs the ground malt frae the mills to be drink. So is this poor land vexed and opprest, besides their corns destroyed with service-horse and baggage-horse.

Upon Wednesday immediately before Michaelmas, and the 25th of September, Mr. Robert Farquhar was chosen provost of Aberdeen; John Kay, Thomas Mortimer, Alexander Jaffray, and Patrick Lesly, younger, were chosen bailies, for an year.

Argyll marches forward frae Aberdeen to Strathboggie, with an army of horse and foot, having the lord Gordon and his brother, Lewis, in his company, where he destroyed the haill Raws of Strathboggie, corn-field lands, outsgit, insight, horse, and sheep, and all other goods they plundered whilk they could get; and it was said the lord Gordon beheld all, because they would not rise and follow him as their young chief. Stryla and Boyn were sore wrecked, and when the army plundered Strathboggie, then they lived upon the Enzie, herrying the country, and destroying the corns so, that there was not four householders left of the name of Gordon dwelling there, but all had fled, and some even alledged they went willingly to Montrose' army; and likewise they destroyed the corns and bestial of Strathaven, Auchindown, and other lands about, whilk made them also to break out. A wonderful unnaturality in the lord Gordon, to suffer his father's lands and friends in his own sight to be thus wrecked and destroyed in his father's absence!

Upon Sunday the 29th of September, a fast was kept through the presbytery of Aberdeen, appointed by the brethren and moderator thereof to be kept on that Sunday, and upon Sunday next thereafter following, whilk was solemnly kept both days for the sins of the land, which was just; but no repentance for the main mother-sin, whilk was the change of government both in church and policy within the land, and bringing in a reformation whereof the kirk was a wicked instrument, misregarding the king's authority in their preposterous zeal, which was backed by the pretended estates, by raising of arms, and sending to England against our dread sovereign, after he had granted us all our will. There was no repentance neither for our rebellion in thir parts, but thought all good service for our pretended work of reformation, whereby most justly the sword was drawn and brought in amongst us; yet the people, through the main trespasses of the pastors and estates, is drawn from their work in height of harvest to thir feigned fastings, with four hours' doctrine to ilk sermon, whereby they were sore wearied and vexed, and the

great God looking down upon their hypocritical humiliations, by all appearance not well pleased, nor duly worshipped.

Upon the first Sunday's fast, Mr. William Strachan, after sermon, in Argyll's name, warned the lord Gordon's troopers within the parish of Old St. Machar, to compear in Aberdeen upon the 8th of October next, bringing with them an saddle-horse, worth one hundred merks, and a baggage-horse worth forty merks, under great pains. Strange to see sic charges given out, except in the king's name! but little obedience was given to thir charges, neither was this fast universal through all Scotland, but only within the presbytery of Aberdeen; such was the sincerity of our arch-puritans!

Ye heard before how Argyll's foot army marched frae Aberdeen to the lands of Drum; himself with his horse troops having removed, before their coming, towards Strathboggie; albeit he had stayed two nights before he removed, eating and destroying the corns and bestial with his troopers. Now his foot army began where he left off, cutted down the pleasant garden-planting to be huts, destroyed the corns, and left not a four-footed beast in the lands of Drum, Cromar, Auchterfoul, Aboyn, Abergeldie, and country about; syne the one-half went to Athol home to Argyll, and the other half bade upon their master's service, who, as ye have heard, were marched to Strathboggie, destroying that country, the Enzie, Strath-Isla, and Boyn, and not minting to follow the enemy, lying in the wood of Abernethie, as ye have heard.

Upon Sunday the 6th of October, fast was kept throughout the bounds of our presbytery of Aberdeen, by ordination of the moderator thereof, and his puritan brethren, and not kept elsewhere. The people was continually vexed with fasting and prayer, but our pastors never urged repentance for the mother-sin, in bringing in alteration of religion, which they called reformation, nor repentance for change of state-government, and raising of arms and sending into England against the king's authority, nor the shedding of so much innocent blood through the occasion thereof, done by this lieutenant Montrose; there is no repentance made hereof, but thought all good service, yea and the people urged and compelled to give thanksgiving for such victories as were had against the king, but no thanksgiving for such victories as he had obtained over his enemies.

Thus is this land pitifully vexed and born down; both by state-government and church ministers, woeful firebrands and wicked instruments frae the beginning, who now take to heart their own fears.

Ye heard how Montrose marched frae Kintore and Inverurie towards Speyside, upon the 18th of September; and seeing the Murray men in arms, who had drawn the boats that they could not get over, he goes to the wood of Abernethie, where he so-

jours, taking his living off of the country, as Argyll was destroying the lands of Strathboggie, Eazie, Strath-Isle, and Boyn, as is before said.

Upon the 27th of September, Argyll musters his men at the Bog of Gight, who of foot and horse were estimate about four thousand men; but never moved to follow the enemy, lying all this while in the wood of Abernethie, not twenty miles frae his army.

Montrose, seeing he is not followed by Argyll, leaves the wood of Abernethie, and to the wood of Rothiemureus goes he safely, and there remains a-while; from that he marches to the head of Strathspey, through Badenoch, and through Athol, where many of these countries meet him and followed him, and round about comes he again into Angus, where it is said he raised some fire about Coupar of Angus, of lands pertaining to the lord Coupar, an arch Covenanter, and brother to the lord Balmerinock. He marches to the place of Dun, where the burgesses of Montrose and country people had put in their best goods for safety, being a strong house, and himself a strong Covenanter; but Montrose takes in this house, and plunders the whole goods and arms; amongst the rest he takes four brazen field-pieces, whilk pertained to the marquis of Huntly, and was lost at the bridge of Dee at the beginning of thir troubles, as ye have heard.

As Montrose is marching through Athol, sir Alexander McDonald leaves him, and takes some Irishes with his favour for some business, and returned not back to Montrose till near the end of November, as ye shall hear. However, Montrose had conquest many friends quietly in Angus, besides the earl of Airly, and his two sons, sir Thomas and sir David Ogilvies, with some other barons, who still were in his company, marching with a fleeing army; where I will leave Montrose in Angus awhile till Argyll overtake him, if he can.

The marquis of Argyll hearing, where he and his army was lying at the Bog, that Montrose had left the wood of Rothiemureus, and fled to the mountains, he then takes courage to follow, where he might have had him nearer hand, if he had been willed, as ye have heard before. He crosses Spey, and sends his foot army up the north side of Strathspey, and met him again. The Murray people were glad to be free of thir footmen, for fear of plundering and oppression, and had drawn their boats, and guarded their fords in such sort, as neither Montrose nor Argyll's army wan there, for the which they were much to be commended in respect of other countries that were oppress.

Argyll passes to Forres, where the earl of Sutherland, the lord Lovat, the laird of Balnagown, the sheriff of Murray, the laird of Innes, the laird of Pluscarden, and diverse others, above one thousand, were, and held a committee in Forres; but the earl of Seaforth was gone from this committee before Argyll

came, and it was thought that he and some others had correspondence privately with Montrose, while as he was lying in the wood of Abernethie. Argyll marches frae Forres, and the committee dissolves, and there follows him seven or eight horse troops, herrying and destroying the country. He comes to Inverness, and gives order to two foot regiments, one under the laird of Buchanan, and the other under the laird of Lares, to ly there in garrison.

From Inverness he marches to Badenoch; and hearing that some country people had gone in to Montrose's service, he left nothing in that country undestroyed, no not a four-footed beast, corns, or others. His foot army meet him here in Badenoch, who were busy at this work; frae this he passes in through Athol, and destroys the samen country in like manner, because some of that country followed Montrose. From Athol he comes to Angus and Mearns, still following Montrose; where I will leave them both for a while.

Ye heard before of Montrose coming to Angus with his flying army. Word now comes to Aberdeen; where a committee was holden by the earl and diverse barons, in the tolbooth, upon the 10th of October, and an imprinted act was set out, shewing that they, having intelligence of the enemy's marching towards them in all hostile manner, therefore ordained all of whatsoever age, sect, or quality, who had horses of forty pounds price or above, that they put out the samen, with riders armed and furnished, and to make their rendezvouz at the bridge of Dee, the 14th of October instant, by ten o'clock; with certification to them that shall fail, ilk landed man shall be punished in one thousand pounds, ilk gentleman in five hundred pounds, and ilk husbandman in five hundred merks, by and attour confiscation of their horses, seeing the general major is attending the rendezvouz, and the marquis is also attending with the foot. The publication to be expedie by the moderators of ilk presbytery, and ilk minister to advertise ilk man within his parish, and out of their pulpits, upon Sunday. This act was subscribed by the earl Marischall, in presence of the committee.

Now the haill ministers go to wark in publishing of this act; and our minister, Mr. William Strachan, after sermon, read it out of the pulpit; but no obedience was given to this act; for both burrow and land was under sic fear, that they would not rise against Montrose and the Irishes; and many men and women, with their young children carried on women's backs, fled the town of Aberdeen (there having fallen the samen Sunday there a storm of snow), howling, lamenting, and crying, not knowing where to go for safety of their lives, whilk was pitiful to behold! But their fear was more than needed; for they all returned back to their houses in peace shortly, for that Montrose came not back to Aberdeen, as ye may hereafter hear.

Upon the 15th of October, sir William Forbes of Craigievar

and John Forbes of Largie came to Aberdeen. Montrose, upon their parole, gave them liberty, being both his prisoners, as ye have heard, upon condition, as is said, that Craigievar should purchase the young laird of Drum and his brother their liberty at the estates' hands, out of the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for the freedom of himself and the said John Forbes, or otherwise that they should both return back to Montrose, as his prisoners, before the 1st of November; and if it happened Montrose to be overcome in battle before that day, that they were then to be free of their parole in backcoming to him. However, they came to Aberdeen, carried themselves calmly, and came not near the committees then sitting in Aberdeen; and Montrose was admired for his noble dealing, for letting go such a prime man as Craigievar, upon his bare parole.

General major Ramsay over the horse troops, appointed by the estates, lying in Aberdeen and country about, and brought here by Argyll, at the day appointed by the committee foresaid, had his rendezvous at the bridge of Dee, with his own horse troops; but no troopers came out of this country to this meeting, except three troops under lord Gordon, and a troop under Mr. Alexander Keith, brother to the earl Marischall. Ramsay and his troops destroyed the country and corns, and his entertainment was brought dailly out of Aberdeen to him, for the whilk he did no kind service but wrecking of the country; yet our ministers are crying out against his enemies, and praying for him earnestly; but Montrose beguiled him, as ye may see hereafter.

Upon Tuesday the 15th of October, the earl Marischall came in frae Dunotter to Aberdeen, and held a committee, having the lord Fraser, some barons, and the provost with him.

The samen Tuesday, our provincial assembly sat down, and was prorogate to the 19th of November, in respect of thir troubles.

The said Tuesday, there came frae the south to Aberdeen, under lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, eight troops, whereof one was quartered in Old Aberdeen. They supped that night, and dined upon the morn, syne rode to the bridge of Dee, but the corns were eaten up and pitifully destroyed by their horse.

In the meantime, drums tucked, charging the town of Aberdeen to be in arms for a foot guard to thir troopers at the said bridge of Dee, but never a townsman would stir.

The said Tuesday, there was brought in before the committee captain Ellis and another of Montrose's scout watches upon Deeside. Marischall caused confine them in lodgings, and not in the tolbooth, and at last they gat liberty. There was likewise tane eight Irishes or Highlanders of Montrose's men; they were all warded in the tolbooth, but they brake ward by a strange slight, and wan away upon the 4th of November, by an iron, whereby they made a hole in the wall of the high tolbooth, and wan all down upon planks, except one who was taken.

Ye heard before how I left Montrose in Angus, where he purchased many friends. He marches through the Mearns, and, contrary to our troops' expectation, he crosses the water of Dee at the mills of Drum, upon Thursday the 17th of October, with his haill army, safe and sound, we having lain watching the bridge of Dee foolishly, with about fourteen troops, living idly, destroying the country and their corns pitifully.

Now Montrose marches forward (whereat our fleeing people from Aberdeen rejoiced, and returned back to their houses), and came by Crathes, where, it is said, the laird of Leys gave entertainment to Montrose. He then began to raise fire upon the Covenanters' lands, whilk before he had not done in this country; and first, he burnt the Kirktown of Echt, and his haill barony (except only two ploughs), houses, biggings, and the haill corn-yards pertaining to his grounds, and plundered the haill horse, nolt, sheep, and ky belonging to his barony. Marischall being in Aberdeen, and hearing of this, shortly rides to Dunotter upon the morn, being the 18th of October, and there lies he.

Upon Friday the foresaid 18th of October, Montrose burnt the place of Pittodrie and Dorlethen, with four ploughs of corns, whilk he had in Maine, and plundered his haill goods and gear. He burnt the rich corn-yards of Muchalls, pertaining to lord Andrew Fraser, and spoilsied his ground, as a prime Covenanter, as the rest was. Upon Saturday the 19th of October, he dined in Monymusk with the lady (the laird being absent), and upon fair conditions he spared him at this time. Sunday, he marches forwards, and gat some bestial, nolt, and sheep, for sustaining of his army, and that samen day marched to Strathboggie; where I will leave him a while, and return to Argyll.

Ye heard how Argyll had still followed Montrose, and that he was come to Angus; but before his coming Montrose had crossed the water of Dee, as ye have heard, upon the 17th of October, and Argyll came to Dunotter, where himself stays, his soldiers lying in the fields. Upon the morn he marches frae Dunotter to Aberdeen; his army was estimate to two thousand foot, whereof there was a thousand of his own Argyll men. He had seven horse troops, by and attour fourteen horse troops lying in the country before him. Both Aberdeens and corn-field lands were wrecked with their quartering and sustaining of their horses.

Friday the 25th of October, his foot army marches from Aberdeen to Kintore and Inverurie, in the morning, and about two afternoon himself follows with his troops, and stayed in Kintore all night. Upon the morn he marches towards Inverurie, stayed that night, and heard devotion. Upon Sunday, the earl of Lothian's regiment came also to Inverurie to Argyll. It is to be marked, that neither the earl Marischall nor the lord Gordon were here with Argyll, nor any within the sheriffdom of Angus, Kincardine, Aberdeen, or Banff, would rise with him, sic was their fear of Montrose. Argyll, riding through the Oldtown,

left direction with their baillies to take order with any soldiers biding behind them in their town; conform to the whilk, they took about sixteen rascals oppressing the town. They are all disarmed, some of them being hurt, and warded. Argyll being advertised, it is thought good service, and these rascals transported to the tolbooth of Aberdeen, at his command, by the Old-town men, and so we were quit of their fashery, while Argyll gave orders for their freedom. This was about the 26th of October; whilk day also Charles Gordon, the marquis' son, returned back to the schools in Aberdeen. I leave Argyll with his army lying at Inverurie and other places, till afterwards.

Upon Sunday the 27th of October, and Wednesday thereafter, a fast was precisely kept in both Aberdeens, and appointed to be kept through all the churches of Scotland, by order of the committee of the general assembly sitting in Edinburgh, and imprinted, whilk was publickly read out of pulpit here, bearing diverse reasons for keeping this fast. 1st, The slowness of ongoing in the work of reformation. 2d, The grievous sins of our army under the marquis of Argyll. 3d, The rupture betwixt the king and his subjects. 4th, Some discontentment amongst the ministry themselves. 5th, The innocent blood and grievous oppression of the land, with some other reasons. But there was no word of fasting and praying, as most justly we should, for inbringing of change and alteration both in church and policy, against established laws and the king's royal authority, and compelling him, by force of arms, to yield to our Scots opinion, at least drawing him in to our parliament of Scotland to grant our haill desires; and not content with this, but we would send in armies into England to assist the rebels there against the king, while England should have like liberty granted to them both in church and policy; nor was there word of the innocent blood daily shed since the beginning of this reformation; nor of the men and monies, horse and arms, levy-monies, and loan-monies, and diverse other oppressions laid upon the shoulders of his majesty's dear and loyal subjects, for raising of their armies to go into England; the grievous offending of the king, the queen, their offspring, their true friends and followers, by sundry incomparable ways. Their sins, with many more, is never touched nor repented of in our solemn fasting days, but generally the sins of the land; wherewith the Lord of Justice and Mercy seemed not to be well content, as would appear by the progress of this history.

Upon the 12th of October, general Leasy took in the town of Newcastle, and plundered the samen; took diverse prisoners, both English and Scots. The mayor and five Englishmen were sent to London, to be judged by the English parliament, according to their laws; likewise, the earl of Crawford, and lord Ray, and some others, were taken there also, and the lord Ogilvy taken elsewhere, who are sent into Edinburgh, and warded,

there to abide trial, conform to our Scots laws, as ye may hereafter see. The lord Maxwell was also taken at Newcastle; and with this victory the pest came to Edinburgh.

Ye heard before how the marquis of Newcastle and general King had fled the siege of York. It was now reported that they went away to Germany, and other parts, for men and money to the king's service.

Ye heard before how Montrose marched towards Strathboggie, where he remained while Sunday the 27th of October; but hearing of Argyll's coming, he removed that day frae Strathboggie, and came to the wood of Fyvie, a place very advantageous for him against sic a puissant army following Argyll; and he being the weaker, in wanting Alexander M'Donald, with his Irishes, who went from him, as ye have heard before. However, he took in the place of Fyvie, and took some victual which he found girkelled there, as likewise in the place of Towie-Barclay, whereon his army was well sustained during his abode there; where I will let him ly while hereafter, and return back to Argyll, whom I left at Inverurie, as ye have heard.

Upon Sunday the 27th of October, and upon Monday thereafter, he marches frae Inverurie hard to the wood of Fyvie, or near by the samen, where he had learned Montrose was lying. There was hot skirmishing betwixt the troopers pursuing the wood, and Montrose manfully defending his few forces against such a multitude of horse and men. He, like a skilful captain, issues out of the wood, and returned back again, and did great skaith that day; where captain Alexander Keith, brother to the earl Marischall, was also slain, and sundry others, to Argyll. Tuesday and Wednesday hot skirmishing, with little loss to Montrose, and daily slaughter to Argyll's troopers, and many hurt, who were brought into Aberdeen for cure; Argyll seeing this service, and could not help himself, now lying, as I have said, near the wood, with his army above the samen, at Rothie, Auchterless, and country about, unable to sustain so great an army, albeit they left nothing they could get, whereupon he flits his camp two miles frae Fyvie to Crichtie. Montrose, seeing him march so far off, upon the morn, being Wednesday, and penult of October, upon fair day-light, marches nobly through Fyvie and the wood thereof to Turriff, whilk was plundered, and the place of Rothemay also, and to Strathboggie goes he, takes advantage of the yards and yard-dykes and biggings thereabout, and there lyes he. Is not this a matter admirable, how this valiant nobleman, with so few men, not passing one thousand eight hundred foot and horse, besides baggage-horse, as was said, and wanting the help of captain Alexander M'Donald, with sic Irishes as he had with him, could have so escaped from this wood, where he could not long last, frae the hands of his enemies, being about fourteen troops and above two thousand foot!—a matter marvellous, and wrought by God's own finger, as would appear!



Argyll, hearing of Montrose's march, upon the morn, being Thursday, and last of October, he lifts his camp, and marches hard after him, and encamps at Tulloehbeg upon Saturday the 2d of November, and on Sunday hot skirmishing, with little blood to Montrose.

As Argyll and Montrose are very busy at this service, sir William Forbes of Craigievar and John Forbes of Largie, according to their promise, as ye heard before, returned both to Montrose, now lying at Strathboggie, and declared they were unable to keep condition, and therefore were returned back to him to remain his prisoners. Montrose graciously received them, not thinking on deceit. However, this sir William Forbes conveys himself frae Montrose, accompanied with major Nathaniel Gordon, and some two or three commanders, and goes to Argyll's camp, who was glad of their coming, promising all favour he could, and to get major Gordon's peace, as he who was thought to be the sole convoyer of Craigievar from Montrose; but herein was deep policy, as hereafter does appear. Montrose missing Craigievar, was highly offended, and speared at John Forbes of Largie, whom he left behind him, what he knew of his removing; he answered, he knew nothing; and being demanded if he would steal away also, he said, he would rather die before he did it. Then Montrose answers nebly, "Then, sir, I give you free liberty to go, upon your parole to return when I send for you, and no otherwise." The gentleman thanked him heartily, and so with fair play recovered his liberty. Diverse thought Craigievar was not wise in purchasing his liberty after such an unseemly way, thinking he had no dishonour to keep captivity, nor could the estates but esteem of him unworthily; but now coming away, he left a fair quarrel to Montrose to pursue after him, his lands and goods; whereas if he had bidden with him prisoner, he would have been free of this fear. He went away upon Sunday the 3d of November.

Ye heard of the skirmishing at Strathboggie before. It is here also to be remembered, that our sovereign lord's session sat not down for administration of justice, to the great prejudice of the king's lieges; yet sheriff and commissary courts sat according to the old form, notwithstanding of thir troubles.

About this time, Lewis Gordon, son to the lord marquis of Huntly, is married to Mary Grant, daughter to unquihle sir John Grant of Frenchil, otherwise called the laird of Grant, with whom he gat twenty thousand merks, as was said.

Upon Wednesday the 6th of November, Montrose leaves Strathboggie, and to the hills goes he, as ye may see hereafter. Argyll, seeing him fled, comes to Strathboggie, and there remains, eating up and destroying the haill country pitifully; the marquis now being in Strathnaver, and the lord Gordon his son being in Murray, to the great grief of the gentry and tenants of the ground, both in Strathboggie, Enzie, Auchin-

down, and country round about, belonging to the noble marquis of Huntly.

Upon this samen 6th of November, Mr. George Lesly, and Alexander Lesly, his son, of whom ye heard before, are now set at liberty out of the tolbooth of Edinburgh; and shortly thereafter the said Alexander Lesly passes Mr. James Clark, and strikes a lug frae him, as he who was the author of all his mischief.

Ye heard before of the intaking of Newcastle. Order was given by the committee of the general assembly at Edinburgh, that thanksgiving should be given through all the kirks of Scotland, whilk was kept in both Aberdeens on Sunday the 10th of November; but no thanksgiving remembered with us for the king's victories over his enemies, but great rejoicing at his overthrow; a note to be marked!—but the pest followed Newcastle to Edinburgh, and diverse other parts, to our great loss, as ye shall hear.

Upon the 11th of November, there came frae Montrose's camp to Aberdeen, the lord Dulpine, sir John Drummond, sir Thomas Tyrie of Drumkilbo, — Ogilvie of Inverquharitie, crowner Hay, and some others. They had gotten Argyll's pass, and so without trouble they went south, being followers of Montrose. Nathaniel Gordon having his pass, came also to Aberdeen, and walked hither and thither peaceably.

Upon Sunday the 3d of November, a charge was read out by our minister, as in other pulpits within the north parts of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, in name of the marquis of Argyll, his majesty's lieutenant (or rather pretended lieutenant), out of the pulpit, after sermen, (the chair of verity being now made a mercat cross, and the preacher an officer for making of prelations), charging this parish to furnish out to this pretended lieutenant, as many men, horse, foot, loan-money, and others, as they furnished out to England, and that to suppress the common enemy, the marquis of Montrose; and to have their rendezvous at Turriff upon the 5th of November, where Argyll's camp should be. This was the first charge for raising of men in thir north parts, and upon over short advertisement. Argyll kept not this day; but there was a committee of some, sic as the master of Fraser, the lairds of Philorth and Tolquhon, and some other barons and gentry, who, upon this charge, convened at Turriff about thirty horse, but held no committee, as is formerly said. However, this meeting was continued to the 14th of November, albeit the country thought that Argyll should not have vexed them for more men, since he had greater power than was well governed; yet this was his first charge indeed.

Ye heard before of the prisoners taken at Newcastle. They were brought to Edinburgh upon the 7th of November, in at the water-gate of the Canongate, but the earl of Crawford was com-

pelled to come up the gate bare-headed, as a traitor, not stiling him, "My lord," but Lodowick Lindsay; which he suffered patiently, because for serving of the king he was forfeited by our estates, and his dignities, honours, and title of earl of Crawford, was given by them to the lord Lindsay, one of their prime Covenanters. There was also taken Harry Graham, Montrose's brother. It is said, that general Lesly, at the taking of thir prisoners, had given his parole that they should not be abused when they came to Edinburgh, which proved otherwise, whereat he seemed to be offended. Always thir noblemen and the rest were not warded in the castle, where all the nobles were used to be incarcerated, but out of despite and malice were warded within the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Ye hear of the noble and ancient earl of Crawford's usage, being by the estates forfeited and degraded; many more nobles were forfeited besides him, for serving the king's majesty, or at least could expect no pardon for their offences; sic as the marquis of Huntly, the marquis of Montrose, the earl of Nithsdale, the earl of Traquair, the earl of Carnwath, the viscount of Aboyn, the lord Ogilvie, the lord Rae, the lord Heries, Lodowick Lindsay, sometime earl of Crawford, Patrick Ruthven, sometime earl of Perth, James King, sometime lord Ithan, — Irvine, younger of Drum, — Gordon, younger of Gight, — Lesly of Auchintoul, sir Robert Spotswood of Dunnipace, colonel John Cochran, Mr. John Maxwell, sometime pretended bishop of Ross, and Mr. Walter Balcanquhall. Thir noblemen and others should get no pardon, whether forfeited or not forfeited, as is set down in that imprinted piece, called "*The humble Desires and Proposals for a well-grounded and settled Peace, agreed upon by the mutual advice and consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, the 10th of December, 1644;*" by and attour princes and noblemen in England set down in the same category; but I leave this point, and return back to the warding of thir nobles in Edinburgh tolbooth.

Besides — Irvine, younger of Drum, and his brother, Robert Irvine, and Mr. Alexander Irvine, are warded in the tolbooth in three sundry rooms; none suffered to speak, no not young Drum's wife, but in presence of a baillie a long time, and old Drum confined within the town.

Ye heard before of the adjourning of the committee to the 14th of November. Argyll sends one thousand of his countrymen home to Argyll, who plundered pitifully the lands of Strathaven, Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber, as they went; and he comes himself to Turriff. Sundry barons and others meet him there, who were thought to be five hundred foot and no horse. There is a long-tailed act set out upon the 16th of November, under Argyll's subscription, ordained to be published at all parish churches, for levying the fourth and eighth man within the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, horse and foot, tedious

to relate; but the copy is lying beside myself of the said act in write. Argyll appointed a new committee to be holden at Aberdeen the 22d of November; so dissolved at Turriff.

Dector Guild, after he had demolished the stately palace pertaining to the bishop of Aberdeen, leaving neither hewn work, iron work, pavement, timber, insight nor plenishing, as ye have oftentimes before, now begins to tirr the slates off that matchless roof, and carries them down to the college, for his own respects, which was odiously thought of. It is true, this house, yards, and precincts, were given to him by the estates, whereof he might have made a more godly use, by upholding rather than demolishing of the samen.

Upon Tuesday the 19th of November, Argyll comes to Aberdeen, whilk day the provincial assembly was held in Aberdeen, being adjourned, as ye have heard before. Mr. John Rue, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, is chosen moderator; the earl Marischall, the lord Gordon, and general major Ramsay, met Argyll at Aberdeen, and with him went to this assembly. Major Nathaniel Gordon came in before them, acknowledged his adultery, and offence done to Mr. Andrew Cant, by writing a letter to him, as ye have heard before, and desired, upon his repentance, the process of excommunication which he was now lying at, and sentence, should cease; whilk Argyll with the rest sought humbly also; they answered, that they should write to the committee of the general assembly, shew his incoming and repentance, and do by their best advice. With this answer Nathaniel Gordon was well pleased, and his process ceased; but God knows if this humiliation to Mr. Andrew Cant was frae his heart; but I will leave him while hereafter.

Upon this samen Tuesday, and 19th of November, the earl of Leithian's regiment, consisting of about five hundred musketeers and pioneers were quartered upon poor Old Aberdeen, and upon the morn were had to New Aberdeen, where they lay to the — day of — as ye may see hereafter, without doing any good. Argyll ordained ilk soldier to get two pecks of meal, and twelve shillings of money weekly, and this to be brought in by the heritors of the country, and Aberdeen to furnish them coal, house-room, and candle only; the meal came in, but no monies, whilk the town of Aberdeen was compelled to pay, and a boll of meal came in out of every hundred merks rent; the country paid the rest. Then order was taken for sustaining the troopers' horse meat, and men's meat, in the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, estimate to be about one thousand horse, whilk was so grievous that the countrymen could not sustain them. Thir troopers were quartered freely through diverse parishes, some upon ilk landlord, and some on ilk plough of ground. There were three regiments of horse, one under sir Thomas Hacket, one under sir Patrick M'Gie, and one under lieutenant crowner Innes. There was quartered in Banff and Marray, the lord Gordon's

regiment; and major Ramsay was general over the troopers in this sheriffdom, whilk was ordained to be quartered only within three presbyteries, viz. the presbytery of Aberdeen, Bllon, and Deer. Order was given, that ilk trooper should eat and drink at sixteen shillings ilk day, and his horse a peck of oats, with fodder; and if the trooper was not content with his cheer, to count for cake and pudding with the goodwife, and compel her to pay money for what he wanted. Thus is thir north parts grievously born down and wrecked by the estates and good Argyll.

Ye heard before of the down-sitting of the provincial assembly. It continued Tuesday and Wednesday; on Thursday afternoon it dissolved, and Argyll kept daily with them; and that samen day, being the 21st of November, Argyll went south, carrying Nathaniel Gordon's testificate frae the assembly with him. He was that night in Dunotter, but the lord Gordon bade behind in Aberdeen.

Argyll being gone, the earl Marischall, the lord Fraser, the lord Crichton, the lairds of Kermuck, Craigievar, and some other country barons, with the provost of Aberdeen, held their committee daily in Aberdeen, till about January, 1645. And order came frae the estates that the laird of Lare's regiment, and the laird of Buchannan's regiment, should fortify the samen by Argyll's direction.

Ye heard before of the marquis of Montrose leaving Strathboggie, to Argyll's small credit in suffering him to escape. He marches to Badenoch and comes to Atholl, where major M'Donald, his noble captain, met him with his company, and who had been frae him since the month of September; where I will leave them while hereafter.

The lord Fraser, the lairds of Pittodrie and Echt's corns being burnt, together with their buildings, by Montrose, as ye have heard, they mean themselves to the estates, who gave order to meddle with the papists' rents, lands, and fishings, about Aberdeen, and the water of Don, belonging to Thomas Mensies of Balgownie, Mr. Alexander Irvine of Lochhills, and Robert Irvine, his brother, and this to be uplifted yearly by — Forbes of Echt, ay and while his losses were set up; and sicklike, there was disposed to the lord Fraser, Gordon of Abergeldie's rents, Donald Farquharson's, and — Gordon, baron of Brachley's rents, as malignants against the country, to be yearly uplifted by him, ay and while his skaith was paid; as also, there was disposed to Thomas Erskine of Balhaggartie, the rents of Schethin, pertaining to — Seaton, the rents and living of Tibbertie, pertaining to — Innes, ay and while he was completely paid of his losses; but he bade short while to take up his part, because he departed this life in Edinburgh; upon the — day of January, 1645.

Marvellous to see the king's lieges thus to be oppressed! And

Thomas Menzies fled the kingdom, with his wife and children, for his religion; yet his rents are disposed. Mr. Alexander Irvine flees the country, and sailing to France he is taken by the way and brought to Edinburgh, where he is warded in the tolbooth; yet his rents are disposed. His brother, Robert Irvine, durst not be seen; his rents are also disposed. The other gentlemen, for favouring the king and following the marquis of Huntly, as ye have heard, fled the kingdom, and durst not be seen, yet their rents are disposed to set up the losses of the king's enemies and unfriends, without the advice or authority of his majesty, but only set out by the estates of the land!

The laird of Echt, for his part, caused arrest the ships carrying salmon to France, lying in the harbour of Aberdeen, the last of November, while the master of the ship gave an account of such salmon as was shipped pertaining to the foressaid papists, and syne to set them on shore, whilk was done, thereafter the merchant agreed with Echt upon conditions; whereupon this salmon was again shipped, and so goes to sea.

Upon the 1st day of December, a proclamation was made at the cross of Aberdeen, charging the sheriffdom to convene, and have their rendezvous at Aberdeen the 5th of December, for taking order for the sustentation of the foot soldiers and troopers, and to bring in victuals for that effect; but none gave obedience that day.

Upon the 8th day of December, general Lesly returned victoriously frae Newcastle to Edinburgh, where he stayed while January, 1645, taking up men for defence of the said town; about fourteen thousand men and some of our troopers lying here is sent there; with this victory the pest came in to Borrowstounness; but Lesly removes with his wife and family back to Newcastle.

Ye heard before of Montrose's march into Atholl. He took the laird of Wemyss, Menzies, captive, and other outstanding rebels; he goes to the laird of Glenorchie's lands, burns, wastes, and destroys his country, being one of Argyll's special kinsmen.

Argyll now being in Edinburgh, who came from Aberdeen, as ye have heard, gat small thanks for his service against Montrose. However, hearing of the destruction of Glenorchie's bounds, he goes quickly to his own country, for defence of the samen.

About this time, a general assembly is indicted to be holden at Edinburgh, the 22d of January, 1645, by authority of the kirk, and a day of humiliation to go before.

The town of Edinburgh mightily murmured against the uptaking of the excise, but it goes through, and appointed to be lifted frae the 1st of August last.

Sunday the 22d of December, thundering out of pulpits against Yool-day; none suffered to make good chear, or be merry, according to the old custom. The bell went through

the town, charging the craftsmen to keep their booths and work, and the merchants' booths to stand open; ilk craftsman under the pain of ten pounds. The baillies backed this charge, going through the town, commanding the deacons to see the crafts to work, and to note the disobedients. The whole fishers of Futtie were likewise commanded to go to sea on Yool-day, under great pains; but the sea fell out stormy, that stayed them, whilk the poor men frae their hearts wished. But, do their best, they could not get the scholars and students to stay frae their Yool play, according to use and wont; yea some made good cheer, and wrought none, others wrought at their pleasure.

Tuesday the 24th of December, the lord Gordon (the marquis being still in Strathnaver, in an island called Tongue,) had a meeting with his friends, for taking order with one called Forbes of Skellater, for taking some of their sheep and melt out of the braes of Strathboggie and Lesmoir. What was concluded is secretly kept, and yet nothing at all followed by way of deed; yet this Skellater, to get the lord Gordon's favour, came in, as ye may hereafter hear.

Upon Friday the 27th of December, there came out of the parish of Cruden to Old Aberdeen, two horse-troops. Horse and man had free quarters; syne upon the morn, after breakfast, they all rode south.

Mr. Andrew Cant was chosen commissioner, and Robert Crookshank, baillie, laick elder for Aberdeen; and the rest of the presbytery sent their commissioners to this assembly.

The town of Aberdeen, in this month of December, are charged, ilk man and woman, by virtue of their oath, to declare the avail of their goods plundered by the Irishes at the fight of Aberdeen; but to what end I know not, for inventory was taken up of all, to be had to our parliament, some said for having pity upon our estate, and that we should be free from quartering of soldiers, and other vexations.

The committee of the kirk and general assembly ordered a fast to be kept throughout all Scotland, before the down-sitting of this parliament, whilk was to sit down upon the 8th of January, 1645, in Edinburgh, and before the down-sitting of the general assembly there, upon the 22d day of the said month; conform to the whilk order, a fast kept here upon the 6th of January, in both Aberdeens, being Sunday, and that samen day eight days we had here in Old Aberdeen, for the more abundance, another fast, whereby the poor people were vexed to death with their continual fastings and thanksgivings; this last Sunday was kept under pretext that there was not full convention the first Sabbath.

#### ANNO 1645.

Upon the 3d of January, 1645, an horse-troop came out of

Murray, and was quartered in Old Aberdeen, and another upon the samen town quartered, and as they came, plundered both town and country houses wherever they went.

Ye heard before of the general assembly to be holden on the 22d of January, and parliament the 8th of January, and other charges there set down. Upon Wednesday the 8th of January, our parliament sat down in Edinburgh, and was fenced; the earl of Lauderdale was made president of this parliament, but the king had no commissioner there, whereof the parliament did not care much. Well, it is continued to the 22d of January, that the general assembly should sit down, and in the meantime ordained five committees to sit daily in Edinburgh, one whereof for ordering a new levy to be sent into England; the second for discussing of the malignants; the third, for setting up the losses done by Montrose and his rebels; the fourth, for the bills; and the fifth, for the overtures. Thir committees established, the parliament is prorogate to the 22d of January; but before that day came, their president, the earl of Lauderdale, departed this life.

About this time, sir John Hotham (as report past), who held the king out of the ports of Hull, as ye have before, is executed by command of the parliament, and his son both. He got this reward for his good service to them against our dread sovereign.

Upon the 3d of February, sir John Leslie of Wardhouse, knight baronet, departed this life in New Aberdeen; a great enemy to the laird of Cluny, who had meddled with his estate, Cluny being warded in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.

About this time, — Forbes of Echt compelled Thomas Mennies of Balgowrie's tenants, (he being fled the country for his religion, leaving order to pay men, loan-money, levy-money, horse and arms, as the country did, and as they were imposed; notwithstanding the estates had gifted his rents to this laird of Echt, as ye have before;) he compelled the tenants, I say, to oblige themselves, ilk ane for their own parts, to pay and deliver to him the samen prices which they were obliged to pay for the victual to him before the 1st of March, under the pain of plundering, which the poor tenants were forced to pay for fear. For the most part, the samen order was done with other papists' land, as was said, and parties sent out of Aberdeen to ly upon their lands while payments were made, as was done by William Seaton of Blair, being also a papist.

Upon the — day of January, Mr. Alexander Jaffray, late provost of Aberdeen, departed this life in New Aberdeen; a rigorous Covenanter.

Upon Sunday the 19th of January, an act of committee holden in Aberdeen upon the 10th of January, was read out of our pulpits of Old Aberdeen, for levying of the eighth man; the rendezvous to be at Aberdeen the 1st of February. Few came that day, but parties were sent out of the regiments



lying in Aberdeen, and lay upon the land till they came in per force.

Ye heard before of the parliament and general assembly, and how the parliament was fenced and adjourned to the 22d of January, and that day the general assembly to sit down also; upon the whilk day our parliament sat down in Edinburgh (without the king's commissioner); the lord Lindsay of Crawford (now styled earl of Crawford), is president of this parliament.

The general assembly also sits down the said day. Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, is moderator. It continued till the — day of February; indicted another general assembly to be holden at — the 22d day of June, 1646, syne dissolved, leaving the parliament still sitting behind them; but they sent up their acts not to the king, but to the English parliament, for their approbation. Strange to see!

Ye hear before of Montrose's progress to Glenorchie's lands. He goes to Argyll, burns and slays through the haill country, and left no house nor hold, except impregnable strengths, unburnt, their corns, goods, and gear; and left not a four-footed beast in his haill lands; and such as would not drive they houghed and slew, that they should never make stead. Montrose remained in Argyll's countries, wasting, burning, and destroying all, near a quarter of a year, syne came into Lochaber through Badenoch, where sundry came in to him, such as the laird of Abergeldie, and others of the name of Gordon, and Farquharsons of Brae of Mar. He marches to Lochness, having a full intention to take in the burrow of Inverness, wherein the laird of Lare's regiment and Lothian's regiment were lying, with many country people about, and the town strongly fortified. But the marquis having discussed Bredalbine, Argyll, Lorn, and others of the marquis' countries, and his friends, without opposition or contradiction, he marches through Lochaber to Lochness, and head thereof, where he is informed that the marquis of Argyll was entered into Lochaber, with an army of highlanders and lowlandmen of about three thousand men, and that he had burnt the brae country of Lochaber, pertaining to M'Donald and his friends; and suspecting that he had a design to cause the garrisons at Inverness and men of Ross and Murray to rise in arms for his better assistance against him, he therefore resolved, partly for assisting of his friends in Lochaber, and revenging of the wrongs done to him, and partly for preventing the joining of greater forces against him, to advance to Lochaber against Argyll; and to the effect he might come more suddenly and unexpectedly against Argyll, he resolved not to go back the samen gate that he marched from Lochaber, but returned there by another way through the mountains covered with snow, and in two days' march he advanced so near the enemy's outmost quarters (being distant three miles from Inverlochie, where Argyll then lay), that before they were aware, he

was within half-a-mile of them ; whilk they perceiving, and fleeing all away, gave a sudden alarm to all the rest of the army, so that all the regiments were advertised, and did all combine at Inverlochy. So he perceiving that the enemy had taken the alarm, resolved instantly to advance towards Inverlochy, where he approached within half-a-mile's distance of the enemy, and stood all night in arms, as likewise did the enemy ; but the marquis of Argyll that samen night, being Saturday the 1st of February, went aboard of his galley, with sir John Wanchope of Niddry, Mr. Mungo Law, sir Francis Rollock, after that all his army was drawn up, and stayed there upon the water in his galley until the morn, while the battle began, and that he did see all his men flee away, and then he past away in his galley. The battle began at the rising of the sun on Candlemass day. Montrose's men were divided in four divisions ; general major M'Donald was upon the right wing with a regiment of Irishes ; lieutenant-colonel Okham, with some Irishes, was upon the left wing ; some highlanders of Athol, the Steuarts of Appin, men of Glenco, captain of Clanranald, M'Lean, and Glengarie, was in the middle ; and colonel James M'Donald alias M'Oneil, was in the rear, with a reserve of Irishes. The enemy had their lowland forces divided, the one-half upon the right wing, and the other upon the left ; and in the middle they had a great body of highlanders, and their reserve was also highlanders, and was placed upon a pretty ascent, where they had a piece of ordnance ; and they planted within the house of Inverlochie about forty or fifty men, for that place was within a pistol shot of the part where the enemy's battle was placed. Okham being upon the left wing did first advance, and charged the enemy's right wing, who first fled. Major M'Donald charges the left wing, and our highlandmen being in the middle, charged their middle battle ; so the enemy perceiving their right wing to flee, and their left wing and middle body to be furiously assaulted, did also, after shooting a volley, take themselves to flight, with their reserve also. Some of our horsemen perceiving the enemy to break did assault them also, and turned two hundred of the enemy, and diverted them from entering the house of Inverlochie, to which they were running for refuge. So the enemy fled, some by the Lochside, who were all either killed or drowned. The greatest part fled towards the hills that samen way by which they entered Lochaber. They were pursued some eight miles, and many killed. There was killed in all, as was thought, about one thousand five hundred, whereof there was of chief men, the laird of Auchinbreck, Campbell ; the laird of Lochnell, Campbell, with his eldest son, and brother, Colin ; the laird of Glencaddel, elder ; M'Dougall, appearand of Rara, with his eldest son, the provost of Kilmud ; major Menzies, brother to the prior of Achattens, Parbreck ; and there was taken prisoners the laird of Parbreck, the laird of Innerca, the laird

of Glencaddell, younger, the laird of Silver Craig, the laird of Lowmond, the laird of St. M'Donald in Kintyre, the goodman of Pynmoir, the captain of Dunstaffnage, his son (lieutenant-colonel Cockburn), captain Steuart, captain Murray, captain Stirling, Robert Cleland alias Clydson, and Mr. Dougall, a preacher. There are besides a great number of common soldiers taken prisoners. It is said, there was direct frae the committee of Edinburgh, certain men to see Argyll's forwardness in following Montrose (whereof it would appear the estates were in doubt), but they saw his flight in form foresaid. It is to be considered, that few of this army had escaped, if Montrose had not marched the day before the fight eighteen miles, upon little food, and crossed sundry waters, wet and weary, in snow, and standing in wet and cold the hail night before the fight; but Montrose caused a forlorn hope of musketeers shoot all night at the enemy, the better to engage the enemy against the next morning, fearing that they should have stolen away in the night. What was killed to Montrose is uncertain. But sir Thomas Ogilvie, son to the earl of Airly, was shot through the thigh, whereof he died shortly thereafter, and was buried in Atholl.

There came to Aberdeen two commanders, major Liddel and captain Murray, of the garrison lying in Aberdeen, and declared to the provost and baillies that the men were hungered, and could not live on two pecks of meal in the week, except they gat twelve shillings also. The council is convened, and to each plundering, they condescended to give three thousand merks, for the whilk the town was taxed. Thus is Aberdeen sore vexed day and night.

About this time, commissioners came from the English parliament, as report past.

And likewise, that the young prince was general over the king's army, made of purpose for pleasing of the Englishmen, who liked not to serve under general Ruthven, being a Scotsman, whose counsel and advice was nevertheless craved on all occasions, as a brave expert cavalier; likewise, the king made him marquis of Thames, for quitting of his place.

Ye heard before of the taking and warding of young Drum and his brother, Robert Irvine. This brave young gentleman departed this life within the tolbooth of Edinburgh, upon Friday the 4th of February, and that samen night (being excommunicate) was buried betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock, with candle-light, in lanthorns. The young laird lying also sore sick in the samen chamber, who upon great moyan was transported upon a wand-bed upon the morn from the tolbooth to the castle, where he lay sore grieved at the death of his well-beloved brother, born down by unhappy destiny, and cruel malice of the estates. When they were first warded, they were all three put in sundry houses, that none should have conference with another, and that none should come or go without a town's baillie were

present. This longsome loathsome prison endured for the first half year. Thereafter they got liberty all three to bide in one chamber, but none suffered to come or go, or speak but what was overheard by a baillie. But this young gallant biding so long in prison, and being of an high spirit, broke his heart, and died; his father being confined in Edinburgh, and his mother dwelling in New Aberdeen (for the place of Drum was left quite desolate, as ye have heard before), to his unspeakable grief and sorrow.

About the time of Argyll's discomfiture, the estates gave order to major-general Baillie to levy a new army to go upon Montrose, of whom ye shall hear more hereafter.

Ye heard of the noble victory that Montrose had over Argyll at Inverlochic. His soldiers gat abundance of arms and spoil. Argyll went to Edinburgh, sore lamenting the loss of his kin and friends, but chiefly for the loss of his honour. But Montrose courageously marched back through Lochaber, with displayed banners, towards Inverness, with incredible diligence; and finding the town strongly fortified, and garrisons lying about, or rather within the samen, such as the laird of Lare's regiment and Buchanan's regiment, thinking in storming thereof it would spend time and lose his men, he thereafter marched peaceably by Inverness, down through the country of Murray, charging all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen to rise and serve the king and his majesty's lieutenant, under the pain of fire and sword, against his majesty's rebel subjects; and to that effect, to meet him in their best arms, on horse and foot, immediately after the charge. This bred great fear, and sundry of the Murray men came in to him. Sic as stood out he plundered, burnt, and spoilized their houses and lands, as follows, viz.—The laird of Ballendallach's three houses, Pitchash, Foyness, and Ballendallach, houses, bigging, and corn-yards of his bail grounds, and his hail lands plundered of horse, nelt, sheep, and other goods; the place of Grangehill, pertaining to Ninian Dunbar; the place of Brodie, pertaining to the laird of Brodie; the place of Cowbin, pertaining to — Kinnaird; the place of Innes, pertaining to the laird of Innes; and Redhall; all burnt and plundered; the lands of Burgie, Lethen, and Duffus, plundered but not burnt; Garmouth plundered but not fired; their salmon cobs and nets cut and hewn down, whereby the water of Spey could not be well fished. Thus as Montrose marched, he sent out parties through the country with fire and plundering.

Now upon the 17th of February, there was sitting at a committee at Elgin, the earl of Seaforth, the laird of Innes, sir Robert Gordon, the laird of Pluscardine, and diverse others, and hearing of thir dangers, discharges by tuck of drum the Fasten's-even mercat, holden yearly at Elgin, lest the country merchants and people should get skaith, and shortly dissolves their com-

mittee, and ilk ane a sundry gate. The laird of Innes, and sundry others with him, goes to Spynie, where his eldest son was dwelling. The town's people and country about seeing the laird of Innes flee to Spynie, fled also with their wives, bairns, and best goods which they could get carried here and there, but chiefly to Spynie, and few bade within the town for plain fear, which incensed the soldiers worse against the town than if they had bidden and kept their houses. The earl of Seaforth and the rest of the committee-men fled their own ways.

As Montrose is marching to Elgin, the laird of Grant, with some others, met him, and offering their service upon their parole and great oath, swore to serve the king and him his lieutenant loyally. Montrose received them graciously; the laird of Grant sent in three hundred men to him.

Upon the 19th of February, Montrose comes to Elgin. The lord Gordon, being in the Bog, lap quickly on horse, having Nathaniel Gordon with some others in his company, and that samen night came to Elgin, saluted Montrose, who made him heartily welcome, and supped joyfully together. Many marvelled at the lord Gordon's going in after such a manner, being upon the country service, and colonel to two foot regiments, and to an horse regiment. Some alledged the estates oversaw him in diverse points, touching his honour, which he could not digest; others said, he was likely to lose his father for following the country cause, if he should continue, and the country happen to be born down; others again said, it was a plot devised betwixt Montrose and Nathaniel Gordon, when he was with him, and when he came frae him with Craigievar, as ye have heard; and albeit for his coming away he was esteemed traitorous and disloyal to Montrose, yet he proved his faithful servant in this business. Thir were the opinions of some; however it was, in he went, but how or upon what reason I cannot tell really. The ministry hearing this, they railed pitifully out of pulpit against him. His brother, Ludowick, came also to Montrose, whom he graciously received.

Montrose gives order to draw all the ferry boats on Spey to the north shore, except one anent the Bog, and to guard the haill fords up and down; syne goes to his council of war, not to committee courts, treacherously cropping within his land.

While as he is thus in Elgin, the earl of Seaforth, the lairds of Pluscardine and Loslyne, his brethren, sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, and diverse others, came in to him; where I will leave him a little.

The burrow of Aberdeen and garrisons lying there, hearing of Montrose's victory over Argyll at Inverlochie, and of his marching through Murrayland, they sent (before Montrose was yet come to Elgin) Alexander Forbes, alias Plague, a busy-body in the good cause, with letters to the committee of Elgin, who received letters back again frae the earl of Seaforth, the laird of

Innes, and others of the committee, and from the town of Elgin, and was coming post back to Aberdeen. At Parcock, upon the 20th of February, he is apprehended by — Gordon, younger of Gight, — Leith, younger of Harthill, and their complices. They take the haill letters frae him, plunders his money which he had upon him, syne hardly with his life he wan away. But thir letters were posted to Montrose, lying at Elgin, whereby he understood the committee courts of Murray, and who were his friends or foes.

Upon Sunday the 23d of February, young Gight, and young Harthill, with their complices, took ten of Craigievar's troop, lying carelessly in their naked beds within their quarters at Inverurie. They took their horses, their money, their apparel, and arms, and gave the men liberty to go, whereat Craigievar was highly offended.

The estates, grieved at Montrose's doings, resolve to have him living or dead; and to that effect sends to Aberdeen, about the 26th of February, the lord Balcarras' horse regiment, with orders to draw in sir James Hacket's horse regiment, quartered within the parish of Old Aberdeen, to the rendezvous in New Aberdeen (seeing the other two regiments which Argyll left behind him quartered in this country, was scattered here and there, and many of the horses dead in the mortichien), and to abide the coming of lieutenant-major Baillie, who was coming with six foot regiments frae St. Johnstown against Montrose. He had many brave commanders and captains, amongst whom was major Hurry, a soldier of fortune, and very changeable; for, 1st, He served the parliament of England against his sovereign the king; 2d, He left them, and served the king, which was more noble; 3d, He left the king and parliament both, came into Scotland, and took service with his majesty's rebels against him; but he wan little ere all was done. Ye have before of major Baillie's business; but at this time he came not to Aberdeen, and his troopers were forced to flee, as ye have hereafter.

Montrose, camping in Elgin, received, to save the town unburnt, four thousand merks, as was said; but his soldiers, especially the laird of Grant's soldiers, plundered the town pitifully, and left nothing tursable uncarried away, and brake down beds, boards, insight and plenishing. Montrose leaves them at this plundering, and marches from Elgin upon the 4th of March towards the Bog of Gight, with the body of his army, having in his company the earl of Seaforth, the lord Gordon, the lairds of Grant, Pluscardine, Loslyne, and some others, who had come in to him; and sent before him over Spey the Farquharsons of Brae of Mar, to plunder the town of Cullen, pertaining to the earl of Findlater, which they did pitifully; for thir Farquharsons had come in to him before. Montrose being over Spey, he

considers that the two regiments lying in Inverness, and rebels in the country, might now in his absence break out and wrong his friends that are in his company, therefore he takes the earl of Seaforth, the laird of Grant, and others formerly said, their solemn oaths to serve the king against his rebel subjects, and never to draw arms against his majesty and his loyal subjects; and thereafter sent them over Spey again, to look to their own estates, upon their parole to come with all their forces upon advertisement, to assist Montrose in the king's service, and so parted frae others; but the earl of Seaforth gat more credit than he was worthy of, for he perjured himself, and turned a mortal enemy to the king, and a traitor, as ye shall hear.

Now, as Montrose foresaw the trouble of the country, so it fell out; for there came parties frae the regiments at Inverness, to the place of Elchies, the place where the laird of Grant was dwelling, and plundered the samen, and left not the ladies' apparel, jewels, and goldsmith-work untaken up, whereof she had store. Thereafter they plundered the land of Coxtown, because the Goodman followed the lord Gordon.

They came into Elgin, took the laird of Pluscardine and his brother Loslyne, out of that strong house belonging to Pluscardine, had them to Inverness, and kept them as they who had come in to Montrose; but this was thought to be done by Seaforth's consent. However, he seems to be sorry at the taking of his brethren, comes to Inverness, and labours so that he gat them both set to liberty. This was said to be plain policy used by Seaforth, for he repented himself of his ingoing to Montrose, and wrote to the earl Marischall, and committee at Aberdeen, that he yielded only through fear, and that he avowed to bide by the good cause to his death, whilk was accepted, and partly he performed. Remember, the earl of Murray is all this time residing in England with his lady.

Ye hear before, how Montrose comes to the Bog; his eldest son, the lord Graham, was in his company, a proper youth, about sixteen years old, and of singular expectation. He takes sickness, dies in the Bog in a few days, and is buried in the kirk of Bellie, to his father's great grief.

The lord Gordon hastily draws up about five hundred foot and an hundred and sixty horse for the service of Montrose.

The troopers and Lothian's regiment lying in Aberdeen, as ye have heard, finding that Baillie was not yet come, commanded the rest of their three thousand merks to be paid by the town; then they ship in a bark lying in the harbour, two field pieces, with their ammunition, bag and baggage, and, upon the 7th of March, shamefully flees, only upon report of the enemy's coming, and leaves Aberdeen to its own defence, who had lye like grasshoppers in the town and country.

Mr. Andrew Cant and his wife, Mr. John Rue, Mr. William

Robertson, and haill Covenanters, flee; (Mr. Robert Farquhar, provost, and Patrick Lealy, late provost, both were in Edinburgh,) and the town stood in great fear.

Montrose marches frae the Bog to the place of Cullen of Boyn, the earl of Findlater having fled south himself before to Edinburgh, leaving in thir dangerous days (pitiful to behold!) his lady behind him. This stately house, well decored with stately insight and plenishing, and furnished with silver-plate and all other necessities, was pitifully plundered, and nothing tursable left; and then was beginning to raise fire, but the lady pitifully besought Montrose (now in her husband's absence) to forbear firing of her ground, but for the space of fifteen days; within the whilk time, if her husband came not to give satisfaction, that then his lordship should do as pleased him best; and for this peace of fifteen days' time, she promised twenty thousand merks, whereof she paid in hand five thousand merks. Montrose granted her desire upon the conditions foresaid, and raised no fire on the earl of Findlater's grounds (albeit a great Covenanter,) at this time.

From Findlater he marches to the Boyn, plunders this country, and burns the bigging pitifully, and spoilzied the minister's goods, gear, and books. The laird himself keeps the Craig of Boyne, wherein he was safe; but his haill lands for the most part were thus burnt up and destroyed.

Thereafter he marches to Banff, plunders the samen pitifully, no merchant's goods nor gear left: they saw no man on the street but was stripped naked to the skin. Some two or three worthless houses were burnt, but no blood shed; and so they left Banff.

From that town he marched to Turriff, where, according to the council of Aberdeen's order, as ye have before, there came to him, Thomas Gray, George Morison, George Cullen, and John Alexander, advocate, four discreet well-set burgesses, their commissioners, who, with great humility, pitifully declared to his honour the manifold miseries daily befalling the town of Aberdeen, coming from one side and from another, and no burrow within Scotland so heavily distressed as that town from time to time since the beginning of thir troubles, as was well known unto himself; and now fearing that he and his army was coming to Aberdeen, declared the haill people, man and woman, through plain fear of the Irishes, was fleeing away, if his honour did not give them assurance of safety and protection. He mildly hears thir commissioners, and said he was sorry at Aberdeen's calamities; however, he forbad them to be feared, for this foot army wherein the Irishes were should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles, and if himself came, he craved nothing but entertainment upon his own charges, further wrong he intended not to do to the burrow of Aberdeen; which truly and nobly he kept. The commissioners were glad at this unexpected good anawer;



they gave many thanks, and humbly took their leave of Montrose, came back from Turriff, and upon the 10th of March came to Aberdeen, where they delivered their good answer they had gotten, to the great joy of the magistrates and commons, man, wife, and child, within the burrow.

Sunday the 9th of March, no sermon in either of the Aberdeens, through the absence of our ministry, fled for fear; yet Dr. Guild preached in the college kirk, but durst not come to the high kirk. Upon the samen Sunday, major Nathaniel Gordon leaves Montrose at Turriff, and came to Aberdeen with some few troopers; and on the morn there came in to him an hundred Irish dragoons. The keys of kirks, ports, and tolbooth are delivered to him; he sets some prisoners that were there to liberty, amongst whom there was one Thomas Meldrum, warded for following Montrose. He took the spare arms lying at Torrie, left there by the Lothian regiment, under the keeping of umquhile captain Keith, Marischall's brother, his troop; they took one thousand eight hundred muskets, pikes, and other arms. There was some hurt, some slain, and some taken prisoners of this troop, and warded in the tolbooth of Aberdeen. The arms were laid there also; and lieutenant Scott, one of the said Lothian regiment, lying lurking behind the rest, was taken also.

Major Gordon received orders to watch the town, and set out secret watches nightly as far off as Cowie, to see if any army was coming frae the south. There was some skirmishing at the bridge of Dee, where Keith's troop was routed, and finding the field fair, he returns to Montrose, who had removed frae Turriff to Frendraught. The young viscount was in the place, which he kept, but the laird his father was in Muchalls, with the lord Fraser, his goodson, all prime Covenanters. He plundered threescore ploughs of Frendraught's, lying within the parishes of Fergie, Drumblate, and Inverkeithny, and the minister's house of Fergie, whilk with the rest of the haill houses, biggings, barns, byres, corn-yards, and plenishing, was burnt up, and the haill oxen, horse, nolt, sheep, and ky, pitifully plundered and carried away, leaving this ground desolate. Montrose wrote frae Pennyburn a letter to Aberdeen, of the 10th of March, commanding them to cause their drum go through the town, charging all manner of men within the shire, betwixt sixty and sixteen, to meet him in their best arms and on their best horse, upon the 15th of March, at Inverurie, under the pain of fire and sword. Drums went, the charge spread through the shire, and many met him on horse and foot for obedience thereof.

From Frendraught he marched to Kintore, Kinkell, and Inverurie, and came to Kintore upon the 12th of March. His army was quartered in the bounds foresaid; himself lodged in Mr. John Cheyne's house, minister of Kintore; he gave out orders that ilk parish within the presbytery of Aberdeen (except

Aberdeen) should send to him two commissioners, with a perfect roll of the haill feuers, heritors, and liferenters of ilk parish, whereby they might furnish to his service horse and men, according to their estates; whilk was done, and men daily coming in to him for fear of fire and sword, who otherwise would have stood out.

Ye heard how major Nathaniel Gordon went from Aberdeen to the camp, upon the foresaid 12th of March; he comes frae the camp back again to Aberdeen, with Donald Farquharson, captain Mortimer, and some others, about eighty well horsed brave gentlemen. They, fearless and careless of the enemy, went to their merriment, without closing of the ports, or setting of watches, against the order of war. Their careless security is spied by some of their unfriends in the town, as was said, and posts speedily to major Hurry, now lying at the North Water Bridge with the lord Balcarras' regiment, and other foot regiments, desiring him with diligence to come to Aberdeen, where he should have a fair hazard of his enemies, lying without order. Hurry, informed of all, takes the occasion, and comes with about one hundred and sixty horse and foot out of Balcarras' regiment of horse, and others, besides brave troopers and musketeers, and in great haste, upon Friday the 25th of March, about eight hours at even, came down the gate of Aberdeen, and set watches to the ports, as they came in, that none should escape. The other party, dispersed through the town, drinking carelessly in their lodgings, and hearing the horse feet, and great noise, were astonished, never dreaming of their enemy. However, this Donald Farquharson happened to come to the causey, where he was cruelly slain anent the Court de Guard; a brave gentleman, and one of the noblest captains amongst all the highlanders of Scotland. Two or three others were killed, and some taken prisoners, had to Edinburgh, and cast into irons in the tolbooth. Great lamentation was made for this gallant, being still the king's man for life and death. Hurry thereafter goes to the Court de Guard, and takes out the haill troopers' horse standing there, and likewise out of the stables, convoyed by the town's people, where they stood; amongst the rest the marquis of Huntly's best horse, which the lord Gordon had lent to major Nathaniel Gordon, was likewise taken by Robert Forbes, brother to the laird of Craigievar. They got gallant horses; the gentlemen could not mind it, but were glad to escape with their lives, some one gate, some another.

Hurry barried not longer in the town nor he could get their horses, but returns back again the way he came; and by the way takes out of the burrow of Montrose, the marquis of Montrose's second son, now lord Graham, by reason of his elder brother's decease, as ye have heard, a young boy about fourteen years of age, learning at the schools, attended by his pedagogue

in quiet manner. He is taken, had to Edinburgh, and he and his pedagogue warded in the castle thereof.

Hurry having done this exploit in Aberdeen, the gentlemen were sorry, but could not mend it. They returned back to Montrose; some on horse and some on foot, ashamed of this accident. Montrose was highly offended for the loss of Donald Farquharson more than the rest, through too great carelessness.

Upon the morn, being Saturday, the said Donald Farquharson's corps was found in the street stripped naked, for they tirmed from off his body a rich stand of apparel, but put on the samen day. His corps was taken up, and put in a close chest, and carried to the chapel there to ly in the Castlehill. The other dead corps were taken up and put into their chests, and carried to the samen chapel on the Castlehill while they should all be buried.

The town of Aberdeen, fearing this accident should be interpreted their fault, sent out two commissioners to Kintore, to signify their innocency to Montrose. He heard them patiently with a wee heart, yet knew well enough who were innocent or guilty in this matter within the town; wisely kept up his mind, and gave the commissioners an indifferent answer, and so they returned to Aberdeen, not knowing what should be the event.

Montrose gave order to general major M'Donald to come to Aberdeen with one thousand Irishes, horse and foot, and see his corps buried, who came indeed upon the foresaid Saturday, the 16th of March to the town, about four afternoon. The town's people, both man and woman, were under great fear of thir Irishes, and many had a mind to flee their houses, but this noble major comforted them all, for he quartered his haille foot, being about seven hundred Irishes, about the bridge of Dee and Two Mile Cross, and none bade within the town but himself and his troopers. He caused close the ports, and sent out scout watches, as a discreet captain should do: lord Lewis Gordon came with him.

Upon the morn, being Sunday, this gentleman, with the other three corps, was lifted out of the castle foresaid, and conveyed to their burial. Donald was buried in the laird of Drum's aisle, with many wee hearts and doleful shots.

But it is to be marked, there was no preaching in either of the Aberdeens, because the ministers had fled the town, yet Dr. Guild, our Oldtown principal, taught within the College kirk, suppose for fear he durst not preach out of the College-yetts, on the Sabbath-day the 17th of March.

Now, as Montrose is lying at Kintore, the earl of Airly falls there sick of a fever, and is conveyed therefrae to Lethentie, whereof his daughter is lady, with a guard of three hundred men, officers, captains, and commanders, to wait upon him. This being done, Montrose marches upon the samen Sunday and

17th of March, frae Kintore to the lands of Durris, pertaining to the lord Fraser.

General-major M'Donald stays all this Sunday in the town, where he was much respected and well entertained, for his love and favour which he shewed, in not doing wrong, or suffering much wrong to be done, except one or two Covenanters that were plundered. They indeed took their diet, but paid for all extraordinaries, whereof the town's people were most glad, yet he took up mickle gear, as ye shall presently hear.

Upon Monday the 18th of March, he leaves Aberdeen, minding to meet Montrose at Durris; but a number of the Irish rogues lay lurking behind him, abusing and fearing the town's people, taking their cloaks, plaids, and purses frae them on the streets. No merchant's booth durst be opened; the stable doors were broken upon the night, and the horses taken out; but the major hearing this, returns that samen Monday back, and drove all thir rascals with sore skins out of the town before him, and so both Aberdeens were free both of him and them, by God's providence, who looked both for fire and plundering; yet he took up about ten thousand pounds worth of cloth, gold and silver lace, frae the merchants of the town, and the town became obliged to pay for the samen to them. He took up his cloth and other commodities, amounting to the said sum of ten thousand pounds, and above, to be clothing to him and his soldiers, and caused the town to become obliged to pay the merchants, by raising of a taxation for that effect, whilk they were glad to do, to be quit of their company. Thus cross upon cross comes upon Aberdeen.

Ye hear how Montrose marches frae Kintore towards Durris; he spared by the way the lairds of Monymusk and Ley's lands unplundered, upon some private conditions, and came to Durris, where major M'Donald meets him. They burnt up the place, hail laigh biggings and corns, and spoilzied the hail ground of horse, nolt, sheep, and other goods. This was done upon Sunday the 17th of March.

And a party the samen Sunday was direct out upon sic lands of Fintray as pertained to Craigievar, to plunder, burn, and destroy the samen, houses, biggings, corns, and all. Mr. Andrew Abercromby, minister of Fintray, his house and corns were burnt up, and his goods plundered, being a main Covenanter. Some thought Craigievar deserved this injury, being credibly taken prisoner, and well respected both of the country and Montrose, and would take his liberty after sic a dishonourable manner; whereas if he had staid, his licence might have been purchased after a fair way, at least he would not have suffered such a skaith if he had bidden captive. Montrose marches frae Durris to Stonehaven, and came there upon Tuesday the 19th of March; and hearing some troubles to arise in the north against the lord Gordon's lands, he sends back his footmen, estimate to five hun-

dred men, to defend Strathboggie, and remanent of his ground, against such enemies as should come, who came indeed, as ye have hereafter ; but still he kept the lord Gordon with his horse troops beside himself, while occasion offered.

The earl of Airly, lying sore sick at Lethentie, as ye have heard, and hearing of the lord Gordon's men coming back again, he causes transport himself to Strathboggie, as a place of greater strength and security, having his guard about him, where he lay while God sent him his health.

Montrose quarters himself in James Clark the provost's house of Stonehaven ; the lord Gordon, and others beside the army, quartered in Cowie and about the country.

Upon Wednesday the 20th of March, he writes a letter to earl Marischall, being in Dunotter, where there was about sixteen ministers, who had fled their own houses, and taken refuge there ; amongst whom was Mr. Andrew Cant, and his wife also ; and Mr. John Rue, minister at Aberdeen ; and Mr. William Douglas, professor there ; George Keith, the earl Marischall's brother, was also come there out of France lately, and diverse others. This letter was received and read, albeit the bearer stood at their yett, but gat no answer ; whereat Montrose was highly offended, done chiefly by persuasion of his lady, and of the ministry, especially by Mr. Andrew Cant. It is said, the lord Gordon wrote a letter to the foresaid George Keith, who came to Stonehaven and conferred with him, and Montrose also, whose desire was, that the earl should serve the king, and concur with him against his rebellious subjects, as he that was bound thereto both from his place and honours. This was the sum, as was said, of all, otherwise to be put upon his own hazard. But this noble earl, counselled by Mr. Andrew Cant and the rest of the brethren, refused this service allenarly, saying he would not be against the country.

Whereupon Montrose, upon the 21st of March, began and burnt up the barn-yards of Dunotter, houses, corns, and all, whilk the earl and his lady within the place saw ; syne fires the tolbooth of Stonehaven, wherein there was store of bear and corns ; and the haill town also, being the king's royal burrow, with the haill corn-yards, houses, and biggings, except the said James Clark's biggings, wherein Montrose himself was quartered.

They plundered a ship lying in the harbour, syne set her on fire, with the haill fisher-boats lying there.

They burnt up the haill town of Cowie, houses, biggings, corns, and corn-yards ; and siclike plundered the haill goods, gear, horses, nolt, sheep, whilk they could get, and plundered the parson of Dunotter's house, syne set the samèn on fire.

It is said, the people of Stonehaven and Cowie came out, men, women, and children at their feet, and children in their arms, crying, howling, and weeping, praying the earl for God's cause to save them from this fire how soon it was kindled ; but

thir poor people gat no answer, nor knew they where to go with their children. Lamentable to see !

Fetteresso was also fired, and a quarter of it burnt, but the haill corn-yards and laigh bigging were utterly destroyed and burnt up.

They fired the pleasant park of Fetteresso ; some trees burnt, others being green could not burn ; but the hart, the hind, the deer, and the roe, skirled at the sight of fire, but they were all tane and slain. The horse, mares, oxen, and ky, were all likewise killed, and the haill baronies of Dunotter and Fetteresso utterly spoilzied, plundered, and undone. After this, he marches to Drumlithy, and to Urie, pertaining to John Forbes of Lesly, a great Covenanter ; he fires the place, burns all to the vaults, and haill laigh bigging, corns, and barn-yards, and plunders the haill ground. He sends to his own good-brother, the viscount of Arbutnott, but, as is said, there was, by his order, burnt and plundered to him twenty-four ploughs of land.

He comes to Fettercairn upon the — day of March, and sends out quarter-masters to quarter some troops in the country, and about the burrow of Montrose. But general-major Hurry lying in ambush within the planting of Halkertoun without their knowledge, issues out suddenly with a great cry and a shout upon thir troopers, who returned shortly back to Montrose's camp, and he directly sends out a better number of troopers ; but how soon Hurry sees them, he takes into another ambush hard beside, but he is rouzed out and routed through the North Water, and fled with greater skaith nor he gave, to major Bailie, lying with his army near hand.

Montrose's troopers returns back to the camp, where Mr. James Strachan's house was burnt in Fettercairn.

Upon Sunday the 24th of March, Mr. William Strachan, our minister, came to his house in Old Aberdeen, and preached ; but Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. John Rue were not come to their charge in New Aberdeen out of Dunotter ; yet Dr. Guild and Mr. Robert Downie supplied their place, Sunday and week-day.

This samen Sunday, Charles Gordon, now called lord Charles, with his pedagogue, Mr. Thomas Johnston, were transported frae the Oldtown schools to the place of Lesmoir, in the time of thir troubles, lest he should be taken, as the lord Graham was taken frae the schools in Montrose, as ye have heard.

Montrose staid at Fettercairn, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and upon Monday the 25th of March, marched therefrae to Brechin with his foot army, and directs his troopers to the town of Montrose, with charge to take their entertainment, but no more. They took the samen, and wine enough, but did no more harm to the town.

The town's people of Brechin hid their goods in the castle thereof and kirk steeples, and fled themselves, which flight en-

raged the soldiers; they found their goods, plundered the castle and haill town, and burnt about sixty houses.

From Brechin he marched, upon the — day of March, with his troopers in a body, through Angus, where he raised some fire also. Lieutenant-major Baillie being in the fields near by, having four foot regiments and two regiments of horse; to whom also came the lord Loudon, high chancellor, his regiment, with the earl of Lothian's regiment also, both foot regiments; besides great forces were coming, sic as one thousand five hundred red coats out of Ireland, and some other regiments, yet there was but six hundred red coats.

Ye have before, that our Scots parliament was up and rose upon the 20th day of February. They did not adjourn the samen to any certain day, but established their constant committee of parliament, to sit upon the country affairs.

Montrose is informed of lieutenant-major Baillie's forces and mighty preparation, yet could not dismay him; but frae Brechin he marches through Angus in his sight, and his forces, without stroke of sword or push of pike; he having then in service four foot regiments, and the lord Balcarras and sir James Hacket's two horse regiments; whereas Montrose was not so many in his service, not passing three thousand, foot, horse, and dragoons. Baillie comes frae Perth to meet Montrose, at or about Brechin. Montrose marches in his sight to the water of Tay; he keeps the one side, Baillie follows and keeps the other side of this river, within musket-shot to others.

There was some skirmishing betwixt their scout watches daily, but none offering battle to others, whereat many marvelled. The country was also holden under continual fear, none knowing whom to follow, and gladly would have discussed by a battle betwixt them. But howsoever it was, Baillie durst not go on but according to order, who had some noblemen on his council of war still with him, sic as the earl of Crawford, sometime called lord Lindsay, the earl of Cassilis, the lord Balmerinoch, the lord Kircudbright, and some others, without whose advice he could do nothing.

As Montrose is in Angus, the viscount of Frendraught, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, with their friends and followers, leave their houses, come to the fields, and begin to oppress whom they could overtake; and first they meddle upon the highway with Hugh Gordon, son to George Gordon of Coclarachie; they took Hector Abercromby of Fetternear, and William Fraser of Craigston, and wards them both in the place of Frendraught. They warded also the third in Muchalls, but they set him shortly at liberty, and Fetternear was also put to liberty.

Thir people, with Craigievar, were great Covenanters, and deadly enemies to the house of Huntly; the marquis being still

in Strathnaver all this while. They rode also to the place of Lethentie, seeking for the earl of Airly, who they knew well enough was in Strathboggie. They gat no entrance there, nor did no skaith at this time, but hereafter it was plundered, as ye shall hear.

It is to be remarked, that the month of March was very outrageous, high, and windy, whereof the like was seldom seen here.

Ye heard before of Montrose's march and lieutenant-major Baillie's continual following of him, and how the country was kept under daily fear, both of the one army and of the other, as they are dallying this wise in other's sight, about four or five days time. Montrose marches to Killiemuir and the hills, and Baillie to Perth. In the meantime, the lord Gordon and general-major M'Donald gets order to storm Dundee; who, upon Friday the 4th of April, came there with two hundred horse and about eight hundred foot, whereof the most part were Irishes, and Montrose followed with the hail army that samen day, and encamped at Dundee-Law, hard beside. They enter the town courageously; the town's men defend as well as they could. Their cannon, planted on the causey for defence of the ports, were shot, but did no skaith, for they entered the town by the ports four several ways. They burnt up the Bonnet-hill almost altogether, and fired sundry other houses within the town. As they are busy at this work, major Baillie gets word, and, with Balcarras and Hacket's regiments, came with all speed to rescue Dundee, having his foot army coming after as fast as they could from St. Johnstown. The lord Gordon hearing of their coming, receives orders frae Montrose, lying hard by, to sound the retreat, and to return to the camp, whilk he did, even when the town was at the rendering. However, Montrose begins in a full body to march about six hours at even. Baillie and Hurry bade while their foot came, and with all diligence in a body follows, and overtakes Montrose marching to the braes, for it was about six hours before Baillie's foot army could win to Dundee. It is said, major Hurry would fain have yoked with Montrose, but Baillie expressly countermanded him; so they part the one army frae the other, through mirkness of the night; Montrose to Killiemuir, and Baillie to Forfar, without blood or slaughter, but there were some slain at Dundee at the storming thereof.

Baillie leaves following of Montrose, and frae Forfar goes to Brechin. Upon the morn, the earl Marischall, the viscount of Frendraught, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the lairds of Boyn, Echt, Craigievar, Lesly, and diverse others oppressed Covenanters, meet him at Brechin, and held their committees there.

General-major Hurry here received orders to come to Aberdeen, with the lord Loudon and earl of Lothian's foot regiments,



consisting of about one thousand brave soldiers, commanders and all, and sir James Hacket's regiment of about two hundred and fifty horse, the nobles and barons to come with him, who are above mentioned, and Baillie to go back to St. Johnstown.

Upon the last of March, Mr. Andrew Cant, with his wife, and Mr. John Rue, with Mr. William Douglas, came to Aberdeen frae Dunotter. Mr. William Robertson, Patrick Lesly, and the rest, came to the town, upon the morn, being Tuesday, and 1st of April, and an ordinary presbytery day of Aberdeen, where it was told to the brethren, that the committee of the kirk had appointed a fast for diverse great causes, to be kept through all Scotland, and that it was done in the south, and omitted here by reason of thir troubles. Therefore it was appointed to be kept upon the Pasch-day next, the 6th of April, within this presbytery, and through the rest of the kirks as soon as might be. Some marvelled at the appointing of this fast upon Sunday next, and on good Pasch-day, whilk was kept before in praising God with mirth and merriness for the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and now turned over into fasting and mourning by our kirk.

The common people grudged with thir new-come orders. It was straitly kept here frae eight hours in the morning while twa afternoon, for the forenoon's sermon; and as long an afternoon's sermon. No meat durst be made ready; searchers sought the town's houses and kitchens for the samen. Thus is the people vexed with thir extraordinary fasts and thankgivings, upon the Sabbath-day, appointed by God for a day of rest, seeing their bodies are vexed with labour on the work days, through the preposterous zeal of our ministry.

Mr. William Strachan, on this day of humiliation, cried out against Montrose and his army, calling them bloody butchers, traitors, perfidious, and of the hellish crew, with many other speeches, unmeet to be uttered by a minister from the chair of verity. Mr. Andrew Cant, with Mr. John Rue, and Mr. William Robertson, were as malicious, and fully worse against them in their pulpits; and Cant was heard to rail against the king's own commission granted to Montrose, and spared not to call him and his army murderers, bloody butchers, rebels, and excommunicated traitors; whereat some of the well-disposed auditors did tremble, wondering at the railing of the ministry almost every where, wicked counsellors, and evil instruments frae the beginning of thir troubles, but no repentance for the mother-sin, which was riving of the king's prerogative frae him, and his rents and living within this kingdom, which has bred this misery, God's wrath, pest, and sword!

Ye heard before of Montrose's march to Killiemuir; and understanding some enemies were risen, and growing to an head in thir parts, sic as Frendraught, the Frasers, Forbesses, and their kin and friends, chiefly against the house of Huntly, their

friends and followers; therefore most wisely he directs from Killiemuir the lord Gordon's brother, Lewis, or lord Lewis, with the horsemen which he brought with him (being about an hundred and sixty) his footmen being sent before, as ye have heard, to go home and defend his country and friends.

In the meantime, the earl Marischall, the viscount of Fren-draught, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the lairds of Boyn, Ludquharn, Craigievar, Echt, Lesly, Kermuck, and di-verse others barons, grow to an head, and comes to Aberdeen upon Monday the 7th of April, to hold their committees, for up-taking of the excise, and laying more grievous burdens upon the king's subjects; but they were by God's providence interrupted at this time; for the lord Gordon came frae Killiemuir, and crosses Dee at the mill of Dinnety, upon the 8th of April. Ma-rischall is informed of an army coming that gate; the samen 8th of April, goes to council and dissolves the committee, he to Dunotter, and ilk ane a sundry gate; whereat many marvelled, and some were blyth.

The lord Gordon comes to Strathboggie; but before his com-ing, John Gordon of Buckie, an old aged man, took in his chief's place of the Bog, makes James Gordon, of the family of Lichiestown, ane renowned soldier, captain thereof, who man-ed and provided the house, and kept the samen stoutly. He drew the haill boats and cobles of Spey, that none should get passage frae the north. He set out nightly an hundred men in watch, being under fear of the Murray men and regiments lying at Inverness.

This samen Tuesday, and 8th of April, appointed for holding of the committee, our presbytery sat down in New Aberdeen, where there was produced a number of printed papers for uptak-ing of the excise, and ilk minister to have one here, and the haill province to intimate, upon a Sabbath-day, before his pa-rishioners, to the effect that they should thereafter get payment; but the brethren hearing of the lords going from the committee, dissolves their presbytery suddenly without more ado.

Ye hear before how major Hurry received orders at Brechin to come here, and lieutenant-major Baillie to return to Perth, back again; conform thereto, upon the 11th of April he came to Aberdeen, with his two foot regiments, and a horse regiment; he was convoyed with the nobles and barons also frae Brechin, except Marischall, who went to Dunotter. Hurry caused quar-ter his troopers about Torry, and his foot regiments this night in New Aberdeen.

Upon the morn, the troopers were quartered in Old Aberdeen, captains, officers, and all; they plundered about the town meat for their horses within three miles thereof, and paid for their own meat. Hurry causes straitly watch the town of Aberdeen, bridges of Dee and Don nightly, and the Oldtown also.

Friday, being the 11th of April, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, they stay, as is formerly set down.

Upon Tuesday the 15th of April, Hurry intends to march from both Aberdeens; draws out the lord Loudon's regiment first out of the town (he being chancellor of Scotland), the troopers march frae the Oldtown. As they are going into the town, the Lothian regiment raised a mutiny against their commanders, and went to arms, kept the town, closed the ports, and would not suffer any of Loudon's regiment, lying without the ports, nor their commanders or captains to take order with them, nor suffer trooper nor Loudon's regiment to enter within the town. The cause of this mutiny was for want of cloathing and pay, promised to be given them at Aberdeen, whilk the other regiment and troopers had truly gotten, as was true, and they only wanting, whilk carried some reason with it; nor further would they march while they were compleatly paid of all their dues. Major Hurry nor none of the commanders might not mend themselves, but take patience per force; and they take this course, that the lord Loudon's regiment and troopers, who could not get entry into the town, should march back to Old Aberdeeen that night upon their own charges, and to get nothing but house-room, fire, candle, and beds, where they could be had.

This poor town was pitifully distressed in providing their lodgings, but mickle more to furnish them meat, scarce gettable for money. The troopers sought meat through the country for their horses and themselves. Thus they lay in both Aberdeens, while Hurry sent to the estates for money and cloathing. Likewise, upon Thursday the 17th of April, a bark came to Aberdeen with thir commodities, wherein Hurry's wife came also; he directed her back again by land, and caused shortly cloath his soldiers, and pay their dues; and after they had stayed frae Friday the 11th of April upon their expences, which was reasonably well paid, upon Saturday the 19th of April, they marched altogether in a body from Aberdeen, towards Kintore and Inverurie; from that to Rayne, carrying in their company two field-pieces. They plundered the lands of Newton and Harthill (for the lairds were in Montrose's service); from that they go to Strathboggie and Enzie, as ye shall hear.

Upon the foresaid 15th of April, and third Tuesday thereof, our provincial assembly sat down in New Aberdeen, and at their down-sitting they hear of the mutiny amongst the soldiers foresaid. The earl Marischall came frae Dunotter to this assembly, stayed not, but returned back upon the morn, being Wednesday. Mr. William Strachan, minister at Old Aberdeen, is chosen moderator for the affairs concerning the provincial assembly, to the next assembly, and Mr. Andrew Cant is moderator for the presbytery of Aberdeen. Mr. David Lindsay, parson

of Belhelvie, is disjoined from this presbytery to the presbytery of Ellon. Marvellous to see sic alterations!

Upon Sunday the 13th of April, before sermon, the viscount of Frendraught, the lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the lairds of Boyn, Echt, Ludquharn, and diverse others, who came in with Hurry to Aberdeen, rode from the town; some thought to meet him at Strathboggie.

Word came here, that upon Friday the 11th of April, by command of the estates, the lord Gordon's arms, the laird of Delgaty's arms, and the goodman of Coxtown's arms, were also riven at the cross of Edinburgh; themselves declared traitors to their country, and their lands forfeited, for following the king.

Ye heard before how the place of Lethentie was pursned, yet gat no entrance; thereafter, about this samen time, sir William Forbes of Craigievar, with his assisters, came, took in the house, put the lady to the yett (her husband being absent), plundered the ground, and sent the corns to his own lands of Fintray to sow, because there was none left unplundered or burnt, as ye have before.

Upon Sunday the 20th of April, our minister read out a paper, as was done at other churches, warning the shire of Aberdeen, for Hurry's service, to furnish out six hundred dragooners, man and horse, and to have their rendezvouz at Aberdeen the 29th of April. The time was short, yet charged under great pains; but none kept or gave obedience; for the country lay groaning under thir heavy burdens.

Ye heard how Montrose went to Killiemuir. It is said, he directed M'Donald north into Birse, Cromar, and Glentanner, and himself past south towards Dunkeld; but in effect we had no certainty where he went, he was so obscure; and Baillie lay still at St. Johnstown with his forces.

It is said, that Forbes of Skellater, a strong gentleman, agreed with the lord Gordon for taking of some nolt and sheep from his friends, as ye have heard; and, at his command, past to M'Donald with two hundred soldiers, and they march to Coupar in Angus, pertaining to the lord Coupar, the lord Balmerinoch's brother, whilk he fired, and slew Mr. Patrick Lindsay, minister at Coupar, and some others, syne routed the lord Balcarras' troopers lying near by, killed some, and took their horses and arms; syne took to the hills.

Upon Wednesday the 23d of April, the earl Marischall, with the lairds of Tolquhon, Watertoun, Kermuck, and diverse others, held a committee at Aberdeen, syne returned back again that samen night to Dunotter.

The samen Wednesday and 23d of April, there is taken within the Forth, seven Scots merchant-ships, well loadned with goods, and one of the king's ships, now called a parliament-ship, by some frigates, whether English, Irish, or Dunkirkers, is uncertain. James Nicolson, white-fisher in Fouttie, was taken at

his lines by one of thir frigates, but did him little skaith nor his boat; they had him with them, but suffered the boat to go home. They landed him at the Bowness, and he by land returned to his own house; he could tell nothing, but that this frigate was a man-of-war, but to whom she belonged he could not tell. Thereafter, out of Forth there was taken four other merchant-ships, richly loadned, whereof captain Seaton's ship, now gone to sea, was one. Thus is Scotland wrecked both by sea and land.

Upon Friday the 25th of April, sir William Forbes of Craigievar, at his own hand, takes in the place of Kemnay, frae the widow lady thereof, plants some soldiers therein, being stanked about, and of good defence; he plundered corns and victuals for their maintenance frae the laird of Kincaigie, syne took his best saddle horses, and plundered the country about for the samen cause, sic as Newtown and Harthill; he plundered frae them about an hundred and sixty oxen, and drove them to Fife, and sold them; he took also George Gordon of Rhynie.

Ye heard of Montrose's being at Dunkeld; he returns north; and beyond Dee there comes to him the lord Gordon, out of Auchindown, M'Donald and his company; siclike, there came to him the lord Aboyn, the master of Napier, the laird of Delgaty, the laird of Keir, younger; who, with the earl of Nithsdale and lord Herress, had broken out of Carlisle, with about twenty-eight horse, through David Lesly's army desperately, yet happily safe and sound. This Aboyn, Napier, Delgaty, and Keir, came in to Montrose beyond Dee, who were all joyful for one another. They began to march cross the river Dee at the mill of Crathie, and hastes the lord Aboyn to Aberdeen for powder, and they to bide his return at Skene. He comes down Deeside upon Thursday the 1st of May, and with about forty horse came to Aberdeen, sets watches, goes to two ships lying in the harbour, plunders about twenty barrels or kinkens of powder, stayed no longer, but past shortly to the camp at Skene the samen night, who were very glad of his coming with the powder, being very scant thereof; he did no more skaith; yet Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. John Rue, and some Covenanters, fled like foxes. Thir barks were but new come home from Flanders.

Mr. William Chalmers, minister at Skene, and Mr. William Davidson's houses were plundered, and two men killed by the Irishes; but no wrong was done to the lady Marischall's liferent lands.

Ye heard of Hurry's march to Strathboggie and the Enzie. He raised no fire, nor did any wrong to the stately palaces of Strathboggie and the Bog, and marched by them to the Enzie, and encamped at the Upper and Nether Buckies, where the earl of Findlater and lord Crichton, the laird of Boyn, and some others, came to his assistance. The lord Gordon, at Hurry's

coming, went to Auchindown, where he stayed while he went to Montrose, as ye have heard, because he had no order to give battle to Hurry, who all this time is plundering the pleasant country of the Enzie. He made up four hundred dragooners of the country-horse, and made meat of the corns, victuals, nolt, sheep, and ky; and, as was said, he sent to Frendraught's tenants, corns, cattle, and other goods, to help their losses. He was estimate to one thousand foot, two hundred troopers, and four hundred dragooners, by and attour sic country help as came in to him. He camped here frae the 20th of April, that he came to the Enzie, to Friday the 2d of May; and hearing of Montrose's coming, upon Saturday the 3d of May he marches over Spey, there to join with the Murray forces. Montrose, lying at Skene, on Friday, May the 2d, by break of day, marches in a full body to Strathboggie; upon the morn to the Bog; and upon Monday the 5th of May, past hastily over Spey after Hurry. He was estimate to about four thousand men, horse and all; where I must cease a little.

Upon Sunday the 27th of April, our minister, Mr. William Strachan, as other ministers did, made a speech conform to the imprinted papers anent the uptaking of the excise, sent from the committee of the estates, the particulars whereof ye have before, first by committee, thereafter ratified by parliament, dated the 29th of July, 1644, and last of January, 1645. This excise was ordained to begin the 10th of February, and to endure but for an year thereafter; this day is altered, and begins the 1st of August, 1644, to continue to the 1st of August, 1645.

Many degrees were made for uptaking of this grievous excise, sore against the people's will, crying with many maledictions against the samen; as done to the wreck both of burrow and land, and all for this, to make up monies to furnish the armies gone into England out of this kingdom, for reformation and defence of religion; but rather more truly to furnish men to fight against his sacred majesty, seeing he had most graciously condescended to our hail heart's desire, both in church and policy, whilk his majesty never brake in one jot; yet we would not rest, but raise arms to the wreck of our country, upon no true reason, as is said before. Now, as the people looked for a tyrannical uptaking of this excise, after their pulpit intimations, it was crossed by the incoming of Aboyn to Aberdeen, as ye have already heard.

Ye heard before how Craigievar took in Kemnay. He alledged, he had warrant frae the estates to take in, during thir troubles, the strongest houses, and fortify the samen; and the soldiers to live upon the rents of the lands, or upon the country where there was no rents to sustain them. Right sua, he took in the place of Pitcaple, and fortified the samen, but Kemnay he quitted at the field of Alford, and — Abercromby, younger of Birkenbog manned the samen.

Upon Tuesday the 29th of April, there was six several proclamations made at the cross of Aberdeen, first anent the selling of the haill forfeited persons' lands within the north, but there could be found no buyers. There were other four worthless proclamations, which, of purpose, I have left unwritten.

Upon Sunday the 3d of May, Baillie goes into Athol, and burns and destroys that pleasant country. This is not the first fire the Covenanters raised in Scotland, as I believe; and as the king had justly given commission to Montrose to raise fire and sword against his rebels, right sua, the committee of estates gave order to raise fire and sword upon the king's loyal subjects, as was done by the marquis (then earl) of Argyll. For, first, he raised fire at his own hand upon the earl of Airlly's lands, as ye have heard; syne burnt the lands of Keppach, pertaining to M'Donald; and siclike, burnt the laigh bigging about the place of Kellie, as ye have heard; syne demolished the fair passages of the house, with sundry others, without warrant or authority of our sovereign the king. The raising of this fire was thought good service by preachers and Covenanters, done for reformation of religion and defence thereof, as most unjustly they alledged, since his majesty had granted all our desires both in kirk and policy, as is well seen in the acts of parliament. But the king, seeing their intentions were rather against royalty than for religion; and withal fearing the kingdom would be born down with blood, murder, fire, sword, plundering, robbery, and oppression, stent, taxations, men and monies, done of set purpose against himself and his good subjects, he, for repressing of thir abuses, grants a commission to the marquis of Montrose, to rise with fire and sword against his rebellious subjects, and to defend his true and loyal friends; but the preachers and Covenanters railed and cried out against his majesty's lawful commission. Strange to see!

Baillie, having burnt up and destroyed this fair and fertile country of Athol, for the loyalty of the inhabitants to their dread sovereign, went to the castle of Blair, an impregnable strength, wherein many of the prisoners taken at Inverlochy, and haill wealth of Montrose's army were kept; but he could not get this house taken in; and, after the burning of the country, he plundered horse, nolt, and sheep, with the haill goods thereof, for entertaining of his army; syne marches frae Athol in through the fields to Killiemuir and Fettercairn; and, upon Saturday the 10th of May, he comes and camps in Birse, still plundering the country wherever he goes, eating the green growing corns scarce come to the blade, with their horses. He was estimate about two thousand foot and an hundred and twenty troopers. Upon Sunday the 11th of May, he marches to Cromar, and camps betwixt the kirks of Coull and Tarland; he burnt the house of Dalpersie, pertaining to — Gordon, and still lay plundering and destroying the country, abiding the coming of the lord Bal-

carras with his horse regiment, and that the gentry of the land should rise and assist him; where I will leave him for a while.

Ye heard before how Hurry went, upon the 3d of May, over Spey. Montrose followed him over upon the 5th of the said month, betwixt whom was a skirmish, where James Gordon, son to George Gordon of Rhynie, was sore hurt. He is conveyed to the Strudders, where a friend of his own dwelt, to ly while he should be cured, and had a gentleman called Gordon to attend him. But major Sutherland advertises the young laird of Innes, that he was lying at this house, who rashly and unadvisedly sent out a party, viz. captain Smith, Alexander Douglas, John Douglas, and John Milne, younger, all Elgin men, with some others, and cruelly they murdered this young gentleman, lying sore wounded, and left his keeper also for dead. This was thought an odious deed, barbarous, and inhuman, to murder this youth, not passing eighteen years of age, which was well revenged by Montrose at Auldearn and bigging of Elgin, as after does appear.

Hurry wan nothing at this skirmish, but marched west, removed the laird of Lare's regiment and Buchannan's regiment out of Inverness, except so many as should keep the town. There came also of country people in to him the earl of Sutherland, with his power; the earl of Seaforth in person, with his power; the earl of Findlater himself was there; the lord Lovat's power was there, but not himself; the young laird of Innes, the Rosses, Munros, Dunbars, the lairds of Boyn and Birkenbog, and many others, came in to Hurry, who was now estimate about four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, all expert soldiers and resolute gentlemen, with brave commanders, officers, and captains.

But Seaforth was thought to be a perfidious traitor, who, after he was deeply sworn by Montrose to the king's service, and upon this parole had gotten liberty to go home, whereas Montrose might have kept him still in his company; yet forgetting his oath before God, his duty towards his prince, and this nobleman, his majesty's general, he lap in to the other side, as ye have heard before, where he also gave his oath.

Now Hurry is busy be-west Auldearn, drawing to an head, and Montrose marches forward to Auldearn, about three thousand foot and horse, where he encamps commodiously; and upon Friday the 9th of May, Hurry comes marching forward to Auldearn, where Montrose was bidding him in good order and posture. At last Montrose gives Hurry an hot charge upon all quarters, both with foot and horse; and in a short space the chancellor's regiment, called Loudon's regiment, the Lothian regiment, Lare's regiment, and Buchannan's regiment, (all expert and singular well-trained soldiers as were in this kingdom,) are for the most part cut off, fighting to the death valiantly. This overthrow was attributed to one crowner or major Drum-



mond, who wheeled about unskilfully through his own foot, and brake their ranks, whereby they were all slain by the enemy, and for which, by a council of war thereafter, holden at Inverness, he was shot standing on his feet, but not at a post. There was reckoned to be slain here at this bloody battle, above two thousand men to Hurry, and some twenty-four gentlemen to Montrose, and some few Irishes killed, which is miraculous, and only foughten with God's own finger, as would appear; so many to be cut down on the one side, and so few on the other; yet no thanks was given to God for this great victory. It is to be considered that Montrose's captains and soldiers wan this victory with great glory of arms, and the lord Gordon, the viscount of Aboyn, and their name and followers, fought so valiantly, that they deserved eternal praise.

Many of Hurry's commanders with the rest were killed and taken prisoners; of whom the laird of Lare, sir John Murray, and sir Gideon Murray, were killed; ten or twelve prisoners taken; of whom Lare's brother, called — Campbell, is one; sixteen colours taken; with their haill baggage and ammunition, and much money and riches found. The horsemen indeed fled first, and left the foot fighting courageously to the death; they posted to Inverness who were well horsed; others were killed in their fleeing. Hurry, Seaforth, Sutherland, Findlater, the lairds of Boyn, Innes, Birkenbog, and the rest, wan safely away.

After this great victory, Montrose directs to burn the laird of Calder's (Campbell's) lands and houses in Nairn, and plundered his haill goods. The earl of Murray being in England, his ground was plundered; Kinsterrie and Lethen's lands plundered, and diverse other lands in the country; and upon Sunday the 11th of May, he comes to Elgin, to his supper. He sends out parties, and burns Garmouth, pertaining to the laird of Innes, (and plunders the Friary of Elgin, but, being church land, would not burn the samen,) because his son gave orders to kill James Gordon of Rhynie; Walter Smith's house, John Milne's house, Mr. John Douglas' house of Murriestown, Alexander Douglas' house, all in Elgin, were burnt, because some of themselves and some of their sons were at the killing of James Gordon foresaid; and siclike, the bigging of Spynie, pertaining in heritage to the said Alexander Douglas, was burnt, and sundry other houses in Elgin, through occasion of this fire, took fire, and was burnt; sic as Robert Gibson, George Donaldson, and George Sutherland's houses; the houses pertaining to Mr. John Hay and Mr. Gavin Douglas escaped by composition; the Bishop's Mill, and Milltown, pertaining to major Sutherland's wife in liferent, was burnt, for being airt and part in the said James Gordon's death; the laird of Plusecardine's house in Elgin was plundered.

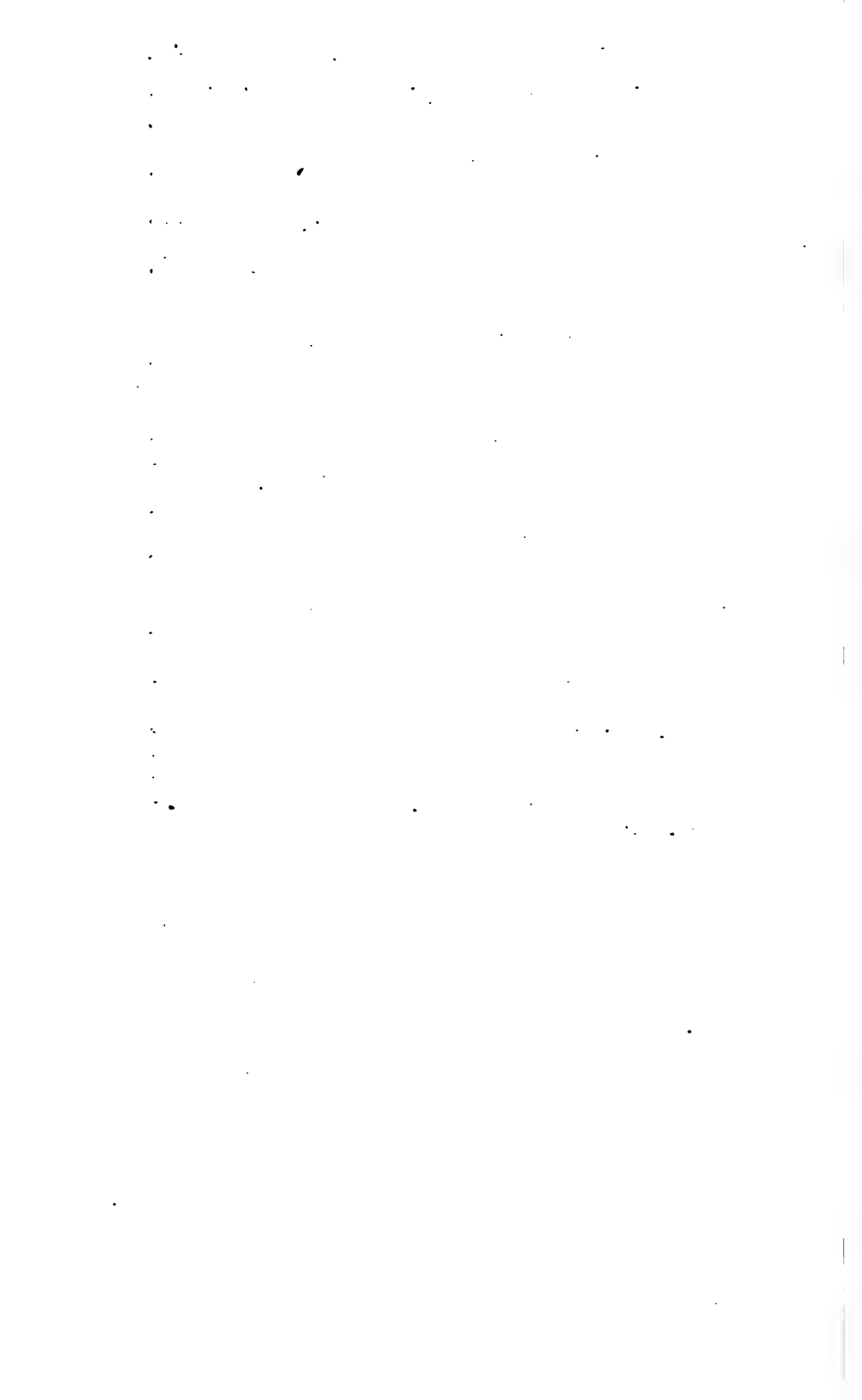
This done, upon Monday the 12th of May, Montrose directs the baggage, arms, ammunition, and all the goods over Spey to the Bog; and, upon Wednesday thereafter, himself marches to

the said place, but stays not there, but goes to Birkenbog, a main Covenanter, where he and some specialls were quartered. The rest of his army he directs through the country upon quarters. He sends a party, and burns up the town of Cullen, which was plundered before; and sic lands of Frendraught's as were left unburnt up before are now burnt up. There was some soldiers quartered also in Banff.

Now Leith of Harthill came frae the camp to the Garioch, with some soldiers, and hearing that Craigievar had masterfully taken George Gordon of Rhynie at his own hand, he takes John and Alexander Farquhars, cousins to Craigievar, and keeps them fast in Harthill, while the said George Gordon was set to liberty. Harthill burns the town and lands of Tombeg, occupied by William Forbes, but pertaining in heritage to the laird of Monymusk, because the said William Forbes had plundered some money frae his servant, with his baggage-horse; thereafter mans and fortifies his own house of Harthill, for his defence.

Ye have before, that lieutenant-general Baillie was lying in Cromar. The lord Balcarras, with his horse-regiment, came there, with two regiments of red coats; but for all the thundering out of pulpits to gar the country rise with Baillie, they lay still, and would not rise and follow him. In the meantime, Baillie got sure advertisement of Hurry's great overthrow at Auldearn, and therefore, upon Monday the 19th of May, he lifts his camp out of Cromar, and with all haste marches to the wood of Coclarachie, within two miles of Strathboggie.

As he is lying there, sir John Hurry comes frae Inverness, crosses Spey, goes through the marquis of Montrose's watches, saying he was the lord Gordon's man, and fairly wan away past them to Frendraught, and therefrae past to Coclarachie, where Baillie was lying.



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- Storm, a great one, 13, 267.
- Strachan, Capt. John, brings over supplies to the King, and is knighted, 295.
- Taxations laid on the country, 322, 341, 348, 375, 378.
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- Weekly Sermons set up by Dr. Guild, 272.
- Witches burnt in Fife, 345.



## GLOSSARY.

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*Accessions*, accessions.

*Airt and pairt*, a term in Scotch Law, equivalent to "aiding and abetting" in English Law.

*Always*, sometimes signifies *however*; e. g. p. 2. "always the earl returned"—however the Earl returned, &c.

*Allenarly*, solely, only.

*Ambry*, pantry.

*Anent*, ever against, concerning.

*Attour*, besides.

*Appearand*, heir apparent.

*Bairn*, child.

*Band*, bond, engagement.

*Bestial*, cattle in general.

*To Beck*, to curtsy.

*Bigging*, building.

*Birk*, birch.

*Bleat*, blunt, sheepish.

*The Bog*, or Bog of Gight, now Gordon Castle.

*Bruiked*, enjoyed.

*Brigancer*, robber, *Fr.* *brigand*.

*Bridal*, marriage.

*Breeks*, breeches.

*Bushed*, dressed.

*By and Attour*, besides, moreover.

*Cautioner*, surety; *set caution*, find security.

*Cannily*, cunningly, craftily.

*Chandler*, candlestick. *Fr.* *chandelier*.

*Chest*, p. 38. coffin.

*Cled himself*, p. 182. l. 22. sheltered himself.

*Conquest*, acquired.

*Confects*, confits.

*Coft*, bought.

*Contumaced*, accused of contumacy.

*Corbie*, a crow. *Fr.* *corbeau*.

*Condescended on*, specified.

*Crowner*, coroner.

*Cry out*, call out, proclaim.

*Crop the Causey*, walk boldly in the street.

*Cuinade*, coin.

*Deaved*, deafened.

*Decored*, decorated.

*Ding*, beat, conquer; *to ding down*, to throw down with violence; *ding in*, beat in.

*Dishunted*, abandoned, left.

*Distrenzie*, distrain by law.

*Dreadure*, dread.

*Durvis*, commonly *Durris*, near Aberdeen, now belonging to the Duke of Gordon.

*Effeiring*, according to, agreeing to.

*To Eik*, to add.

*Elymosinar*, almoner.

*Engine*, craft, policy.

*Fand*, found.

*Fash*, fashings, trouble.

*Fashious*, troublesome.

*Feed*, hired; a servant's *fee*, his wages.

*Forebears*, ancestors.

*Fore*, to the fore, remaining.

*Frae*, from; *therefrae*, therefrom.

*Flye*, to affrighten.

*Gardie*, the arm.

*Gate*, way, road.

*To Gar*, to cause; *gari*, caused.

*Gear*, property, implements.

*Girnel*, granary.

*Good-Father*, father-in-law.

*Good-son*, son-in-law.

*Goodsire*, or *Goodair*, grandfather.

*Go-summer*, the latter end of summer.

*Go-harvest*, the latter end of harvest.

*Gouries*, garbage.

*Gouked*, foolish.

*Haill*, whole.

*Hairship*, plunder.

*To Harry*, to plunder.

*Harried*, plundered.

*Heall*, healthy.

*Highgate*, highway.

*Horn*, put to the horn, be denounced rebels.

*Hound out*, to set on, encourage.

*Hose-net*, a snare.

*Ilk one*, every one.

*Illegals*, illegal deeds or acts.

*Insight plenishing*, furniture of a house, implements or utensils of husbandry kept within doors.

*Instrument*, to take instrument, to take a legal protestation.

*Infare*, a feast at a new married woman's first coming home to her house.

*Kaird*, a travelling tinker; *Kaird Turners*, small base money made by tinkers.

*Kist*, threw, from cast.

*Kilnlogie*, the bottom of the kiln.

*Know*, knoll, a little hill.

*Knock of a Yett*, knocker of a gate.

*Kyth*, appear, to keep company with.

*Lap*, leaped.

*Laz-fisher*, salmon fisher.

*To Leet*, to put in nomination.

*Limmar*, a vagabond.

*To Lightly*, to slight.

*Lown*, a worthless fellow.

*Loup*, to leap.

*Loup on*, to go to horse.

*Lurdane*, a vagabond.

*Luckned*, gathered, applied to garment.

*Lyke-wake*, sitting up with a dead corpse.

*Masterful*, lawless.

*A Mart*, a fat cow or ox.

*Maiden*, an instrument for beheading criminals.

*Make stead*, be of use.

*Menzie*, a mixed company, mob.

*Means himself*, humbly applies.

*Meikle* or *Muckle*, much.

*Minted*, attempted; to mint, to attempt.

*Milkness*, the produce of the dairy.

*Miskens*, passes by, does not heed.

*Mirkness*, darkness.

*Moyan*, means, interest; to make moyan, to use interest.

*Monch*, mouldiness.

*Mortified*, bequeathed.

*Mortichien*, a disease of horses. Fr.

*Mort d'eschine*.

*Mulch*, cap.

*A Notar*, a notary public.

*Outhounders*, setters on.

*Oy*, grandchild.

*Plack*, one-third of a penny.

*Pose*, private purse.

*Pursue*, to attack; e. g. p. 9, l. 20, "pursued the house," attacked the house.

*Pursuit*, attack.

*To Rax*, to stretch.

*Racklessly*, rashly, carelessly.

*The Remanent*, the rest.

*Responsal*, responsible.

*Right sua*, in like manner.

*To Ripe*, to search.

*Rive*, tear, rend.

*Samen*, same.

*To Scale*, to dismiss; the kirk is scaled, the congregation is dismissed.

*Scoug*, shelter, cover.

*Scamed*, scorched.

*Servit*, napkin, towel. Fr. *serviette*.











